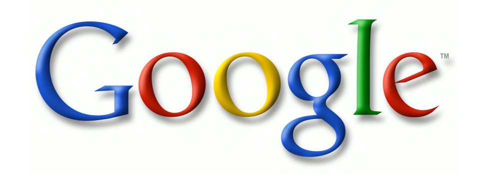


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HERAUSGEGEBEN

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KUNO MEYER UND **L. CHR. STERN**

VI. BAND

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Sever.

ZUR IRISCHEN KANONENSAMMLUNG.

Da die Frage nach der Entstehung der irischen Kanonensammlung neuerdings wieder lebhafter erörtert wird,[1]) möchte ich eine Vermutung nicht unterdrücken, die mir beim Lesen von Nicholsons Artikel (Zs. III, 99) gekommen ist. Er spricht dort von der Unterschrift, die in der Kanonenhandschrift von Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 12021, erhalten ist, und welche lautet:

Hucvsq; nubeN & cv · cuiminiæ· & du rinis.

Da hierin unverkennbar der Name Cu-Chuimnes steckt, wollte Stokes (Academy, 14. Juli 1888, p. 26) dafür lesen:

Huc usque Ruben et Cú-cummne du [Dai]rinis.

Aber die Änderung ist ziemlich gewaltsam, und zwei *m* hat der Name nicht. Einleuchtender sieht Nicholson in *-iæ* einen Kasus des Namens *Ia* 'I oder Iona' und verbessert:

Huc usque Ruben et Cu-Cuimni Iæ et Durinis,

sodaſs den beiden Personennamen zwei Ortsnamen entsprechen. Freilich, so leicht die Änderung von *cuimin* zu *Cuimni* wäre, so ist doch Nicholson eine befriedigende Erklärung dieser Form nicht gelungen, da der Name sonst immer, auch im Reim, *Cu-Chuimne* mit *-e* lautet; auch *Cumine* in Tigernachs Annalen (s. S. 2 Anm. 3) ist Schreibfehler für *Cuimne.* Es muſs also doch wohl *Cu-Cuimne Iæ* gelesen werden, und *Durinis* dürfte in

[1]) s. Hellmann, Sedulius Scottus (München 1906) p. 136 ff.; auch Bury, Life of St. Patrick, p. 235 ff.

Daurinis, die ältere Form des allein überlieferten Namens *Dairinis* ('Eicheninsel'), zu verbessern sein. Unter den verschiedenen Klöstern dieses Namens nimmt man wohl mit Recht das öftestgenannte, das heutige Molana in der Nähe von Youghal in Munster (Co. Waterford) als das gemeinte an.[1]) In *Iæ* sieht Nicholson einen lateinischen Localis; aber da *D[a]urinis* kein solcher sein kann, faſst man beide Formen besser als lateinische Genitive.

In *Ruben* (MS. *nuben*) vermutet Stokes mit groſser Wahrscheinlichkeit den Mann, von dem die Annalen nur melden, daſs er *scriba Muman* 'Schreiber von Munster' war und 725 starb; vgl. Annals of Ulster s. a. 724: *Rubin mac Connadh scriba Mumhan*; Tigernach (Rev. Celt. 17, 232): *Ruibin filius Connaidh scriba Muman.*[2])

Nicht viel mehr weiſs man von Cu-Chuimne, s. Todd, Leabhar Imuinn p. 145 f. Die Annalen nennen ihn *sapiens,* was die Vier Meister mit *eccnaidh togaidhe* übersetzen, und melden nur seinen Tod im J. 747.[3]) Ihm wird im Liber Hymnorum der Hymnus auf Maria: *Cantemus in omni die* — vermutlich mit Recht — zugeschrieben. Sonst hielten sein Andenken nur zwei anekdotenhafte Strophen aufrecht, die in wechselnder Form überliefert werden. Die Annals of Ulster a. 746 legen sie seiner Pflegemutter (*muime*) in den Mund. *Muime Chon-Cuimne cecinit:*

Cu-Chuimne ro legh suithe co druimne;
alleith naill hiaratha, ro leici an caillecha.[4])
An-do Coin-Cuimne ro mboi, im rualaid de, conid soi;
ro leic caillecha ha faill, ro leig alaill arith mboi.

'Cu-Chuimne hat Weisheit studiert bis zum First (= bis zur Mitte); die andere Hälfte, die übrig ist, hat er gelassen um seiner Nonnen (oder 'Weiblein'?) willen.

---

[1]) s. FM. a. 742, Anm. d.

[2]) Die Vier Meister (a. 720) haben die Notiz über ihn und die über Mac Broc(c)ain, die in den älteren Annalen darauf folgt, irrtümlich verbunden; sie nennen ihn *Ruibin mac mic Connaid sccribhneoir Mumhan* und machen ihn zu Brocans Sohn.

[3]) Annals of Ulster a. 746; Tigernach, Rev. Celt. 17, 248 (wo er *Cu Cumine* heiſst); FM. a. 742.

[4]) Diese Zeile ist nach der andern Version (p. 3) zu bessern.

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Was man Cu-Chuimne vorgeworfen hat (?), ist von ihm gewichen, sodaſs er ein Weiser ist; die Nonnen hat er vernachlässigt und hat den Rest studiert, der ihm übrig war.'

Eine zweite Version, die uns in der Vorrede zum Mariahymnus bewahrt ist, und der die Vier Meister a. 742 den Vorzug gegeben haben, läſst Adamnan, den Abt von I, die erste Strophe sprechen. *Adamnanus dixit:*

Cu-Chuimne ro lég suthe co drumne;
alleth aile ara ta,[1] ro leic ara chaillecha.

Cu-Chuimne antwortet:

Cu-Chuimne ro lég s[uthe] co [drumne];
a[lleth] a[ile] ara ta,[1] legfaid, leicfid caillecha
oder: alleth naile araid cúi, legfaid huile, corop súi.

'Cu-Chuimne hat Weisheit studiert bis zum First; die andere Hälfte, die übrig ist, wird er studieren, er wird die Nonnen lassen' oder 'die andere Hälfte, die ihm voranschreitet (?), wird er ganz studieren, bis er ein Weiser ist.'

Auf Grund dieses Wechselgesprächs läſst ihn die Vorrede zum Hymnus zur Zeit Adamnans und Loingsechs, des Königs von Irland, leben, die bald nach einander (704 und 703) gestorben sind. Das kann aber höchstens für seine jüngeren Jahre passen, da sein Tod ja erst ins Jahr 747 fällt. Sie fügt bei: *Incertum est uero, in quo loco eum fecit,* wuſste also nicht mehr, wo Cu-Chuimne gelebt hatte.

Man darf vermuten, daſs eben diese Strophen, die eine nicht tadelfreie Vergangenheit erschlieſsen lieſsen, verschuldet haben, daſs Cu-Chuimne erst so spät unter die irischen Heiligen aufgenommen wurde. Erst Ua Gormáin im 12. Jahrhundert würdigt ihn eines Platzes in seinem Félire; er erscheint dort am 8. Oktober als *Cú Cuimnech.*[2])

Also Ruben oder Rubin lebte in Munster; Cu-Chuimnes Herkunft und Wohnort ist unbekannt, doch setzt ihn eine Anekdote in Beziehung zu einem Abt von I. Nicholson las aus der Unterschrift der Kanonensammlung heraus, Ruben habe die

[1]) Besser *ara tha* wie oben.
[2]) ed. Stokes p. 192. 350.

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Canones in I abgeschrieben und nach D(a)urinis gebracht, wo sie dann von Cu-Chuimne kopiert worden seien, und er gründet darauf weitere Hypothesen über ihren Entstehungsort. Und gewiſs scheint es für einen Leser des 20. Jahrhunderts selbstverständlich, daſs in dem Ausdruck 'Ruben und Cu-Chuimne von I und Daurinis' I auf den ersten, Daurinis auf den zweiten zu beziehen sei. Anders steht es aber im irischen Mittelalter. Der Chiasmus *A B b a* ist dort ganz gewöhnlich, indem die Bestimmung zu *B* unmittelbar von diesem attrahiert wird und die Bestimmung zu *A* dann nachträglich angeschlossen werden muſs. Ich gebe ein paar Beispiele, wie sie sich mir eben bieten:

Würzburger Glossen 30 d 19: *tonica ł lacerna .i. sái ł fúan.* Natürlich gehört *sái* (sagum) zum Mantel *lacerna, fúan* 'Leibrock' zu *tonica* (tunica).

Fís Adamnáin § 4: *Naim thuascirt in domain ... ocus a descirt ina ndib nairechtaib dermáraib tess ocus tuaid,* 'die Heiligen des Nordens und des Südens der Welt in zwei groſsen Versammlungen im Süden und im Norden'. Gewiſs ist gemeint, daſs sie im Himmel dieselbe Himmelsgegend einnehmen wie früher auf Erden.

Serglige Con-Culaind § 3: *'Ni firfidir', ol Cu-Culainn, 'co tí Conall ocus Fergus'; fo bith ba haiti dó Fergus ocus ba comalta Conall Cernach* '(die Feier) wird nicht stattfinden', sagte Cu-Chulainn, 'bis Conall und Fergus gekommen sind'; denn Fergus war sein Pflegevater und Conall Cernach sein Milchbruder.

Auch bei längeren Reihen wird meistens zunächst an das letzte Glied angeknüpft. Z. B. Rev. Celt. 13, 269 werden fünf irische Sprecharten aufgezählt: *berla Fene* 7 *fasaighe na filed* 7 *berla etersgartha* 7 *berla forttide na filed* ... 7 *iarmberla* und daran sofort Beispiele für *iarmberla* geknüpft; es folgen solche von *berla edarsgartha,* von *berla forteidi* u. s. w. — Oder in den Irischen Verslehren (Ir. T. III, 1, 54) werden § 99 als Pensum des Dichters im 10. Jahre aufgeführt: *coic luasca déc* 7 *uii. nena* (?) 7 *eochraid trí fichet focul cona astib* 7 *cethri srotha déc* 7 *ui. duili feda;* dann folgen § 100 die *duili feda,* § 101 die *cethri srotha déc,* darauf erst § 102 die *luasca* u. s. w.

So ist es das Natürlichste, in der Unterschrift der Kanonensammlung D(a)urinis auf Ruben, den 'Schreiber von Munster' zu beziehen, wodurch wir das Kloster kennen lernen, in dem er

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gelebt hat. Dann ergibt sich aber weiter, dafs Cu-Chuimne Sapiens zum Kloster I gehörte, was später vergessen wurde, aber wohl demjenigen Erzähler der Anekdote noch bekannt war, der ihn ein Wechselgespräch mit dem berühmtesten Abte von I, mit Adamnan, führen liefs. Die weiteren Folgerungen Nicholsons sind somit nicht haltbar. Die Kanonensammlung hat sich eher vom Süden Irlands nach dem Norden verbreitet als umgekehrt, und ein auf der Hebrideninsel I oder Iona geschriebenes Manuskript war die Quelle, aus der das erhaltene der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Redaktion A) geflossen ist.

Freiburg i. B. R. THURNEYSEN.

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DIE ABFASSUNG DES FÉLIRE VON OENGUS.

In der Neuausgabe des Heiligenkalenders[1]) hat Stokes seine frühere Meinung aufgegeben, die Angaben der Vorreden wiesen ihn einer viel zu frühen Zeit zu; er schließt sich jetzt vielmehr mit Recht den Beweisgründen Strachans an, daß die Sprache zu einem rund um 800 entstandenen Denkmal sehr wohl passe. In den Angaben über Verfasser und Abfassung des Werkes p. XXVI gibt er möglichst genau die Notizen der irischen Vorreden wieder, ohne zu untersuchen, wie weit sie glaubwürdig sind; und doch ist ja nicht zweifelhaft, daß diese erst einer späteren Zeit entstammen.

Oengus hat aber zum Glück selber genügende Angaben gemacht, nach denen die Abfassungszeit annähernd genau bestimmt werden kann. Einen Terminus post quem gibt zunächst der Tod seines Lehrers (*aite*) Mael-Ruain, des Gründers von Tallaght, im J. 792,[2]) den er sowohl im Prolog 225, als im Innern des Kalenders am 7. Juli und wieder im Epilog 64 f. als gestorben erwähnt. Schon darum ist die Angabe der Vorrede (p. 6) unglaubwürdig, Oengus habe den Anfang in Cuil Bennchuir gedichtet, das Hauptstück in Cluain Eidnech und nur das Ende in Tamlacht; denn es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß er erst nach dem Tod seines verehrten *aite* in dessen Gemeinschaft eingetreten ist. Die Vorreden lassen ihn zur Zeit des Oberkönigs Aed Oirdnide dichten, der 797—819 regiert hat; sie geben auch den Grund an, weshalb sie das tun: *ar is é ro gab ríge nÉirenn i ndiaid Donnchada, uair ticc Oengus isin broluch thóisech ind*

[1]) Félire Oengusso Céli Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, Henry Bradshaw Society. London 1905.

[2]) Ann. Ult. s. a. 791. Stokes gibt p. XXVI das unrichtige Datum 787, dagegen p. 432 das richtige.

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félire tar bás Donnchada (p. 2 = 8) 'denn er (Aed) ist König von Irland geworden nach Donnchad, da Oengus im Prolog des Felire Donnchad als gestorben erwähnt.' Das bezieht sich auf Vers 221 des Prologs. Nachdem Oengus die vergangenen Gröfsen dieser Welt den Frommen und Heiligen gegenübergestellt und ausgeführt hat, wie jene spurlos dahin sind, ihre Burgen in Trümmern liegen, ihre Gräber zum Teil unbekannt sind, während die Stiftungen der Heiligen blühen und ihre Gräber Wunder tun und viele Leute anziehen, wendet er sich zur Neuzeit mit Vers 217 ff.:

Tathunn ní as nesa arar súil — salm sobail! —
de neurt Dé — dian medair! — indiu deud domain.
Donnchad dric rúad rogdae nó Bran búadach Berbae,
ní beir dinn sním lobrae athigid a mmemrae.
Mael-Ruain iarna goiri, grían már desmaig Mide,
occa lecht co ṅglaini ícthair cnet cech cridi.

'Wir haben etwas Näheres vor Augen von Gottes Kraft, heute am Ende der Welt. Donnchad, der grimmige, starke, auserwählte, oder Bran von der Barrow, der siegreiche, — der Besuch ihrer Schreine nimmt uns den Kummer der Schwäche nicht weg. Mael-Ruain nach seiner Frömmigkeit, die grofse Sonne auf der Südebene von Mide, — bei seinem reinen Grab wird das Seufzen jedes Herzens geheilt.'

Es wird also dem kürzlich verstorbenen Frommen, Mael-Ruain, der ebenfalls tote irische König Donnchad (769—797) gegenüber gestellt, und mit Recht schliefst der Verfasser der Vorrede daraus, dafs das Gedicht unter seinem unmittelbaren Nachfolger Aed verfafst sei. Denn zur Zeit späterer Könige hätte es keinen Sinn gehabt, gerade ihn hier zu nennen; es wird gewissermafsen auf sein frisches Grab hingewiesen. Der Vers ist also nach 797 gedichtet. Ebenso mufs es sich mit 'Bran von der Barrow' verhalten. Wie schon der Glossator des Lebor Brecc gesehen hat, ist der König von Leinster, Bran Ardchenn mac Muiredaig, gemeint, der 795 durch seinen Nachfolger Finśnechta ums Leben gebracht wurde;[1]) *Bran Berba* heifst er

[1]) Ann. Ult. s. a. 794; Book of Leinster 39b. Stokes, der ihn gegen den Glossator in der ersten Ausgabe CCXXVI mit dem viel früheren Leinsterkönig Bran-Dub identifiziert hatte, nennt ihn in der neuen p. 404 'a heathen king'.

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poetisch, weil die Barrow der Hauptfluſs von Leinster ist. Eben unter diesem Nachfolger, Finsnechta Cetharderc mac Cellaig, hat also Oengus gedichtet. Die Annalen melden von ihm, daſs er sich 804 dem Oberkönig Aed unterwerfen muſste. Doch scheint er keine Treue gehalten zu haben; denn schon 805 veranstaltete Aed einen Kriegszug nach Dun-Cuair an der Grenze von Mide und Leinster[1]) und teilte Leinster unter zwei andere Prinzen des einheimischen Königshauses, die beide Muiredach hieſsen, während Finsnechta ins Kloster muſste. Aber es gelang ihm diese zu besiegen und 806 das Königtum wieder zu gewinnen, bis er 808 in Kildare an Hämorrhoiden starb. Man darf vielleicht vermuten, daſs die Dichtung vor die Zeit seiner Absetzung (805) fällt; aber jedenfalls sind die äuſsersten Zahlen 797 und 808, wie ich schon KZ. 37, 54 bemerkt habe. Und mit solch annähernder Datierung dürfen wir schon zufrieden sein.

Es erklärt sich nun auch ohne weiteres, wie die Legende entstanden ist, Fothad na Canoine und Oengus hätten sich gegenseitig ihre Gedichte gezeigt und gesegnet.[2]) Denn unter demselben Jahre, wo die Unterwerfung von Bran unter Aed berichtet wird,[3]) erzählen die Annalen: *Isin bliadain si dana ro saeradh* (l. *saertha*) *cleirich Herend ar fecht* 7 *ar sluaiged la hAed Oirnigi do bhreith Ḟathaidh na Canoine* 'in demselben Jahr wurden die Kleriker Irlands von Kampf und Kriegszug befreit durch Aed Oirdnide nach der Entscheidung von Fothad na Canoine'. Die Vorrede gebraucht fast dieselben Worte, nur daſs sie die beiden Jahre 804 und 805 durcheinander wirft:[4]) *Ocus is forin sluagad sin* (nämlich nach Dun-Cuair, a. 805) *ro saertha clerig Erenn ar fecht* 7 *sluagad; ar is e Fothad na Canoine ruc in breith, dia ro saertha eculsa Erenn.* Die Quelle der Legende ist also nicht zweifelhaft; derselbe Glossator, der den Bran des Gedichts an der Hand von Annalen identifizierte, mag der Erfinder dieser Begegnung zwischen Oengus und Fothad sein.

[1]) Nach O'Donovan wohl Rathcore in der Grafschaft Meath.

[2]) Vorrede p. 4 = 10.

[3]) Ann. Ult. 803 (= 804).

[4]) Die Vier Meister a. 779 haben ihr das nachgemacht.

Freiburg i. B. R. THURNEYSEN.

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THE IRISH LIVES OF GUY OF WARWICK AND BEVIS OF HAMPTON.

'Men speke of romances of prys,
Of Horn child and of Ypotys,
Of Bevis and Sir Gy.'

Since the time of Chaucer's 'Rime of Sir Thopas', and earlier, the romantic heroes Sir Bevis of Hampton and Sir Guy of Warwick have been familiarly associated in English literature. It is not surprising, then, that the lives of the two should be found side by side in an Irish manuscript, and it is not inappropriate that they should appear together in the first printed edition of the Irish texts.

The only[1]) existing copy of these texts, so far as I know, is that preserved in MS. H. 2. 7 in Trinity College Library, a vellum folio in various hands, probably of the fifteenth century.[2]) A few passages from both romances were printed by Nettlau in the Revue Celtique X, 187—191. The language, which was long ago characterised by O'Donovan as 'pure and of great value to

[1]) Two romantic fragments in the Franciscan Monastery at Dublin were at one time erroneously catalogued as containing portions of the 'Bevis'. They are actually fragments of the story of the Holy Grail, and were reported as such by Nettlau, RC. X, 186. They were afterwards printed in full (CZ. IV, 381 ff.).

[2]) A fragment of the Trojan story ending on p. 460 is dated 1479, but the manuscript consists of several distinct parts. See for its contents the Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, pp. 317 ff. Cf. also O'Donovan's manuscript catalogue, p. 167, and his Tribes and Customs of Hy Many (Ir. Arch. Soc. 1843), p. 63, n.; O'Curry, MS. Mat., pp. 193 and 658, with facsimiles (plate 13); H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Essai d'un Catalogue, p. LXVII; and Zimmer, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1890, p. 502. Stokes used the MS. for his editions of the 'Fortibras' (RC. XIX, 14 ff.) and of the 'Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca' (RC. XXIII, 395 ff.).

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the Irish scholar',[1]) can doubtless be dated with some definiteness when the verbal forms are fully tabulated and compared with those in other late Middle Irish texts. The 'Stair Fortibrais', a translation in similar style of which a copy exists in the same manuscript, is vaguely assigned by Dr. Stokes, its editor, to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.[2]) The translation of John Mandeville, on the other hand, is distinctly stated in the manuscript to have been made by Fingin O'Mahoney in 1475,[3]) and a comparison of the grammatical forms of all these pieces with it and with the translation of Marco Polo[4]) ought to help in establishing a more precise date for them, and perhaps also to shed some light upon the question of their authorship. But the investigation of these matters cannot be satisfactorily completed while the greater part of the foreign romantic material in Irish, to which Nettlau called attention in his articles in the tenth volume of the Revue Celtique, still remains unpublished.

The exact sources of both the 'Guy' and the 'Bevis' are unknown, though there is good ground for believing that they go back to English originals, as was assumed long ago by O'Donovan[5]) and O'Curry.[6]) The principal evidence for this opinion is to be found in the proper names. Zimmer,[7]) arguing from those in Nettlau's extracts, pointed this out, and an examination of the complete list practically places the matter beyond doubt. To be sure, many of the names are indecisive and might go back equally well to French or to English.

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[1]) O'Donovan's manuscript Catalogue, now in the Trinity College Library, p. 167.

[2]) RC. XIX, 14.

[3]) CZ. II, 1 ff.

[4]) CZ. I, 245 ff.

[5]) Manuscript catalogue, p. 167. O'Donovan speaks only of the 'Bevis'.

[6]) MS. Mat., p. 193. O'Curry calls them 'translations from ancient Anglo-Saxon writers of romance'.

[7]) Gött. Gel. Anz. 1890, p. 502. Although I agree with Zimmer's conclusion, his argument about *Bevis*, if I understand it correctly, appears to me to prove too much. In a foot-note he compares Ir. *Bibus* (from Engl. *Beves*) with the Welsh *Bown* (from Fr. *Bovon*), implying that the Irish form could not have come from the French. But *Beuves, Bueves*, were nominative forms in French alongside of the oblique case *Bovon*. Compare *Otes* and *Otoun*. In the latter instance *Otun* is the form found in the Irish 'Guy'. Conversely, in the Norse 'Bevis', which is held to come from a French source, the form of the name is *Bevers*.

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Others are so distorted — like *Aimistir Amundae* from *Amis de la Mountagne*[1]) — that it is difficult to draw conclusions from them. But a number of forms remain which it is easiest to explain by assuming an English intermediary between the Irish and the French. Thus *Heront* (*Eront*), from Fr. *Heraut* (*Heralt*) is very likely to have got its *n* as a result of the errors of English scribes. Compare the way in which *Rohand* or *Roband* was made out of the French *Rohaut* (*Rohalt*) in some English versions of the story.[2]) The Irish *Uront* shows the same development in the last syllable and apparently corresponds to *Yorauld,* a name which I have found in Copland's version alone. (The other English versions have *Torold,* and the Wolfenbüttel French text *Corraud.*) *Pani* (for French *Pauie*) and *Gincadh* (for Fr. *Guichard*) both show the same transformation of *u* into *n*, and in these instances Copland's 'Guy' has forms with *n* (*Pani* and *Gincharde*). The Irish form *Sision* probably rests upon an English modification of *Sessoigne.*[3]) Finally the constant use of *Sir* in titles (*Sir Gyi, Sir Heront*) is plainly modelled on the English, and there are several instances where the English word *king* (*Cing o Niubie, Cing Herrneis, Cing Caulog*) has been taken over intact into the Irish text. All these indications, the last of them practically decisive, point to an English source for the 'Guy'. In the Bevis fragment, which is much shorter, the evidence is not so clear. There is very little difference between the French and the English forms of the names, but where these disagree the Irish stands in every case nearer to the English unless it departs from both alike. The Irish name *Babilon,* too, for the country of Ybor's brother, may be due to the English *Dabilent* (itself a corruption of Fr. *d'Abilent*).[4]) So far as it goes, then, the testimony of the names in the 'Bevis' is consistent with that of the 'Guy'.

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[1]) References for the occurrence of these names may be found in the Index of Proper Names.

[2]) *Rohande* and *Rohaute* are both found in Copland's 'Guy'.

[3]) On the spellings *Sesyone*, *Cesyone*, in the English metrical version of the fifteenth century see Zupitza's edition (Early English Text Society, Extra Series XXV), p. 367.

[4]) It may, however, have been suggested by the personal name *Babilent, Bibilant,* which is given in the Welsh and Norse to the king of Dabilent (in French *Baligant*), and which may have stood in some English version.


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I have not attempted to draw any conclusion from the presence in both texts of a considerable number of loan-words, apparently from English. I have no doubt that words of English origin are more numerous because the author was working with an English romance. But it is obvious that they prove nothing decisively, for the Irish writer need not have taken them from his source. In fact all, or nearly all, of them occur in other texts. Sometimes, moreover, it is not easy to decide whether a word is of English or French origin. A critical study of the foreign elements in the Middle Irish vocabulary, ascertaining the sources of loan-words and the date of their introduction into the language, yet remains to be made.

An analysis of the contents of the Irish 'Guy' and 'Bevis' might be expected to lead much farther toward the determination of the sources. But it does little more than confirm the results already derived from the study of the proper names. Both romances differ in so many features from all the other versions I have seen that I must assume their immediate sources to be unknown. A brief statement, however, of their relations to their respective cycles is of interest, particularly in the case of the 'Guy'.

I have been unable to compare in detail the Irish 'Guy' with the French versions of the story, since none of these has been published except in summaries or extracts.[1]) But it is clear that none of the French texts of which I have suceeded in finding a description stands in any close relation to the Irish, and I have already shown it to be probable that the source of the latter was English. Of the English versions the most important are easily accessible. Zupitza has published metrical texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[2]) and I have

[1]) For the French versions I have used Ward, Catalogue of Romances I, 471 ff. (a summary of the version in MS. Harl. 3775); Schönemann, in Serapeum III (a summary based on the Wolfenbüttel text); Herbing, Über die Wolfenbüttler Hs. des Guy von Warwick; O. Winneberger in the Frankfurter Neuphil. Beiträge, 1887, pp. 86 ff. (a brief outline of the same text); A. Tanner, Die Sage von Guy von Warwick (again summarizing the Wolfenbüttel MS.); Littré, Histoire Littéraire XXII, 841 ff. (a long summary based partly on verse and partly on prose versions); and the Mélanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque (1780), X, 63 ff. (an outline of a prose romance printed in 1525).

[2]) The fifteenth century version was published in 1875-6 (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XXV—XXVI); the earlier texts in 1883-87-91 (Extra Series

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been able to compare with them the rare edition by William Copland of which the Harvard University Library possesses a copy. I have also examined Rowlands's poem[1]) and several later chap-book versions.[2]) The Middle English metrical versions, which agree with each other essentially in plot, stand closest to the Irish and I have made them the basis of my comparison. A brief statement with regard to the proper names and the principal incidents will show the relation they bear to the Irish.

More than two-thirds of the Irish names are either the natural equivalents of the English, or can be explained without difficulty as transformations of them.[3]) There are seven substitutions,[4]) and six names of new persons and places[5]) occur without any equivalent in the English. These additions and substitutions are hardly to be regarded as the invention of the Irish author, but probably stood in his English source. Some of them are of special interest. *Richard* in the place of *Rohaut,* the name of Guy's father, may have chronological significance, as I shall point out below.[6]) *Cing Caulog,*[7]) who appears once in

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XLII—XLIX). The Auchinlech version had already been edited by Turnbull for the Abbotsford Club (1840).

[1]) The Famous History of Guy Earle of Warwicke, by Samuel Rowlands. London, n. d.

[2]) The Renowned History of the Life and Death of Guy Earl of Warwick, [by John Shirley], London (circa 1700). Also The Noble and Renowned History of Guy Earl of Warwick. London 17—; 11th edition, printed for Stanley Crowder. This was reprinted at Chiswick in 1821 and at Warwick in 1829 and later.

[3]) The cases of transformation are these: *Siccard* = *Segwarde*, *Heront* = *Heraude*, *Uront* = *Yorauld* (?), *Gincadh* = *Guichard*, *Ambrail Coscran* = *Amiral Cosdram*, *Mirabala* = *Amyrabel*, *Uisin* = *Ozelle*, *Aimistir Amunndae* = *Amis de la Mountaine*, *Jonutas* = *Jonas*, *Craidhamar* = *Triamour*, *Eliman o Tiber* = *Elmadan of Tyre*.

[4]) The substitutions are the following: *Risderd* for *Roholde*, *Anan* for *Mirande* (?), *Greasmont* for *Arrascoun* (*Argone*), *Gibun Marcel* for *Yon*, *Moduiant* for *Merof* (*Medyok*, *Moderyse*), *Caulog* for *Athelstan*, and *Jarla Salua* for the *Duke of Marce* (or an unnamed earl).

[5]) The additional names in the Irish are: *Bruidisi*, *Iarla* (or *Diuice*) *o Birri*, *Diuice o Sdragborn*, *Gailiard*, *Seoirse in Gilla*, *Johannes de Alcino*.

[6]) See page 17, below.

[7]) On the general use of *Havelok* (Fr. *Aveloc*, Welsh *Abloec*, *Abloyc*) for *Anlaf* cf. Skeat, The Lay of Havelok the Dane (1902), p. XXXVI. What is still more to the point, the king of Denmark is called *Auelock* in 'Guy and Colebrande' (Percy Folio MS., edited by Hales and Furnivall, II, 528),



the place of King Athelston, is probably King Havelok, the Danish leader (better known as Anlaf Cuaran), whose name became somehow confused with that of his English opponent. John de Alcino belongs in an episode which will be discussed a little later.[1])

With respect to the narrative itself the Irish translation shows considerable independence. It contains every episode of importance in the English and has several additional incidents besides. Such are the fight between Guy and the duke of Lombardy (Chapter 4); the three days' tourney in Brittany (Chapter 5); and the tournament in Normandy (Chapter 7). In all these cases the English has nothing to correspond except general statements that Guy fought in Normandy, Brittany, France and Spain. In Chapter 8 the Irish relates a fight in the market-place at Bruidis, instead of which the English and French versions seem to have a tournament at Benevento. In Chapter 29 the Irish gives an account of a fight with a Turk, not paralleled in English. And in Chapter 34 there is a long discourse on Christian doctrine, not found in the English, concerning which I shall speak more particularly below.[2]) These chapters, I should add, are lacking not only in the Middle English romances but also in every other version of the story I have been able to consult.

With the few exceptions mentioned — six chapters out of forty-three — the general plot of the Irish romance agrees, incident for incident, with the Middle English. But there is hardly a paragraph in which there are not differences of detail. In chapter 1, for example, the account of Felice's skill in embroidery is peculiar to the Irish. The description of Siccard's rule is much fuller in the English. Nothing is said in the Irish of Guy's early training by Heront; and much is made of his piety and of the religious ceremonies at his knighting — both unmentioned in the English. In Guy's interviews with Felice

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and Copland's 'Guy', p. 254, mentions both *Hanelocke*, King of Denmark, and *Conelocke*, King of Norway. Perhaps this last form, which corresponds to *Gunlaf*, is the real source of the Irish *Caulog* with initial *c*, though that might have arisen in English or Irish from an erroneous understanding of the spoken words *King Havelok*.

[1]) See p. 15, below.

[2]) See p. 15, below.



the English, which relates them much more fully, suggests that his proposals were improper, whereas the Irish makes no mention of 'folye'. And the conditions in Chapter 1 are by no means peculiar. I have noted similar variations in thirty-nine out of forty-five chapters. Sometimes they concern unimportant details; sometimes the plot in the Irish is manifestly improved; occasionally the Irish redaction confuses the story; and in a few cases it appears to adjust it to the conventions of native tales. It is impossible to say how many of these modifications are deliberate changes on the part of the translator, but when all due allowance is made for his independence I think that many of the variations in plot as well as in the proper names must be attributed to his source.

Guy of Warwick was a mediaeval hero of the type of St. Alexis, and a principal feature of his story in all its forms is the desertion of his bride. All the versions, therefore, make a plea for religion and asceticism. But the Irish, as compared with the English, is particularly insistent on works of piety and charity. This has already been pointed out for Chapter 1.[1]) Again in Chapter 39 the pious deeds of Felice are described in Irish, but not in the corresponding portion of the English. In Chapters 19 and 35 the Irish makes special mention of prayers of which the English says nothing. But the most conspicuous addition of a religious nature is Chapter 34, which is otherwise of special interest. When Guy is overcome by remorse for his sins and decides to abandon Felice, the Irish romance alone represents him as seeking spiritual counsel and obtaining instruction in Christian doctrine. He sends for a holy father, John de Alcino, to whom he confesses his sins and by whom he is exhorted to keep the commandments, to avoid the eight[2]) mortal sins, to emulate the sufferings of the saints, and to believe in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed. The name of the confessor, John de Alcino, furnishes a clue to the source of this theological chapter. It is a condensation of part of the material

[1]) See p. 14, above.

[2]) The number, eight, of the mortal sins is of course not peculiar to this text, though the sevenfold classification is more familiar. On this point cf. K. Werner's Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert, pp. 253-4. An early Irish instance of the eightfold series is to be found in *Eriu* I, 194. Cf. also CZ. III, 24.


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found in the Middle English 'Speculum Gy de Warewyke',[1]) which rests in turn upon the 'Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis'[2]) of Alcuin. This moral treatise was originally written by Alcuin for a different Guy — Count Guido of Tours, a celebrated military leader under Charlemagne. But as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century it had become attached in England to Guy of Warwick, who is named as the recipient of the advice in the Auchinleck MS., the earliest copy of the 'Speculum'. On the other hand, in the romance of Guy contained in the same manuscript there is no reference to Alcuin or to the sermon, and I have not found the episode in any version except the Irish. The Irish redactor either made the combination himself, or had before him a romance into which the substance of the 'Speculum' had been woven. The latter of these suppositions appears to me the more probable. There is nothing else in the Irish text to indicate that the author compiled his work from different sources, and the combination in question would have been more naturally made by an Englishman than by a foreigner. A number of lost versions may intervene between the Irish 'Guy' and the known Middle English texts, and the 'Speculum' may have been several times abridged in the course of transmission. Or the source of the Irish chapter may have been derived in some other way from the 'Liber' of Alcuin. As it stands, it is much shorter than the 'Speculum' and does not agree with that closely in the arrangement of material. But the three principal elements in the Irish are to be found in the English poem. For the list of deadly sins see the 'Speculum', ll. 107 ff.; for a description of the sufferings of the saints, ll. 176 ff.; and for an exposition of portions of the Creed, ll. 200 ff.

Thus the Irish life of Guy makes probable the existence of an English romance which differed in one important feature, and may have departed in many details, from the known English versions of the story. As to the date of the assumed English original, a lower limit can perhaps be established by the grammatical analysis of the Irish text. Beyond this the Irish supplies another bit of possible evidence. The name of Guy's

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[1]) Edited by Miss G. L. Morrill for the Early English Text Society, 1898.

[2]) See Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. CI.


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father-in-law, as I have already pointed out,[1]) is changed from *Rohalt* (*Rohaut*, *Rohand*) to *Risderd*. The reasons for the substitution are entirely unknown, but it might have arisen from confusion with the name of a living Richard, Earl of Warwick, or from a deliberate purpose of complimenting him. There were two Earls of Warwick of that name in the fifteenth century.[2]) Richard de Beauchamp, who was born in 1382, was Earl from 1410 till his death in 1439, and Richard Neville (the king-maker), born in 1428, obtained the title by marriage in 1449, and died in 1471. As between the two, I think the general probabilities of date are in favor of the earlier. Moreover Beauchamp, we are told,[3]) travelling in the Holy Land in 1410, was feastened and given presents by the Lieutenant of the Soldan because of his supposed descent from Guy. In 1422 he endowed the chantry at Guy's Cliff. In view of his active interest in the romantic tradition of the house of Warwick it is quite conceivable that his Christian name may have got into some contemporary version of the story.

The Irish 'Bevis' is only a fragment, though a rather long one. The comparison of its contents with other versions of the story is made easy by Kölbing's edition[4]) of the Middle English texts and Stimming's edition[5]) of the Anglo-French. Both editors discuss the relations of the French, the English, the Welsh and the Norse redactions.[6]) Besides these mediaeval versions, I have also examined an English chap-book Bevis, probably of the year 1680.[7])

When compared with the French and English romances the Irish 'Bevis' shows less new material than the 'Guy'. It

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[1]) See p. 13, above.

[2]) See Dugdale's Baronage of England I, 243 ff., 304 ff.

[3]) The account of Beauchamp in Dugdale's Baronage rests partly upon the life of him by John Rous.

[4]) Early English Text Society, Extra Series 46, 48 and 65.

[5]) In Suchier's Bibliotheca Normannica, Vol. VII (Halle 1899).

[6]) The existence of the Irish 'Bevis' seems to have been unknown to Kölbing and Stimming, and also to R. Zenker, who has more recently investigated the cycle (Boeve-Amletus, Berlin 1905). Attention was called to it in Englische Studien XXIV, 463, where some corrections were also made in Kölbing's account of the Welsh version.

[7]) The Gallant History of the Life and Death of that Most Noble Knight Sir Bevis of Southampton (printed by A. M. for G. Deacon).

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contains no incident of importance not to be found in both the Middle English and the Anglo-French. But in the matter of minor variations it stands in about the same relation to them that the 'Guy' bears to the texts with which I have compared it. Out of 22 names[1]) of persons and places, 17 are the natural equivalents of those in the Middle English, 4 are explicable[2]) as modifications of the English, and only two (that of *Para*, the son of the Emperor, and that of *Biroig*,[3]) a stream on the borders of Scotland) are new. A comparison of the narratives shows constant variation in details. According to the Irish, Bevis's mother is in love with the son of the Emperor; and according to the Middle English and the French, with the Emperor himself. (In the chap-book of 1680 it is the Emperor's brother.) In the Irish account, her determination to marry her lover is awakened by seeing her own beauty in a bath. No such situation is mentioned in the French or the English. In both the French and the English the little Bevis is set to tend sheep, not swine; and there is no conversation parallel to that by which in the Irish version he is impelled to avenge his father's murder. In chapter 8 the Irish represents Bevis as journeying to India and Rhodes, while the Middle English takes him to Jerusalem, and the French to Jerusalem and Egypt. (The chap-book has no eastern travels at this point.) The episode of Sisian and Yvor in chapter 9 is introduced considerably earlier in the English and the French (and in the chap-book as well). The dragon-fight in chapter 11 contains some vivid details about four waves of vomit which are very likely the Irish redactor's own invention. From most of these features of the Irish narrative I am led to conclude that it had its source in a lost version. That this was probably English I infer from the

[1]) In these statistics I refer only to names of persons and places significant for the plot. No account is taken of general geographical references, religious allusions and the like.

[2]) The cases are: *Mermidonia* = *Ermonie*, *Armony*; *Sisian* = *Josiane*; *Memroine* (*Memrointe*) = *Mombraunt*; *Babilon* = *Babilent* or *Dabilent*. In the first instance it looks as if we had, on the part of the Irish translator or a predecessor, a reminiscence of the ancient Myrmidons.

[3]) *Biroig* I understand to be *Berwick*, though I do not find it mentioned in other versions, and though it appears in the Irish to be the name of a stream.

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proper names, as already pointed out,[1]) and also from the fact that where the French and English versions differ with regard to the details of the story, the Irish, if it does not depart from both, usually resembles the English.[2]) In a few cases where the Irish agrees with the French as against the Middle English metrical versions the English prose version of 1680 is like the Irish.

The result, then, of this comparison of both the 'Guy' and the 'Bevis' with the corresponding stories in other languages is to make it probable that the Irish lives are free redactions of lost English versions. The assumed original of the 'Bevis' appears not to have differed in any important particulars from the other existing forms of the story. In the case of the 'Guy', on the other hand, the Irish text points to the existence in English of a combination, hitherto unknown, of the romantic material proper with the religious material, originally distinct, of the 'Speculum Gy de Warewyke'.

Stylistically regarded, the Irish texts are clearly very free renderings of their originals. Though the number of foreign words in them may be somewhat larger because of their foreign sources, the manner of the narrative is thoroughly Irish, and they read in general like the native stories in the somewhat ornate prose of the period. The accumulation of adjectives and adverbs, often in alliterating groups of three, is characteristic of late Middle Irish, and the 'Guy' and 'Bevis' are by no means extreme examples of the practice. In this matter, and in the general structure of sentences, I have adhered in my translation very closely to the original, though the traditions of English prose are so different from those of Irish that the

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[1]) See p. 11, above.

[2]) In Kölbing's notes variations between the English and other versions are carefully registered. Many of the differences are matters of detail which do not appear in the Irish, but in nearly every significant point the Irish agrees with the English. Thus in both the Irish and the English accounts Bevis after wounding the Fmperor, meets Saber on the way, not at his home; in both the servant who goes from Sisian to Bevis is identified with Boneface; in both there is a description of the ditch or bridge outside Damascus; in both Bevis demands armor and fair play, when he is in Bradmond's power; in both Arundel runs away with Ybor instead of kicking him in the stable; and in both Bevis fights Grander, and not Bradmund as in the French.

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resulting style will sound sometimes monotonous, and sometimes redundant and artificial.

It is now nine years since I first copied and collated these texts at Dublin. During the interval I have profited several times by the courtesy and liberality of the Librarian and staff of Trinity College, and I now desire to express my grateful acknowledgements. I am also under much obligation to both the editors of the *Zeitschrift* for reading my proofs and giving me the benefit of their counsel. Wherever it is possible, particular acknowledgment will be made of their suggestions and corrections.

The Cranberry Isles,
Maine, U.S.A.
Autumn 1905.

F. N. Robinson.

Additional Note.

Since only one manuscript of these romances is known to me, I have simply tried to print its readings as accurately as possible. Obvious errors or omissions are occasionally corrected in the text or in foot-notes in order that the narrative may be readable. A certain amount of normalization is also involved in the punctuation and the separation of words and the expansion of contractions. But I have made no attempt to correct the grammar or orthography of the scribe. His errors and inconsistencies, for example, in initial mutations and in the general treatment of spirants have all been allowed to stand.

In the form in which my text was sent to press all expanded contractions were indicated by italics, so that the reading of the manuscript could be instantly ascertained in every case from the printed page. But out of regard for the strong preference of Professor Stern I have abandoned that plan and used italics only in cases which are in some respect doubtful or exceptional. The typographical appearance of the text is much improved by the change, and I think there has been no loss in accuracy. The work of the editor, however, has become less easy to control, and it is important for me to make an exact statement of the method I have pursued and the liberties I have allowed myself. Short specimens of the text with all the

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abbreviations indicated are furnished by the passages which Nettlau printed in the *Revue Celtique* X, 187 ff.

I have silently expanded all the ordinary 'compendia scribendi' unless their use appeared to be in a given case irregular. The scribe freely employed the signs for *acht* (*cht, sed*), *air, ar, cet, con, cu, ec, er* (*ir*), *est, et* (*ed*), *eth* (*edh*), *m, n, nem, or, ra, re, ri, ro, ru, uath, ur, us*; and certain extensions of their use are also so common in the manuscript that I have adopted them without resorting to italics. Thus the sign for *ur* clearly means sometimes *s* (as in *anoir, senoir*) and often *uir* (as in *docuir* 3 sg. pret.), though in a few cases the latter combination is indicated by an *i* with the sign for *ur* above it. The sign for *us* also sometimes stands for *uis*. I have inserted the *i* in cases where its omission would be grammatically misleading (as in *romarbuis,* 2 sg. pret., or *fochtuis,* 3 sg. pret. absol.), but I have allowed spellings like *eglus, fiadhnuse,* to stand, since the scribe does not consistently observe the principle of *caol le caol* when he spells out words in full. In the same way I have some times expanded the sign for *er* as *eir* (cf. *dobeir*, 3 sg. pres., of frequent occurrence), but I have left forms like *derc, serc* (dat. and acc.) without trying to introduce uniform indication of the *i*-infection. The abbreviation for *eth* (ꝥ) occurs a number of times in the ending of the preterite passive where I have expanded it as *edh* (*docuiredh*).

Besides silently expanding the abbreviations which stand for definite letters, I have also made no use of italics in supplying obvious vowels before *b, c, d, g,* written above the line (as in *rog*ᵇ, *t*ᶜ, *dam*ᵈ); and in cases where there could be no doubt about the construction I have added the endings of nouns and adjectives in *-ach, -ech* (*-aigh, -igh*), of preterites in *-aigh, -igh,* and of preterite passives and verbal nouns. All these are frequently indicated by a simple dash. In the case of verbal nouns in *-dh* and of preterite passives two abbreviations are usual with the scribe, — a dash (*rofer-*), and a *d* above the line (*rofoer*ᵈ). For the former cases I have used the spirant *dh,* and for the latter the unaspirated *d.* Both forms occur in words which the scribe has spelled out in full, and the distinction between them was of no importance.

In addition to the contractions thus far provided for, there are a considerable number of words habitually abbreviated by

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the scribe in accordance with the practice of Middle Irish manuscripts. Those which occur oftenest, and about which there can be no real doubt, I have expanded without italics, using the grammatical form required by the context. A list of them is given here. In all other words italics are used unless the manuscript abbreviations represent definite letters or the syllables provided for above.

1) Many proper names, such as *S̄. G. o B.*, *Sir Gyi o Berbuic*; *S̄. B.*, *Sir Bibus*.

2) Numerals.

3) The following words:

adbert, adubairt, adubradar.
adbul
alludh
amach
amail (and its compounds)
amlaidh
archena
ata
athair
bliadain
briathar
cath
cathair
cloidhem
Crist, Cristaidhe
cubaidh
diablaidhe
didiu
diuice
dono
dochum
dunad
esbaid
espoc
fledh
focal
gach
gabail (and its compounds)
galar
iarum
immorro
ingen
inbaid
itir
mac
mathair
menma
menmarc
minic
mullach
nach
nech
nert
no
scel
senoir
slan, slainte
slegh
slighe
sluagh
sochraite
spirut
tabairt
talam
tapaidh
ullam
uisce

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In the matter of accents I have endeavored to follow the manuscript, disregarding those, however, which obviously do not mean quantity but serve only to distinguish the letter *i*. Probably some of the scribe's accents have been overlooked because of their faintness, but I have not intentionally inserted any of my own. I ought to explain that Professor Stern would have preferred the consistent marking of all long vowels, but I did not wish to go quite so far in the normalization of the text. I am therefore alone responsible for the method adopted. In some other respects, too, my text follows the manuscript rather than the usual practice of modern Irish writers. The preterital prefixes *do* and *ro*, for example, I have regularly combined with their verbs, and certain, enclitics which are commonly written separately I have set off by hyphens. These are not matters of importance. I cannot claim theoretic consistency in my use of hyphens, but I hope none of them will prove misleading. My general purpose has been to adhere closely to the manuscript, and at the same time to make the printed text easily intelligible.

There are of course endless opportunities for error in reproducing a text of such irregular orthography, and I regret that I cannot compare the proofs with the original. But in order to make the mistakes as few as possible I had the manuscript photographed after copying and collating it.

In the Glossary I have meant to register only such words as are not fully accounted for in Windisch's *Wörterbuch*. Both there and in the foot-notes references by number and letter (306a, 315b, etc.) are to the pages and columns of the manuscript, which are indicated in the Irish text. Some of the footnotes which accompany the translation will be found to contain comment of a textual nature. I expected at first to have the Irish and English printed on opposite pages, but that method proved to be too wasteful of space.

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[300a] **Beathadh Sir Gui [o Bhar]bhuic.**

1. Bui iarla soim saidhbir a Saxanaib doshindrudh, diarba comainm Risderd o Bharbhaicc, 7 robúi da iarlacht aigi .i. iarlacht o Bharbhuicc 7 iarlacht Bocigam, 7 dob fer saidhbir, sochinelach in t-iarla co n-ilimud gacha maithusa.[1]) 7 Robui ingen cruthach, caemhaluind a dingmala aigi .i. Feilis a hainm-sidhe, 7 ni roibhi ina haimsir ben dob ferr delbh 7 denum, modh 7 múnudh, druine 7 dethbes, na'n ingin-sin. Docuiredh immorro ardmaigistir dia munud annsna hel[*adhnaibh*] sáera, 7 nir cian iarum disi co mell*adh* a maigistir i ngach ealathain, co tucc in maigistir slat a muinti[2]) di budhein iarna sharugudh di i ngach egna a cinn a secht[3]) mbliadhna dec dosinnrud. Co clos fon uili domhun a dethclú itir egna 7 ordan 7 einech, etir cradhbudh 7 ciunus 7 cunnlacht, itir gloine 7 gais 7 glicus, gur bo lán da serc 7 da sírgradh uaisli 7 ardmaithi na cruinne co comcoitcenn. Robúi didiu sdibard uasal, oirbindech ag iarla o Barbuicc an inbuidh sin .i. Siccard a ainm sidhe, 7 dob fer furtill, fírchalma é, co mbuaidh coscuir 7 commaidhmi i ngach gním robo dír do neoch dobeth aigi. Gemad uathadh don iarla, nír ba homhun lais n*er*t sluaigh na sochraiti acht co mbeth in t-uasal barun-sin aga imcoimét. 7 Is é robidh ac tabhach a císsa 7 a chana don iarla, 7 gidbe donídh dogra no doible fris im cis in iarla, doberadh san achar 7 innarb*a* asa flaithus fein forra. Robui mac a dingmala agan sdibard-sin, Gyi a ainm-side, 7 rosháraigh na huili macu a aimsiri ar mét ar maisi ar macantacht, ar nos ar nert ar nidechus, ar uaill ar aicnedh ar arachtus, gur ba lan na cricha co comlán 7 na cennacha comfocuiss dia clú 7 dia alludh, 7 gach inadh ina cluineadh Gyi cluithighi aonaig 7 ibhnis 7 oirechtais ar fedh 7 ar fiarlaidh crichi[4]) saeruaisli Saxan, [300b] dofreagradh iat 7 doberadh buaidh gacha buidhni co barr uil[e]. 7 Dosharuighedh lucht gacha lamaigh co lanaibeil, 7 doberedh almsa 7 othrala[5]) minca dona heglasaibh, 7 doberedh

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[1]) Perhaps rather to be expanded *maithiusa*. Here and in *flaithus*, below, I have given the abbreviation its usual value of *us*.

[2]) Clearly *muinti* and not *muinci*, as Nettlau printed it (RC. X, 187).

[3]) Here and in many other cases where the MS. has the sign of the numeral, I have regularly expanded these abbreviations in my text.

[4]) MS. *crici*? In many cases the marks of aspiration are indistinct.

[5]) Perhaps *otrala*; aspiration again doubtful.

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dercinna 7 dethcealta do deb[l]enaibh Dé, 7 roannluiccedh na mairbh gan murmur gan mainnechtnaighi, 7 doberedh fisrugudh don lucht nobidh a carcair 7 a cumgach, 7 donidh na h-uili obuir trocuire diar-mol in eglus ina aimsir, 7 robui co daingen, duthrachtach isin creidem cathoilic[d]a. Dorinne iarla o Berbuicc sguiger do Gy in tan sin. Is ann sin rohullmuigedh flegh 7 fésta na cingcisi d'iarla o Berbuicc 7 docruinnigh maithi a muindteri cuigi dia tochaithem. 7 Rogair in t-iarla Gyi ina docum, 7 rofer failti fris, 7 adubairt: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'cuirim freastal 7 fritholum Feilisi fort re fedh na fledhi-so do chaitem, 7 dena hé co suilbir, sogradhach'. Adubairt Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'doden-sa mo dichill don dethríghain-sin'. Dala Gyi immorro docuir sé léine sremnaighi sroill re grian a geilchnis, 7 inar ingnathach orsnaith 7 gúdna sgiamach sgarloide air amuigh anechtair. 7 Docuaidh roime fon maisi-sin co grianan na h-ingine, 7 robennaigh di, 7 dolig ara gluinib ina fiadhnuse e, 7 roinnis di curob de féin rohaithnighedh a cuid don fleigh do fritholudh uirre cona banntracht. Fochtuis Feilis scela de, ce he budein 7 ca crich no cinel do. Adubairt Gyi: 'Mac baruin uasail me do muindtir h'athar-sa, 7 is se m'athair is [s]dibard 7 is marusgal tigi ag iarla o Berbuicc, 7 Gyi m'ainm', ar-se. 'Docuala h'airem 7 h'ardnos', ar an ingen, '7 is e mocen dom thecht[1]) [7] dom serbis'. Roeirigh an righan, 7 ronigh 7 ronuacorigh a gnuis 7 a gelaghaid, 7 doronsad an banntracht an cetna. Dala Gyi ann, rothoirbir nua bidh 7 sen corma gan coigilt don ríghain 7 da banntracht re re teora la 7 teora n-aidchi, co mba bu[dech], bennachtach Feilis cona banntracht don freastal [301a] dotug Gyi forra ar fedh na fleidhe-sin. Agus tug an banntracht serc síradhbul do Gyi asa gnimartaibh. 7 Tug Gyi gradh díchra, dofuluing don rigain, innus gur ba modurdha, mesgaigthi, mímenm[n]ach Gyi dia serc 7 dia sírgradh. 7 Imtusa Gyi iarum, doroine úmla 7 aidid 7 umaloid don righain, 7 roceilebuir di asa h-aithli, 7 docuaidh roime da seomra, 7 robúi ar serg shirghal*air*[2]) and, 7 fochtuid a muindter cred tainicc ris. Adubairt Gyi nar fhitir cred tanicc ris, 7 'is doigh', ar sé, 'is gar bas damh', 7 doclos fon cathraigh uili Gyi do beith gallrach, guasachtach, 7 is mór dogoill sin ar cách a coitcinne. 7 Docuir

[1]) Possibly *thimthirecht*? The word is obscured by an erasure.
[2]) Expansion uncertain.


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immorro in t-iarla fisigh fíreolach docum Gyi, 7 fochtuis cred tainicc ris. Adubairt Gyi ba tes teinntemail, tromadhbul 7 fuacht frithir, firdomhuin. Doraidh in fissi ba fiabras combuider*thá*[1]) causdin bui fair. Cáicis do Gyi mur sin gan tsluaigh, gan tsuilberacht, gan sólas. 7 Docuaidh Gyi a cinn na ree-sin mur a roibhi Feilis co fíraibeil, 7 doroine umla 7 anoir di. 7 Adubairt: 'A maighden milla, malachdubh, 7 a ainner aluind, ilcrothach', ar-sé, 'tabur furtacht co fíraibheil form a n-anoir na trinoidi co tairisi, uair ní fheduim rún na riaghail ar mo ghalur budesta. Uair ata a lan am curp 7 am com dot sherc-si[2]) 7 dot sirgradh ar adhnudh 7 ar fhadudh, 7 ní ba buan mo beth gan bas 7 gan bithég, muna fagar cuman mo gradha uaid-si, a rigan uasal', ar-se. Doraidh Feilis: 'Is ainndiuid, amnaireach, econd tosach h'uraghaill, a Gyi', ar-si, 'uair is trom in tár 7 in tarcaisne tugaisi form-sa .i. m'iaraidh-si do bhancheile led bogbhriathraib begnaracha, uair ni fuil mac righ uasail, na diuice dainnech, detharrachta, na iarla uasal, urrunta, [301b] na triath toicthech, tromthalmach a n-iartur na hEorpa, nach tug gradh adhbul dam-sa in met ata a n-oghacht no a n-æntuma dibh, 7 ni tugusa cumain a gradha d'ænduine acu; 7 a fir mo freastail [7] mo fritholma, is ecoir do sailisi misi d'faghail do bainseitci'. Adubairt Feilis: 'A Gyi', ar-si, 'fagaibh co fíraibel mhé, 7 bidh fo pein t'anma ort gan techt mur a mber co crich do bais'. Docuaidh Gyi iar-sin dia seomra, 7 rofás bisech buanaibhsech galair 7 guasachta fair re freagra na finnmna, 7 robúi ag achlan 7 ac imdergadh 7 ag [g]reannugudh in báis, uar rob ferr lais bás d'fhaghail na betha, 7 robui ag imdergadh 7 ag athaisiugudh an gradha. Is ann-sin rofhech Gyi aran tor comhdaingin cloichi ina roibhi in rigan, 7 adubairt co himnedach, athruath: 'Is aibind duit a thuir', ar-sé, 'da mbeth resun agud, uair is aibinn in radarc fuil innud, 7 is truagh nach faicim builli dom shuil di'. 7 Dobi in barun uasal .i. ath[air] Gyi co himnedach tri Gyi do beth sa guasacht ana roibhi se, 7 dobi a mathair mur an cetna. 7 Dala iarla o Berbuicc, robui fein cona teghlach lan do bron 7 do doilghis tri Gyi do beth co gallrach. Araile la iarsin adubairt Gyi co geranach: 'Dogebh bas co prap o gere mo gradha don righain,

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[1]) The last letters are not clear.

[2]) MS. *doṫ serçsi.*

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da n-anar mur so co fada; 7 is ferr lium bas d'fulung on iarla iar faicsin a ingine na'n gradh dom marbadh'. Docuaidh Gyi iarsin docum an tuir ina roibi in rigan, 7 dosmuain fuirri, 7 dothoit a n-anmainne iar-sin, 7 roeirigh co prap asa neoll 7 ni roairigh nach é mur sin. 7 Dohinnsed do Gyi co roibi in righan [....][1]) a n-erber[2]) uaingech re tæbh in tuir. 7 Docuaidh Gyi astegh isin n-erber, 7 rocrom fo cosuibh na righna, 7 doshir grasa fuirre. 7 Adubairt Gyi: 'Tanag cugud, a banntigerna', ar-se, 'tar do crois, 7 rotuillis bas d'fagail, 7 dena trocuire orum'. Tug in rigan diultadh do, 7 robagair fair, 7 adubairt: 'Da cluined in t-iarla in t-uirigill-sin, a Gyi', [302a] ar-si, 'roimeorudh bás ort'. Iarna clos-sin do Gyi rothoit a taisi 7 a taimneoll, 7 dotiucfadh da[3]) hannlacudh nach budh ferr cruth 7 cæmgne na sé. Doraidh cumal coimidechta ingine in iarla: 'Truagh sin, a baindtigerna', ar-si, 'uair is naimdighi, niata, nemtrocuireach atai risin sguiger suairc, socharthanach. 7 Doberim mo briathar',[4]) ar-si, 'damad ingen don imper me, 7 airdrighnacht na cruinne dom chumus, ni licfind sud d'fagail bais dom gradh gan a cabur do briathraib blasta, binngloracha'. Doraidh Feilis risin cumhuil: 'Togaibh Gyi', ar-si, 'ina shuidhi 7 cunnaibh re t'ucht e 7 re t'[f]ormna'; 7 dorinde in cumul sin. 7 Roeirigh Gyi asa neoll iarum, 7 roaigill in righan arís, 7 rodiult si dó, 7 dorindi bagar air a hucht a hathar 7 adubairt co fuigedh sé bas arson a comraidh. Doraidh Gyi: 'A rigan', ar-se, 'atá ar cumus duid-si bas coir no ecoir do thabairt damh, uair is uaid-si is ferr lium bas d'fhaghail', ar-se; 7 dothoit taisi[5]) 7 tromanmfainne a haithle na mbriathar-sin. Doglacc in righan ar laim é, 7 adubairt: 'A Gyi', ar-si, 'ni thiur-sa mo gradh d'fir acht do ridiri co mbuaidh crotha 7 cæmdhenmusa, co mbuaid n-indsgni 7 n-urlabra, co mbuaidh n-einigh [7] n-engnama, co mbuaidh ngnima 7 ngaiscidh. 7 Gidhbe robeth mur sin rofaidhfinn-si lais'. Ba binn la Gyi na bríathra-sin, 7 roimigh co luthairech asin n-erber, 7 dochuaidh ina seomra, 7 docuir a deisi ænaigh 7 oirechtais uime, 7 docuaidh mur a roibh iarla o

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[1]) This word is written indistinctly above the line.

[2]) Cf. asin n-*er*ber, below. It is from the English *erber, herber*.

[3]) *da* is not clear, and there appears to be an erasure before it.

[4]) *mo briathar* is omitted in the MS. and written in at the top of the page.

[5]) l. [i]*taisi*?

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Berbuicc, 7 roferadh failti fris ann. Doraidh Gyi: 'A tigerna gradhach', ar-se, 'gach a nderna fein do maith riam is duid-si dorindus he, 7 gach maith da n-ingen is duid rob [302b] ail lium do denum, 7 tabur gradha ridirechta damh budesta'. Doraidh in t-iarla: 'Dober co craidhi maith sin duit maill*e*[1]) taburtus mór'. Is ann-sin dorindi in t-iarla ridiri do Gyi iar n-estecht nan aimfrinn domnach in spiruta næim dotsinnrud, 7 dohoirdnedh fiche an la-soin a ngradhaibh ridirechta mur anoir do Gyi. 7 Roguidh in t-iarla cona teglach in t-ændia rocum nem 7 tal*main* fa buaidh ratha 7 ridirechta do beth fur Gy. Is ann-sin docuaidh Sir Gy co suilbir, sogradhach ina deisi ridiri mur a roibhi ingen in iarla 7 rothaiselbh é féin di. 7 Adubairt: 'A righan', ar-se, 'tuicid gur mor in cradh 7 in cunntabart ina rabhusa dod grad coruigi so, 7 is duid rogabusa gradha ridirechta re m'ais'. Doraidh Feilis: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-si, 'na bith athus ort tri beth ad ridiri a ndóigh mo gradha-sa d'faghail, uair atái ad ridiri ogh gan derbadh gaisgidh na gnimechta fos. 7 Da nderbair do lamh a cein 7 a fogus, a cathaibh 7 a comlannaibh, dodhén-sa do thoil'. 7 Doruc Gyi buidechus na freagurtha-sin risin rigain, 7 roimigh roime asa haithli mur a roibi a athair 7 a mathair, 7 roinnis doibh gur gabh se gradha ridirechta, 7 'rachud romam do cuartugudh crich 7 cinel do derbudh mo gnima 7 mo gaiscidh'. Adubairt in barun: 'Curob ar sén amhunntuir 7 edala duid-si sin', ar-se, 7 adubairt a mathair in cetna. 7 Tuc iarum Sicart Sir Eront cuigi .i. ridiri croda, cosgurthach, 7 Sir Uront 7 Sir Uri, 7 adubairt riu beth ina tri trenferuib tailci, togaidhi, 7 ina tri postaighibh feramla, firarrachta a timcill Sir Gyi da cæmna 7 da coimet isna crichaib ciana, coimigthi ina triallann dul, 7 'coimétaidh co maith é'; 7 rogabsud re n'ais coidingendais a n [303a] dicill dó. 7 Docuir an t-uasal barun a lordæthain bidh 7 loin leo ina luing. Conidh i eslainti 7 guasacht Sir Gyi o Berbuicc tri gradh ingine in iarla connicci sin, *et reliqua*.

2. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, docuaidh ina luing cona triar ridiri, 7 tucsud sraccudh sanntach, sirlaidir, sruthluaimnech isin senfhairrgi, 7 rogabhsat cuan cobhsaidh, cluthardaingen isin nOrmoint.[2]) 7 Docuadur iarsin co cathraigh móir na hOrmointi,[2])

[1]) l. *maille le* (or *re*)?

[2]) With *Ormoint* 'Normandy' cf. *Orbuaid* 'Norway', CZ. II, 308, and the parallels cited by Stokes.


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7 dogabadur tegh osta in aidchi-sin 7 rocaithsit biadh 7 deoch. 7 Doraidh Gyi re fer in tighi ósta. 'Dochunnuc', ar-se, 'luirecha aga roludh 7 slega aca slibudh 7 cloidhme aca cretglanudh 7 sgeith aca sgiamcorugudh 7 craidhthi aga cur fo chursunaibh 7 fo caomechaibh 7 dilata aga ndaingniúgudh 7 glædhi aga ngormudh 7 na huili trealma gaisgidh aga corugudh, 7 ni fedar créd is adbur do'. Doraidh fer in tigi osta: 'Ingen alaind, æntumha ata agan imper, 7 ni hail le fer acht anté berus gell gaisgidh 7 gnimechta na cruinne co comcoitcenn, 7 is doigh leisin n-impiri nach fuil deichnemhar[1]) læch lancalma isin domun nach coiscfedh féin ina ænar. 7 Tangadur anois mic righ na hEspaine 7 na hAfraice 7 na Greige 7 na Fraingce 7 na Sisaile 7 na Hungaire 7 na Fuardachta 7 na Deolainne 7 na cethra treabh Lochlann 7 in domun uili archena co cathair an imperi cum na giustala-sin, 7 is do dul cuici atait cuingedha curadhcúisecha na catrach-so a[c] corughudh a n-arm 7 a n-ilfæbur. 7 Gidh doberedh buaidh na giustala-sin, dogebha se da fáubhcun glegeala, 7 da sdét sdimleabhra, 7 da fercoin fírarrachta fur an dath cetna. 7 An righan amra, oir*eghdh*a[2]) .i. ingen an imper d'ænmai, 7 oidhrecht an imperi iar mbas do'. Tug immorro Sir Gyi sdet fosaidh, fírlaidir d'fer an tighi ósta do luagh na sceolsin, 7 adubairt rena muinntir [303b] menma 7 meisnech maith do beth acu, 7 co rachdis co dunad an imperi do d'fechain an cathaighthi 7 in cruadhcomruicc sin. Conidh i cuairt Sir Gy sa nOrmoint sin.

3. Dala Sir Gyi, ar maidin[3]) iarnamarach rogluais roime cona triar ridiri, 7 nír an, 7 nír fhosaidh, noco rainig co dunad an imper; 7 dochunnaic na sluaigh fur in faithchi, 7 ænridiri leidmech, lanchalma ina dheisi comdhaingin catha a n-inadh na graibhfne 7 na giustala, 7 fochtuis Sir Gy scela an ridiri-sin; 7 adubairt: 'Aroile mac don imper sud', ar-se, 'leis nach doigh fer a choisc da faghail a cath na a comlann 7 Sir Gayer a ainm'. Iarna chlos sin do Sir Gyi, docuaidh ina comdail co cetfadach, 7 roferudar comrac fuilech, firneimnech re hedh 7 re hathaig, 7 docuir Sir Gayer slegh tri sgiath 7 tri luirigh Sir Gyi, 7 roeirigh an slegh as, 7 ni derna si dith dia curp; 7 tuc Sir Gyi builli brighmur, buanarrachta do mac an imperi, 7 rothilg teora

[1]) MS. *.x. nemhar*.
[2]) MS. *oira*.
[3]) An erasure in the MS.

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ceimenn asa dilait é, 7 roboin an t-ech de, 7 tuc do sguiger robúi faris hi. Tanicc iar-sin Otun .i. Diuici na Pani do comrac re Gyi co seitreach, síreалma, 7 docuir Sir Gyi slegh trina sciath 7 trina slinnen, 7 rotrascair é, 7 roben a ech de. Tanicc derbrathair athar Diuice Otun co poinnighi, primarrachta co lathair in comruic, 7 adubairt co dasachtach: 'Romarbhus mac mo derbrathar', ar-se, '7 is olc in lesugudh 7 in laneruic tú féin ann'. 7 Docuaidh Sir Gyi ina coinne, 7 dotrascrad in diuice le Sir Gyi, 7 roglac Sir Gyi in t-ech ar aradhain, 7 iar n-ergi don diuice asa nell tuc Sir Gyi a ech féin do. 7 Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Ber buidechus rium-sa, a diuice Rener', ar-se, 'd'faghail duid, uair ni do marbudh dhaine tanag-sa ann so acht dia cengul 7 dia cuibhrech gan marbadh'. Docuaid Diuice Rener fura sdét iarum, 7 adubairt: 'A ridiri leidmigh, lancalma', ar-se, 'innis h'athairthír duind'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Do crichaib særuaisli Saxan damh', ar-se, '7 Ser Gyi o Berbuic m'ainm 7 m'fis 7 m'eolus ag sluaghaibh særuaisli Saxan'. [304a] Tanicc iarom Diui[c]e Anan a comdhail Gyi, 7 dorindedur comhrug discir, dasachtach reroile, 7 fa crechtach, crolinntech na f*er*[1]) on afurgaib co fíraibeil. Iarna fhaiccsin-sin do Sir Eront, tanicc sé do chabur Sir Gyi on anfurlann-sin, 7 tuc builli buanarrachta don diuice, gur cuir sleg trina sciath 7 trina craidhi, co torcuir marb gan [an]main. Tanic Diuice Uadiner a comhdail Gyi, 7 cloidheam claslethan, coinnlenach, cruadhach ina laim, 7 romaigh bás co bithurrlum ar Gyi. Teitt iarum Gyi co grennmur, gnimechtach a comdail in diuice, 7 doronsud comrucc curata, cruadhcuisech re hedh cían, 7 tangadur drechta dána, deththapaidh d'uaislibh 7 d'ardmaithibh na sluagh do chumnum do Diuice Uadiner anaig*idh* Sir Gyi. Iarna fhaicsin-sin do Sir Heront 7 don da ridiri leidmecha, lancalma ele .i. Sir Turont 7 Sir Uri, tangadur nathfuaithnedhaibh (?)[2]) ferrdha, feramla, furniata a timcill Sir Gyi aga imcoimét ar armaibh a escarnamat. 7 Tucsat cath fich[d]a, ferdha, fuilech, fírneimnech di aroile, gunar ba tana silchur na faithci o na feruib na fænluighi o beimeannuibh gaibhthecha, greannmura Gyi cona triar ridiri; 7 is mór dothoit leo na cethrar in la-sin, 7 co hairighthi le Gyi. Is edh[3]) fuil fur cuimne de .i. se cet[4]) ridiri dothoit la Sir Gyi 'na ænar an la-sin

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[1]) *án fir?*

[2]) Reading uncertain.

[3]) MS. *IS̄*.

[4]) MS. *.c.*

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isin cathgleo-sin. Is ann-sin doteithedur na sluaigh i ngach aird la huaman Sir Gyi, 7 dofagadh in faidhchi folum fai, 7 dodiultad comhrac no cathughudh fris. Docuaidh Sir Gyi sin cathraigh iarsin cona mhuintir, 7 rogabsat tegh osta innti, 7 roben Sir Gyi a éideth de, 7 robadur fuindeoga fairsingi, fír-doimni fura curp. Is ann sin dorainic in t-imper ina cuirt fein, 7 adubairt an t-imper a fiadnusi na sluagh: 'Robuadhaigh in ridiri seitreach, sírcalma Saxanach oruind uil,[1]) 7 ni fuil fer cudruma na cathaighti ris isin domun. 7 Cuirter techta cuigi leis na seoduibh dogelladh d'fer buadhaighti na giustala .i. co Gyi o Berbuic'. Docuiredh iarum sguiger [304b] lesna seoduib co Sir Gyi, 7 tug dó iat .i. da fhabcun firaille, 7 da ferchoin arrachta, oiregdha,[2]) 7 da sdét sdimleabla,[3]) sduaghbraighdecha; 7 robadur na se seoid-sin ar ændath ule, ar dath alainn eala. 7 Rofer in sguiger docuaidh leis fircáin failti re Sir Gyi, 7 adubairt: 'Gu fairsingidhi in firdia furbarach romud i ngach cumgach 7 i ngach tennta ina mbeir, uair is lán cuirtenna 7 cathracha na cruinne co comcoitcenn do scelaibh do gnima 7 do gaisgid. 7 Docuir Bloinsiflugar .i. ingen an imperi betha 7 slainti cugud, 7 is tú a rogha nuachair, ma tai gan ceile cnesta ara cind agud.' Dorug Sir Gyi buidechüs risin riagain rathmu[i]r, rouasail arson a tinnlaic[th]i 7 a taburtuis, 7 dothairg Sir Gyi ridiri do denum do[4]) sguiger tainic lesna seoduibh cuigi o ingin an imperi, 7 dodiult an sguiger sin, uair adubairt nach rainic se ais inme na taburtus d'faghail. Tug Sir Gy ór alainn gan uiresbadh 7 airged don sguiger, 7 roimigh uadha asa haithli. Dala Sir Gyi dono, docuir se techta lesna seodaibh sin a crichaibh Saxan docum Iarla o Berbuic, 7 tucadh dó iad, 7 roindsidur na techta scela gaibhtecha, greannmura[5]) Gyi o rofhagaibh cricha Saxan co hæs na huaire-sin, 7 docuiredur na scela-sin menma 7 moraicned isin n-iarla cona muindtir. 7 Ba luthairech le righ Saxan co maithibh a morteghlaigh gaiscedh gnimechtach Gyi iar clos na scel-sin doibh. Conidh e cetgnim gaisgidh Sir Gyi iar fagbail Saxan do conicci sin.

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[1]) l. *uili.* Cf. *uil* above p. 24.
[2]) MS. *oir̃a.*
[3]) l. *sdimleabra.* Cf. 303a, above.
[4]) l. *don?*
[5]) Something seems to be omitted.

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4. Dala Sir Gyi iarum doc[u]aidh se a crichaibh fairsinge, firaille na Fraingci 7 a crichuibh leidmecha, lánarrachta na Lumbarde, 7 fuair ilimud cathaigthi 7 cruadhcomraic isna crichuibh sin, 7 docuir a n-ar, 7 dochuaidh tar comairem ar thuit la Gyi isna crichaibh sin, 7 fuair ilimud oir 7 airgit 7 ilmaine [305a] isna mórthirtibh-sin. 7 Tuc Sir Gyi cath iar-sin do diuici na Lumbairdi, 7 robris forra co bithnertmur, borbaicenntach, 7 rocuir a n-ár, 7 robui se caicis on callaind co 'cheile ag ledairt 7 ag lanmarbudh na Lumbardhach, 7 rob*en* a n-or 7 a n-indmus 7 a n-uili maithus dibh. Is ann-sin doconnuic Sir Gy deich cet[1]) læch leidmech, lanchalma, do Lumbardachaibh ac techt ina ndhochum, 7 trealaighi comdaingne catha impu, 7 ænridiri mermenm[n]ach, móraicentach rompa, 7 sdét faitech, foluaimnech fai. 7 Adubairt co fergach, furniata re Gyi: 'A ridiri rechtaigenntaigh, roaingidhi, lig roind gaiscidh 7 gnimechta duinne budhesta, 7 tabur pairt édala crichi na Lumbairdi duinn'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Dogebuir-si roinn edala 7 amhanntair buaim-si', ar-sé, 'mas tre caines 7 cumann iaraidh é; 7 mas tre bagur 7 borbaicnedh adubrais na briathra-sin, dogebuir bas 7 buanég co prap'. Is amlaidh robúi in ridiri-sin, 7 ga leabur, lanfada ina laim, 7 ga gerr, greannmur giustala ina laim. 7 Docuiredur in da sdét a n-arrthaisc a cheile, 7 docuaidh Sir Gyi fan sleigh slinnger, sithfhada robui agan ridiri, 7 docuir sleigh trina thæbh, 7 dochunnaibh aran slegh e. Rotuirrling Sir Gyi, 7 roglac in ridiri, 7 adubairt ris: 'Iar grasa budesta no dogebuir bás co bithurrlum'. Is ann-sin dorindi in ridiri bagar 7 becni do briathraibh Sir Gyi. 7 Tucc an ridiri builli borb, bithner[t]mur furan mbarr mbuabuill robúi fo braigid, 7 tangadur a muinnter ina dochum. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Tuicim', ar-sé, 'curob fer fill 7 fingaile thu, a ridiri', ar-sé, '7 coimed thú féin budesta'. 7 Is amlaidh adubairt 7 ronocht an cloidhemh claslethan, comurtharach,[2]) 7 tug sathadh sanntach, sircalma san ridiri gur cuir in cloideam trina craidhi co cudruma, 7 torcuir marbh gan anmain. Tangadar na deich cet[3]) ridiri rochalma [305b] ele co lathair fo guth an barr buabhuill, 7 tugadar cath dian, dasachtac d'aroile 7 torcair se cet[4]) dibh fo medhon læ le laim Gyi, 7 dothorcair da cet[5]) ele

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[1]) MS. *.x. c.*

[2]) l. *comurthach.*

[3]) MS. *.x. c.*

[4]) MS. *.6. c.*

[5]) MS. *da .c.*

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leis dib tareis medoin læ, 7 roimgedur da cet as dibh le luas a n-ech. Conidh i digbail na Lumbardach o Gyi connici sin.

5. Dala iarum[1]) 7 docuaidh roime a crichaibh na Britaine, 7 robúi iarla isin Britain in tan darb ainm Iarla Birri, 7 robúi ingen alainn, æntuma aigi, 7 nirb ail le fer na ferceile acht rogha gaiscedhach na cruinne co comcoitcenn. 7 Tug an t-iarla craidhail giustail teora la do beth ag ridiribh crodha in domhun a timcill na hingine, 7 robadur tri cet[2]) ridiri feramla, furniata, frangcach ar techt cum na giustal[a]-sin. Dala Sir Gyi immorro, rocirrbad 7 rocrechtnaigedh se cet[3]) læch leidmech, lancalma co lanurrlum leis an cetla, 7 drong dibh fur echuib 7 aroile dia cois. Tanic Gyi iarum andara la san ngiustail, 7 nir freaguir ænduin[e] he, 7 adubhairt[4]) drong dibh: 'Is é in ridiri úd domarbh se [cet][5]) læch sa Lumbaird a n-ænlo'; 7 rogabsad ag innisin 7 ag adhmoladh a gnim 7 a gaisgid, 7 dolocsat cach a coitcinne comrac re Sir Gyi an la-sin. 7 Tanic Sir Gyi in treas la docum na giustala, 7 rogreannaigh na sluaigh uile dia cois do cathugudh fris, 7 dodiultadur uili dó, 7 roimpoighedur rompa dia n-arusaibh budhein asa haithli. Dala Iarla o Birri immorro, docuir techta co Sir Gyi le dá cursun glegeala gnimurrlama, 7 rothairg a ingen mur mnai dó gun a uili maithus le, 7 adubairt nach roibi sa cruinde co comlan fer rob ferr leis do beth aga ingin na Sir Gyi. Dorug Sir Gyi buidechus a anora risin iarla arson a thaburtuis, 7 rodiult don ingin arson ingine Iarla o Berbuic, 7 adubairt co n[d]ingned les 7 lanmaithus in iarla i ngach tennta ina mbeth a cumain a thaburtuis. 7 Tug Gyi da fichit[6]) nobla dergoir do thechtaire in iarla. Conidh i cuairt Sir Gyi o Berbuic a cribuib[7]) brighmura na Britainne conigi sin, *et reliqua*.

6. [306 a] Dala Gyi iarum tainic tarais a crichaib Saxan, 7 docuaidh mur a roibh in ri, 7 rofer in rí 7 maithi fírcain failti fri Gyi ar romét a clua 7 a allaidh annsn[a] tirthaibh ciana ina ndechaidh. Is ann-sin tug righ Saxan ór 7 airged 7 na huili maith archena do Gyi. Docuaidh Sir Gyi iarsin a cenn Iarla

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[1]) Several words apparently omitted.
[2]) MS. *tri* .*c*.
[3]) MS. *se* .*c*.
[4]) MS. *a* .*d̄*.
[5]) MS. .*s*. *læch*. *cet* is obviously to be supplied.
[6]) MS. .*xl*.
[7]) l. *crichuib*.

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o Berbuic, 7 dorinne in t-iarla cona muindtir anoir do Sir Gyi. 7 Docuaidh Sir Gyi iarsin co grianan firalainn Feilisi, 7 adubairt re: 'Doronusa ilimud gaisgidh 7 gnimechta ar do gradh-so 7 ar h'onoir, a righan', ar-se, '7 comuill do ghelladh dam-sa budesta'. 'Da ndernaind-si sin', ar-si, 'ní dingenta-sa ní budh uilli do goil na do gaiscedh, 7 co déinin[1]) ni ba fer dam-sa co brach thú, acht ni na[2]) beruir gell gaiscidh 7 gnimechta o ridiribh na cruinne co comlan.' Doráidh Sir Gyi: 'ni cusmail co mberuind-si an gell-sin', ar-se, 'uair is imdha ridiri dana, dethcluach isin domun, 7 is docair an geall do breith. 7 Gideth toitfet-sa leo no buaidheochad forra'. 7 Docuaidh iar-sin a cenn a tusm*igh*thora,[3]) 7 rocheileabhair doibh, 7 robadur idir óg 7 sen ag diuaire[4]) ina diaigh. Conidh i cuairt Gyi a crichaibh Saxan connicci.

7. Imthusa Sir Gyi iarsin docuaidh roime 'san Ormon, 7 robui ingen óg a n-æntuma in inbaid-sin ag righ Frangc co mbuaidh ndeilbhe 7 ndenmusa; 7 tug rí Frangc a minna fon ændia cumachtach nach tibradh d'fer i acht an fer doberedh gell gaiscidh in domun[5]) co himlan. Tug immorro rí Frangc craidhaíl giustail teora [la] ar faidhchi dúnaidh remuis na righ a timcill na hingine, 7 gibe acu fa treisi, co fuighedh in n-ingen d'oenmnai cona huili maithes. Tanicc immorro mac do Diuici o Birri an cetla san ngiustail-sin, 7 rotrascrad seiser ridiri rochalma co rourrlum lais. IS ann-sin tanicc Sir Gyi co lathair, 7 rotrasgair se mac Diuice o Birri cona each don cet- [306 b] sraccud, 7 rothógsud a muindtir co hathlum, urmaisnech mac an diuice, 7 docuirsit ar sdét ele é, 7 docuaidh arís co dana, dochusach a comdhail Sir Gyi isin cathirghail. Dala in da ridiri rathmura, rouaisli-sin, dobrisidur a slegha slinngera, sithfada fur aroile, 7 tuc Sir Gyi sathudh sanntach sleghi a mullach a ochta 7 a urbruinne ar mac diuice o Birri, gur chlæn siar fura dilait é, 7 gur bris a droim segha, seimighi, slisglégel don t-sháthudh

[1]) l. *deimin*.
[2]) l. *acht mina*?
[3]) Used collectively for both?
[4]) l. *diucaire*.
[5]) l. *domuin*? But in a number of places in the MS. the form *domun*, with the ending written out as here, appears in the gen. sg. Cf. pp. 334 b, 335 b, 337 b, 340 b, 358 a. On the other hand *domuin* is written out on p. 359 b.

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sin, 7 fuair bás co bithurrlum. 7 Ro[thairg][1]) Sir Gyi comrac a haithli in echta-sin, 7 ro diultadur uili é, 7 roimgedur na sluaigh rompa i ngach aird iar mbreith buaidh na giustala do Gyi. Dothairg ri Frangc a ingen mur bancheile do Gyi, 7 rodiult Gyi sin.

8. Dala Sir Gyi iarum dochuaidh se roime san Almain, 7 dochunaic in cathair coitcend, congairech ara cinn .i. Bruidis a hainm-side, 7 robui triath toictech, tromconaich na crich-sin amesc a mortheglaigh ar or na ceidhe co cath linmur. Doraidh triath borbnertmur Bruidisi: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'romarbuis mo brathair gan fhocuin, 7 toitfir fein ann'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Ní gan fochuin romarbus é, acht a faghail a ngliaidh 7 a ngiustail, 7 damad treisi do-san domuirbfed misi, 7 tugusa a cumain-sin do-san co torcair lium'. Dala righ Bruidisi iarum docuir se secht cet læch leidmech, lancalma do cathugudh re Gyi cona triar ridiri. Cid tracht rocathaigh Gyi co gæsmur, greannmur, gerarmach risna curadaibh-sin, 7 torcradar uili fo medon læ, 7 tucudh a furcend in catha-sin aludh domuin, doleigis sleghi a tæbh Sir Gyi, conar ba tualaing é cumnad na cosaint [307a] do denam dia eis in anam-sin. Conidh i cuairt Gyi co Bruidis coniigi sin.

9. Iar forbha an morgnima-sin la Gyi roghluais roime tri fasaib leathna, lanmora na Lombuirde. Iarna clos sin do Ottun .i. diuce na Lumbairde, docuir se coic[2]) ridire dheg arna nderbadh co minic ar cinn Gyi ina ndesib comdaingni catha. 7 Robui iarla uasal, oir*eghdha* orrtha sin, 7 in drong ele do barunaibh 7 do ridirib. 7 Robadur a n-edurnaighi arcinn Gyi a mbealach cumang coill*e*.[3]) 7 Is amlaidh adubairt na Lumbairdi rena muindtir: in triar ridiri robúi a fochair Gyi do marbudh co mitrocar, 7 Gyi fein do thabairt a laim leo dia pianudh. Dala Sir Gyi dno, ni roibi sechna na sligedh-sin aigi, 7 nír cían dó ag cuartugudh na conuire, co cualaidh sitreach na n-ech isin caill*idh*, 7 co facaidh cira na ceinnberta. Adubairt Gyi: 'A ridiri uaisle', ar-se, 'cosnaidh sib fein co calma, cruadhchosrach,[4]) uair rofelladh furuibh 7 ata celg romhuib isin coill*idh*-so'.

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[1]) The verb is omitted and I have supplied it conjecturally.

[2]) MS. .*u*.

[3]) Perhaps to be expanded *coilledh*. The form is nowhere written out in this text.

[4]) l. *cruadhchoscrach*.

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'Fagaibh sinne', ar siat, 'or nach fuilidh incomruicc. 7 Ota sdét firluath fud, gabh fairsinge 7 fireitech na ferunn, 7 lig edruind e 7 cach'. Doraid Gyi: 'Ar maithes na cruinne co comlan, ní dingenuind-si sin', ar-sé. Cid tracht is ann-sin roeirigh in celg ina ndocum, 7 rocomraicsit co ferrda, feramail, furniata reroile, 7 romarb Gyi dias ridiri co prap, 7 romarb Eront ridiri, 7 rotrascair ridiri ele, 7 romarbh Uront ridiri, 7 torcair ridire la hUri. 7 Romarbadh Uron 7 Uri isin cathgleo-sin. Is ann-sin [docuaidh][1]) Sir Gincadh co Gyi .i. mac derbrathar diuice Otun, 7 adubairt: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'tabur tú fein, 7 berud-sa tú a laim co hOtun; 7 domarbadh do triar ridiri, 7[2]) [307b] ní hincomhluind tú fein rium-sa, uair dochim fuil do *cuir*p ac [c]omsiludh, 7 mina fæmair do gabail muirbfed co firaibeil tu'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Is ferr lium mo marbud', ar-se, 'na beth a laim ag na Lumbardachaib'. Is ann-sin robuail Gyi builli cruaidnertmar cloidhim ar Sir Ginchadh, gur ben leth na feilmi firaille co furtill de, 7 gur gerr in luirech fura gualaind, 7 nir derg ara curp na fora cæmcoluinn. Tug immorro Gyi builli ele dó, gur ben in lamh des aga gualaind de, 7 rotheith roime asa haithli iarna cirrbudh co comurthach, 7 rolen Gyi e, 7 ní rug air, 7 roinnis in ridiri-sin scela do diuice Otun. Tanicc Gyi tarais amesc a muindtiri co mormenmac, 7 fuair marb iad aran conair cetna, 7 nir imigh beo tarais dona coic[3]) ridiri dec-sin acht ænridiri ar letlaim. Dothuirrling Gyi, 7 fuair se Sir Uri 7 Sir Uront marb ara cinn, 7 Sir Eront, 7 becan betha ann. Docuir Gyi Sir Eront tarsna [....][4]) ara belaib, 7 rofagaib in coill*idh* co firaibeil, 7 robui fasach fírdomuin aga imteacht aigi. 7 Tarrla ditreabhach fair, 7 robennaigh dó, 7 fochtuis scela de, ca mbid sé. Doraidh in ditreabhach: 'A n-uainges in fasaigh-so bim', ar-se. Doraidh Gyi: 'Annlaicter let in dias ridiri dom muindtir ata marbh aran coill*idh*-so re da tæbh, 7 dober sdét furtill, firarrachta duid arson do saethair'. 'Doden-sa sin co duthrachtach', ar modh Dé; 7 docuadur aræn man coill*idh*, 7 tucadur cuirp na ridiri leo, 7 roannlaicedur co hanorach iat. Roimigh Sir Gyi iarum, 7 Sir Eront ara beluib, 7 nir cian do iarum co facaidh in mainistir moradhbul 7 ab 7 comtinol cananach ina dorus. Roiar Sir Gyi a n-anoir Dia

[1]) Verb of motion omitted.
[2]) 7 repeated in MS.
[3]) MS. .*u*.
[4]) One or more words omitted.

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anoir[1]) annlaicc[th]i do tabairt don ridiri marbh robui fura beluib, 7 roghell co tibradh luagh a sæthair doibh. 7 Roinnis mur dofhell diuice na Lumbairdhi air, 7 mur domarbadh a muindter. Rogabh [308 a] truaighi in comhthinol dó, 7 dogabudur Sir Heront uadha. Conidh amlaidh-sin rofhell Diuici Otun ar Gyi.

10. Dala Sir Gyi iarsin rogluais roime on mainistir, 7 nír cían do con faca modh dilus [do][2]) Dia ara cinn ara ræn, 7 roleig ara gluinib do Gyi é, 7 roiar derc fair. Tuc immorro Gyi fichit[3]) nobla dó do cinn guidhi fair féin *con*[a] triar ridiri, uair ba doigh lais co roibhi fein marbh ona gonuibh. Dorug mod De buidechus ara derc o Gyi,[4]) 7 adubairt an sruith: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'an agum-sa gud leigus 7 do cabur do crecht, uair ni fuil isin domhun co himlan liaig cnedh is ferr na me'. Imtus Gyi iarum, roan se dá lá dec aga leighus faris in sruith, 7 ba hogh[ṡ]lan é iarum. Conidh e othrus Sir Gyi conigi sin.

11. Dala in aba agar' fagad Heront, adubairt re gach cruimpir dia coimtinol deich[5]) n-aithfrinn fichet[6]) do rad ar anmain Sir Heront. 7 Adubairt canánach dibh a[g] glacudh Sir Heront: 'Ata in ridiri-so beo fós', ar-sé, '7 leigestur é'. Adubairt in t-ab: 'Is maith adicfuind-si arson a l*eigh*us', ar-sé. Cóic[7]) lá 7 tri mi do Sir Heront a n-othrus, 7 ba slan é iarsin. Conidh e othrus Sir Heront connigi sin, 7 *reliqua*.[8])

12. Imthus Gyi, iar n-ergi dó asa othrus, rogluais roime co dunad cing Poeil, 7 rofer in righ cona theglach failti fris. 7 Roinniss Gyi doibh mur dofhell diuice na Lumbairdi air, 7 mur domarbadh a ridiri leis. Doraidh in righ: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'is let-sa misi cen[9]) comait[h]us, 7 bidh menma maith agud, 7 dober-sa triar ridiri fromtha, feramla, fírarrachta duit 7 triar sguiger mur an cetna, 7 dober daetain an seisir-sin d'aradhaibh

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1) MS. *anoī*.
2) I insert this because of the dative *Dia*.
3) MS. *.xx.*
4) l. *do Gyi*.
5) MS. *.x.*
6) MS. *.xx.*
7) MS. *.u.*, or possibly *.ii.* ('two').
8) MS. *rerl.*
9) MS. *ɔ*, which usually stands for *con*. The phrase recurs on p. 315 a and I have not met it elsewhere. I take it to mean 'without hostility, resistance'. Cf. *comaighthes* 'unfriendliness, hostility'; Meyer, Contributions, p. 430.

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arrachta, urunta duid'. Dorug Sir Gyi buidechus in tabartuis-sin risin righ nemdha 7 re cing Poil. 7 Robui Gyi sedal[1]) ann-sin co n-anoir moradhbul.

13. Dala Sir Heront immorro, iar n-ergi asa othrus do adubairt se risin ab 7 risin ccomhtinol: 'Gebud-sa deisi oilitrigh [308 b] umum', ar-sé, '7 rachud do lorgairecht mo thigerna; 7 da fhaghar é ina bhethaidh, is maith dilfus arson mo l*eigh*us;[2]) 7 mina fhagar, ni fhuil agum acht guidhi oruib-si a cumain mo leighis'. 7 Tug in t-ab 7 na can[an]aigh ced imteachta dó. Imtus Sir Heront iarum roimigh roime coruigi in crich ina roibi Sir Gyi. Aroili la da roibhi Sir Heront a[c] cuartugudh na crich-sin, tarrla Sir Gyi fair ina trealum catha, 7 sé ag fiadach 7 ag fianchosgur, 7 robúi Sir Heront a[g] gul 7 a[g] geran co bronach. 7 Fochtuis Sir Gyi fochuin a broin de. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Ni fuil feidm agud a fis d'faghail', ar-sé. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Indis scela damh-sa a n-anoir inte rofuluing pais ar ar son'. 'Dodén co derbh', ar Heront. 'A[c] cuartugudh crich 7 cennadhac na cruinne co comcoitcenn atáim ag iarraidh mo thigerna; 7 ma mairinn sé, ní fuil isin domun ænlæch is leidmighi, lancalma na sé; 7 ma thorcuir in trenmili-sin, da faghar-sa a fhis ca fuil a lecht 7 a luighi, docholtar in talam lium-sa, 7 sínfed ara múin mhe, 7 dogebh bas mur-sin.' Doraidh Gyi: 'Ca talam duid', ar-se, '7 cia in tigerna robui agud?' Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Saxanach mé', ar-sé, '7 Heront m'ainm, 7 Sir Gyi o Berbuic mo thigerna. 7 Is e diuice na Lumbairdi rofheall oruind, 7 romarb in triar ridiri robamar-ni a farrud Gyi, 7 rohannluicedh dias aguind, 7 roeirgesa iar n-otrus fada, 7 robadur fuindeoga fairsingi, firdoimne fur curp Sir Gyi, 7 roimigh beogonta asan arbach, 7 ní fes damsa in beo no'n marb he, 7 is e-sin adbur mo broin', ar Heront. Doraidh Gyi: 'In tusa Eront?' ar-sé. 'Is mé on', ar Heront. Dothuirrling Gyi co prap, 7 doben a ceinnbert da cenn, 7 dothoirbir teora póg do Heront iarna aithne dó, 7 dotoit taisi 7 tromanmainne orrtha le huilli a luthairi. Dothoguibh Gyi Heront ara cúluib, 7 docuadur [309 a] isin cathraigh iarsin, 7 roceilebuir Gyi don rígh, 7 rofhagaibh imcomarc slainti aigi cona theglach. Conidh i cuairt Sir Gyi a farradh Poeil sin.

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[1]) *scelad*?
[2]) l. *leighis*, as below?

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14. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, rogluais roime cona muindtir, 7 mur docuaidh mur a roibi diuice Milon,[1]) 7 dorinde in diuice-sin anoir 7 urgairdiugudh dó, 7 dotairg in diuice sin or 7 airged 7 ilimud maithusa do Gyi, 7 nír gab Gyi sin uada. 7 Docuaidh as sin co Plondrus 7 robúi sé ar ti techt[a] a S[as]anaibh,[2]) 7 tarrla oilirthech fair a nderedh lai, 7 fochtuis scela de. 7 Atbert in t-oilirtech: 'Atáit scela agum', ar-se, 'uair ata cocadh 7 cathgléo itir imper 7[3]) Rener 7 diuici Loren, 7 torcair brathair don imper isin cathirgail-sin re diuice Lorén, 7 roairg 7 roinnr*idh* in t-imper cricha 7 cæmferunn diuice Lorén, 7 is iat-sin mo scela', ar an t-oilirtech. Adubairt Gyi: 'An farum-sa anocht, a óglach Dé', ar-sé, '7 dogebuir proinn 7 tomultus na haidchi innocht a n-anoir Isa'; 7 mur sin an aidhche-sin dóib. Adubairt Sir Gyi ar maidin: 'A Heroint', ar-sé, 'cred i do comurle duinn anosa?' Adubairt Heront: 'Ata mo comurle ullum', ar-sé, '.i. tusa do dhul do cumnadh le diuice Loren, dorinde maith 7 móranoir duit, 7 dothairg[4]) ór 7 airgid 7 ilimud maitusa duit; 7 ber coicait,[5]) ridiri daingin, derbtha, dogluasta d'feruibh forniata fírchalma na Fraingce let'. Docinnedh aran comuirle-sin leo. Dala Sir Gyi, rogluais roime, 7 sescad ridiri maræn ris, isin n-Almain a cend diuice Lorén, 7 rothoirbir diuice Lorén teora pog do Gyi co dil, dichra, tairisi. Doraidh in diuice: 'A brathair gradaigh', arse, 'is maith tangais dom furtacht, uair ni rabusa a cás na a cruoig riam a comór 7 ataim anois.' [309b] Adubairt diuice Loren: 'A Gyi', ar-sé, 'doberim taburtus duid orum fein cona fuil agum do maithus'. Doraidh Gyi: 'Ní fada co coiscfedsa cocadh 7 cathirgal in imperi dit', ar-sé. Docuadur cum aithfrinn iarsin, 7 docuir in diuice Sir Gyi ar ænbord ris fein isin eglus, 7 docuadur amach asan eglais, 7 dochunnaic Sir Gyi sluaig armtha eidigthi ac techt a timcill na cathrach, 7 fochtuis scela cuidh[6]) iat. Doraidh aroile: 'Sdibhard an imper sud', ar-sé, 'ag techt do gabail na cathrach-so ar diuice Lorén'. Iarna clos-sin do Sir Gyi doshaith da spor isin sdét, 7 docuaidh a comdhail in sdibhaird. Doraidh sdibard inn imper: 'Docim ridiri

[1]) Here something is omitted, or the first *mur* is to be struck out.
[2]) MS. *techt arti asanaibh*, with marks of transposition.
[3]) I am not sure that there is any 7 in the MS.
[4]) *Dothairg* in the MS. with capital.
[5]) MS. *.l.*
[6]) l. *cuich*.

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arrachta, urunta ac techt inar coinde, 7 sdét faitech, firlúath fai is luaithi d'echaibh na cruinne, 7 is dóigh liumsa is agum anfus in t-ech ud', ar-se. Rogluais in sdibhard co mer, menmach[1]) a coinde Gyi, 7 doshaithgedur na heich a coinne a ceile, 7 tugadur da buille a n-ochtaibh aroile, 7 dotrasgradh in sdibard don tshathadh-sin. 7 Dorugadur in sdibard leo d'ainneoin Sir Gyi, 7 robadur a muinnter a[c] cai 7 ag diucaire ina timcell; 7 rolen Sir Gyi iat, 7 rocathaigedur re cheile co calma, cruadhcoscrach, 7 dobrised aran sdibard cona muindtir la Gyi. 7 Dogab se é fein gu forgla a sluaigh, 7 dorug Sir Gyi leis iat ina cimedheibh crapaillti, cruadhchuibrighti, 7 docuir a prisunaibh iad. Doraidh Gyi re diuice Loren beth co maith re braigdib in imper, 7 comad usuidi les sidh do denum a muindter do chæmna 7 do coimét ar bás 7 ar buaneg. Docuir iarum Sir Gyi techt ar cenn a carad 7 a companach i ngach aird ina rabhudur dia cabur 7 dia cosaint on cathgleo-sin, 7 tangadur cuigi iar-sin ina cathaibh 7 ina cedaib 7 ina cuidechtaibh cathardha as gach aird ina rabhadur. Dala Sir Gy iarum rogabadh [310a] leis na cathracha 7 na caisteoil 7 na cuirtenna comdaingne cloch rogabadh roime sin leisin n-impir do tigerntus diuice Loren. Conidh e cetcogad Sir Gy aran imper connigi sin.

15. Is and-sin dorainic scela in t-imper gur gabadh 7 gur marbadh a muindter le Gyi o Berbuic. Rogab luinde 7 luathferg 7 buinne roda rechta an t-imperi iar clos na scel-sin, 7 rocuir tinol 7 tiumsugudh ara muindter as gach aird ina rabudur. Iar tiacht a muindtiri co hænlathair risin impir docosaid na mórgnima-sin riu. Adubairt diuice na Pani: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'dober-sa dethcomuirle duit .i. misi 7 Rener diuice na Sision 7 diuice Uadiner do gabail cathrach na Greasmont, 7 gebhum hi 7 do dhenum cimidhi crapaillti, cruadhcuibrighthi do diuice o Loren 7 do Gyi o Berbuicc, 7 cuirfem ár a muindtiri'. Adubairt in t-impere: 'Is maith in comuirle-sin', ar-se. Tangadur iarum na tri diuici-sin co dana, dasachtach do freastail a timcill cathrach na Greasmont, 7 sluaigh aibhsecha, adbulmora maræn riu. 7 Robúi dno cet læch lanchalma ar sluaghaibh na tri diuice-sin a n-aig*id* gach duine da roibhi a cathrach na Greasmont. Rogab uamhan 7 imegla diuice o Lorén cona teghlach ar faicsin

[1]) Perhaps a compound *mer-menmnach*, though there is a space between the words in the MS. both here and on p. 312a, below.


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na sluagh-sin doibh. Doraidh diuice o Loren: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'cred anois do denum?' 'Do denum co maith', ar Gy. Is ann sin rogoir Sir Gyi Sir Heront cuigi, 7 dorindi comuirli ris, 7 adubairt: 'A Sir Heront', ar-se, 'ber-si tri cet ridiri let ina crodh comdaingin cata a timcill,[1]) 7 tabur cath curata, cruadhcusech do diuice na Pani, 7 coiscter let adimus 7 uaill 7 ardaigned diuice na Pani, uair rogoir se treturaigh fhallsa, fingalach din nan dis,[2]) 7 tuc sé imdergudh 7 aithis duinn. 7 Bed-sa 7 mili ridiri maræn rium ad diaig, 7 a Sir Heront, déna catugudh calma, uair bed-sa ar comgar duit'. Adubairt diuice o Lorén: 'Bet-sa 7 slúagh na cathrach ar chomgar dibh ag ar furtacht, 7 gu- [310 b] idhmid Dia nan uile cumacht do comfurtacht duinn aniugh', ar-se. Tanic immorro Sir Heront a tosuch in catha co fichdha, feramail, forniata, 7 docunnuicc se diuici na Pani ac techt ina comdail, 7 dorug aithne air. 7 Adubairt: 'A diuice fhingalaigh, fhealltaig, furmudaig, rofeallais fa do ar mo tigerna 7 orum fein, 7 do deoin Dia tiucfa a olc aniugh duid', ar-sé. Is ann do comraicedur re ceile co niata, naimdighi, 7 co furtren, feramail, firdasachtach, 7 rotrasgradur a ceile asa haithli, 7 roeirgedur co hathlum, uiredrum, 7 ronochtsad na cloidhmi comurthacha,[3]) 7 rogabsat tuargaint ten*edh* teinnesnech ar aroile, 7 docuiredh diuice na Pani ar culaibh a sceit le beimennaibh arrachta Heroint. Is ann-sin tangadur drechta dana, dethtapaidh do Lumbardachaibh do cumnad do diuice na Pani; [i]arna fhaicsin-sin do Sir Heront docuaidh co hathlum, uiredrum ara sdét, 7 dorinne in diuice in cetna. 7 Docomraicedur aris co nua, nu*m*aigi, nemarrsaid reroile, 7 rosechain diuice na Pani in cathlathair do Sir Heront. Dala Heront dno, rogab se ag ledairt 7 ag lanmarbadh na læch Lumbardac. Doraidh diuice na Pani do guth ard, comeglach, crithanach: 'Ata in t-ænridiri amain agar leonadh 7 agar ledairt uile', ar-se, 'uair rothoit ar carait 7 ar coiceile uili lais; 7 denaidh calma budesta'. Docuiredh iarsin in cath co calma, curata, 7 dob imda builli brigmur, borbnertmur aga bualadh a sgiath Sir Heront in tansin. Is ann rogab ferg 7 firdhasacht Sir Heront, 7 docruinnighedur a muindter a timcill Sir Heront ann-sin, 7 dorinnedur

[1]) For *ad timchill?*
[2]) *nar n-dis.*
[3]) MS. *comurtachacha.*

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muindter diuice na Pani in cetna. 7 Is edh [311a] rothorcuir la Heront aran toruind-sin do muindtir diuice na Páni: cet ridiri 7 fiche[1]) itir gabhail 7 marbadh dith Heront ann. 7 Dobi Heront deich[2]) n-huaire do lo isin cathgleo-sin, 7 ní tarla ris ar in fedh-sin nech nar trascair se co trenchalma no nar marb. Cidh tracht rocruinnighedur na Lumburduig co lancalma, 7 na hadmaindigh[3]) co harrachta a timcill Sir Heront co nar eidir leis a lamh do cur a coim na a cris na a cæimedach la cumgach na trenfer ara muin isin cathirgail. Is ann-sin dorindedh blodha beca, bordbrisdi do sciath Sir Heront, 7 roturnadh 7 dotrengerradh a mergi maisech mæthsroill, 7 rogerradh in feilm aluind, oraighi robúi a[c] cumdach a cinn isin cathugudh, 7 ni roibhi nert a cosanta aigi na a coiméta fein ag Sir [Her]ont in tan-sin, acht beth ag fulang paisi 7 peannaidi. Is ann-sin docuaidh Sir Gyi isin cat a n-arrthaisc na Lumburdach, 7 rofhagaibh sé Sir Heront ara eis. Is ann-sin docunnaicc Sir Gyi Otun .i. diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 adubairt ris do guth ard, fhollusglan: 'A diuice na fingaile', ar-sé, 'is granna, guaisbertach rofhelluis form 7 romarbuis mo muindtir'. Docuiredur in dias-sin cum a ceile co dían, dasachtach, 7 doronsad comrug fuiltech, forniata, fírdasachtach, 7 rotrascrad diuice na Lumbairdi la Gyi isin cathlathair-sin. 7 Roeirigh in diuice co dasachtach, 7 docuaidh fura sdét, 7 rocomruic arís re Gy, 7 rotrascair Gyi indara fecht co f[311b]iraibeil é. 7 Docuaidh arís fura sdét, 7 rotrasgair Gyi in treas[4]) fecht e, 7 docuir slegh trina slinnen iar scoltudh a sceith. Anuair immorro dob ail le Gyi tuirrling do dicennudh in diuice, tangadur mili ridiri luathghnimach, lanchalma Lumbar[d]ach 7 Almainech eturra, 7 dorugadur in diuice leo ó Gyi. 7 Docaithigedur uili ar ænslighi re Sir Gyi, 7 torcair se[5]) ridiri do milib mercalma le Sir Gyi in tan-sin. Robadur immorro[6]) muindter Gyi ar gach tæbh de ag ledairt 7 ag lanmarbadh na Lu[m]burdach. Is ann-sin robrised in cath le Gyi, 7 rotairrngedur na Lumburduigh docum glenna domuin, duaibsigh robui rompa.

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[1]) MS. *xx*.

[2]) MS. *.x̄.*, where eclipse is meant by the stroke above the usual sign for *deich*. *.x̄.* sometimes appears to mean *deichnemar*.

[3]) l. *na hAlmaindigh*.

[4]) MS. *treas̄*.

[5]) MS. .6.

[6]) MS. *ā ū* (= autem?).

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7 Robui diuice na Sision 7 iarla Uadiner na Cuiline a ceilg isin glinn-sin cona sluaghaibh, 7 dochunnuicc Gyi iat, 7 roinnis dia muintir a mbeth isin ceilg-sin. Doraidh Gyi: 'Dorugudar na Lumbardaigh 7 na hAlmainnigh ar ænslighi oruinn', ar-sé, '7 ní fuil conair elaighthi aguind uatha, 7 denaid calmacht ac ar cosaint, 7 eirgem a n-ainm Dia 7 Eoin Baisdi do cur catha orrta sud'. Is ann-sin docuirsitt na catha cechtarrda docum aroile, 7 nír cath catharrda coruigi e, uair is ann-sin fa sanntaigi in sarcomlunn, 7 fa fichmure in faltanus, 7 fa treisi na treinfir, 7 fa calma na curaidh. Is ann-sin doconnuic Sir Gy Rener .i. diuice na Sision, 7 rocomruic ris co discir, dasachtach, 7 rotrasgair don cetbuille e, 7 rogab fainne 7 egcruas é iarna trascairt. Tarrla immorro Sir Heront 7 iarla Uadiner na Cuiline da ceile, 7 docomraicsitt co seitrech, sircalma, 7 rothoit [312a] an t-iarla a furcenn in comhruic 7 ridiri dia muindtir maræn ris, 7 roba crodha, coscurtach Sir Heront isin cathirgail-sin. Is ann doeirigh diuice Rener asa neoll, 7 docuaidh fura sdéd, 7 rocomruic arís co gaibhtech, greannmur, grainemhail re Gyi. Tug Gyi builli brighmur, borbnertmur don diuice, gur trasgair indera fecht co fírarrachta é. Is ann-sin doconnuicc Gyi Sir Gilmin ina dochum .i. ridiri crodha, cosgurcalma do m[u]indtir an imperi, 7 brathair do diuice na Loueine é; 7 robui fedmanntus fíruasal aigi on imperi .i. coimét gach furaisi fírailli dia raibhi aigi; 7 robúi míli ridire mermenmach, mórdhalach ara teglach budhein ina cipe comdaingen catha ina urtimchill. 7 Is é roba menmarc le Sir Gilmin cona muindtir Sir Gyi do thoitim leo gu lanurlum. Is ann-sin rocomruic Sir Gyi 7 Sir Gilmin reroile co feramail, fedhmlaidir, firarrachta, 7 rothoit Sir Gilmin a furcenn an comruic le beimennaib guasachtacha, grennmura Gyi. Tanicc iarum diuice na Sdragborn annsa cath d'iarraidh Sir Gyi, 7 sluagha aibsecha, adbulmora ina urtimcill, 7 ni roibi do sluaghaibh línmura na Lumbairdi, na d'feruibh arrachta, irgalacha na hAlmaine, ænlamh fa crodha coscur a cathaibh 7 a comlannaibh na'n diuice-sin. 7 Rogab uaman 7 imegla Sir Gyi roime iarna beth teora la 7 teora aidhci gan biadh, gan digh, gan colladh, ina eidedh. Docuir Sir Gyi in tan-sin techta uadha co cathraigh na Greasmont cum diuice Loren d'iarraidh furtachta fair. Adubairt diuice Loren: 'Cibe guasacht no gabudh ina fuil Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'ni ferr leis cobur no comfurtacht d'faighail na lium-sa a tabairt dó'; 7 rogluais iarum co prap, primurrlum 7 tri mili

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ridiri mermenmach, móraicenntach maræn ris. Cidh tracht is ann rogreagradur[1]) na catha cechtarda crechtaidbli-sin a ceile. Dala Gyi dno nír miadh 7 nír maisi 7 nír moraignedh lais cath aga cothugudh 7 aga cunnmail ina agaid, 7 roeirigh a luindi leoghain, 7 a neim [312b] natrach, 7 a cruas curadh, 7 a menma miledh 7 a airsighecht erradh, gur eirigh a lon irgaile uasanail,[2]) 7 docuir a clú isin cath, 7 robris fur na Lumbardachaibh co lancalma 7 ar na hAlmainnechaibh co hurrlum, 7 docuir a n-ár isin n-irgail-sin, 7 rogabadh diuici 7 iarl*aidh*i 7 baruin 7 ilimud do maithibh 7 do moruaislibh in tsluaigh. 7 Tanicc Sir Gyi tarais co cathraigh na Greasmont co mbuaidh coscair 7 commaidhmi, 7 co nelaibh[3]) imdha, 7 co n-ilimud gacha maithusa. 7 Adubairt Sir Gyi risin diuice braighdi an imperi do coimét co maith, uair 'is iad shailmid d'faghail sidha duind fós on imper'. Conidh é-sin an treas cath docuir Sir Gyi ar muindtir an imperi.

16. Is and robui in t-imper lá in morcatha-sin ina cathraigh budhein, 7 rí na Hungaire maræn ris, 7 cluithchi fithli aga imirt acu. 7 Dochunncadur Sir Tirri, mac iarla Aimbri, ina ndochum, 7 cloidhemh claslethan, comurthach nochta ina laim, 7 fuindeoga fairsingi, fírdoimni fura curp, 7 fuil ac siledh 'na srothaibh re slesaibh a cuirp, 7 a sciath ina blodhuibh brisdi fura thæbh, 7 se co mígné moir fair. Doraidh Tirri: 'A thigerna', ar-sé, 'gidh subhach, suilbir atai-si, is duaithni, doaithennta ata do muindter, uair ní mairenn da ndechaidh do chogud 7 do cathudh re diuice Loren gan gabail no gan marbadh acht misi nama, 7 rotromloitedh diui[c]e Otun 7 ní mór maires de, 7 dogabadh diuice Rener 7 iarla Uadiner. 7 Is se Sir Gyi o Berbuic doroine na gnima-sin uile, uair ní blaisenn betha nech ara mbuailenn beim na builli, 7 ni claidhfidis fir in talman tromoidigh ar los nirt na nidhecais é. Iar clos na scel-sin don imper, rogab luinde 7 luathferg é, 7 docuaidh a ciall 7 a conn ar nemfní uad. Doraidh in t-imper: 'Tuigim', ar-se, 'fan ændia docum nem 7 tal*man* nach anadh co brach co ngabur cathair na Creasmont, 7 co crochar diuice Loren 7 Gyi o Berbuic'. Docuir in t-imper tinol 7 timsugudh ar sluaghaibh na himperechta uili co hænlathair [313a] 7 rogluais leo iarum cum cathrach na Greasmont. Tanic immorro

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[1]) l. *rofreagradur.*

[2]) l. *uas a anail.*

[3]) MS. not quite clear; l. *co n-edalaibh*?

Sir Gayer .i. mac mermenmnach robui agan imper, 7 iarla uasal ele marǽn ris, 7 coic cet[1]) ridiri rechtaigenntach, robregh[d]a roim na sluaghaib do fhechain na cathrach; 7 docuiredh coic mili[2]) ridiri ina ndiaigh-sin da cothugudh, 7 da connmail co daingin, dogluasta, 7 coic mili[2]) ele mur bun doibh-sein, 7 tri mili[3]) ina ndiaigh-sin, uair robadur tri mili dec co leth a coimed da ceile a tosuch na conaire, 7 an[4]) t-imper co n-ilimud sluaigh ina ndiaigh-sin. Is ann-sin dochuncadur lucht cathrach na Greasmont na sluaigh aidhbli, ilardha ina ndochum, 7 rogab uamhan 7 imegla iat aga faicsin. Docuir diuice Loren a trealam catha uime, 7 dochuaidh ara ech, 7 roimigh mur a roibhi Gyi, 7 roinnis na scela-sin dó. Doraidh Gyi risin diuice: 'Coimét-sa in cathair co hinill', ar-se, '7 rachad-sa a comdhail na sluag', 7 mile ridiri maræn ris. Dala Gyi dono, docuaidh ina comdhail-sin co prap, primescaid, 7 dochunnuicc Gyi trian troigthech, trencalma ac techt andiaigh na coic[5]) cet ridiri robui ar tosuch in tromthinoil-sin. Is ann-sin dochunnuicc Sir Gyi mac an imper ac techt, 7 dochuaidh ina coinne co ceimdirech, 7 doronsad comrac calma, coscarthach reroile, 7 rotrasgradh Sir Gayer, 7 rogabadh é asa haithli 7 tri cet da muinntir maræn ris, 7 torcair in da cet ele leis dibh. Docuaidh Sir Gyi leis na braigdib-sin sa cathraigh da coimét, 7 dochuaidh iar-sin a comdhail in t-shluaigh cetn[a], 7 ní fachaidh se enni do thæbh in tíre in tan-sin acht sluaigh eidighthi, armtha in cathaighthi. Iarna clos don imper gur gabhadh a mac, rogab bron 7 dubhachus e, 7 tangadur in trom-shocraidi trencalma-sin ar ænshlighi docum Sir Gyi iarna aithne doibh. 7 Doferudh cath fuilech, [313 b] fergach, furniata eturra, 7 gerb imdha læch leidmech, lancalma isin cath-sin, rob é Sir Gyi 7 Sir Heront rob ferr lam ar gach tæbh acu. 7 Ger cumung do chách isin cathugudh-sin, robúi fairsingi 7 fíreitech fútha 'na ndis. Is ann-sin roluid imud na lamh lancalma forra, 7 ba cruaidh doibh in tan-sin, 7 robui tosach marbhtha ar sluaighaibh cathrach na Greasmont in tan-sin. Tanic diuice Loren tri mili[6]) ridiri amach asin cathraigh in tan-sin do cabur Gyi. Tarrla Sir Tirri, mac iarla Aimbri, foran diuice in tan-sin,

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[1]) MS. *.u. c.*
[2]) MS. *.u. m.*
[3]) MS. *.m.*
[4]) MS. *An.*
[5]) MS. *.u.*
[6]) MS. *.m.* For the construction (without preposition or conjunction) cf. pp. 314a, 324a, 330a, below.

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7 doronsad comrucc feramail, fírneimnech, 7 dotrascradh in diuice le Sir Tirri, 7 roerigh co luath, 7 robuail beim brighmur ar Sir Tirri, 7 is fada, fírbuan dorug a uilligi[1]) ann. Docruinnighedur drechta dana, dofuiling do milib mercalma, mordhalacha a timcill diuice Lorén, 7 robui ag fulang paisi 7 pennuidi, 7 docrechtnuighedh co crolinntech e, 7 ni raibhi nert a cosanta aigi. Docunnuicc Sir Gyi in guasacht 7 in gabud ina roibhe in diuice, 7 docuaidh da furtacht, 7 romarbh cethrar ridiri do ceitri beimennaibh brigmura bais a timcill an diuice. Robui dono ridiri mermenmach[2]) ag marbudh 7 ag mugudh, a[g] ledairt 7 a[g] lanmarbudh in diuice, 7 rotrascuir asa dilait é, 7 robuail ar lar é, 7 dob ail leis a dicennudh. 7 Tanic Sir Guy co lathair in læchbuailti-sin, 7 tug se builli brighmur don ridiri co nderna da ordain certa, cudruma de d'ænbeim, 7 docuir Sir Gyi iarum in diuice fura sdét. Doraidh in duine[3]) re Gyi: 'Ataim-si teinn, tromgæta, 7 ni fétuim cumnad na comfurtacht duid-si', ar-sé, '7 dob fer lium co ndechtha isin cathraigh *con* do muindtir, uair ni fhuilmid coimlin catha doibh súd, 7 ní cubaidh rinn ar faghail a n-aisgi'. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Dodhén-sa do toil-si arsin, a tigerna', ar-se. Docuadur le cheile sa cathraigh iar-sin. Doraidh in t-imper rena muindter in cathair do toghail co dana, dasachtach. Tangadur immorro sluagh in imper ar doirrsibh in duna[i]dh, 7 rob imdha mergi alaind, examail ar doirrsib na cathrach, 7 rogabudur ag toghail 7 ag trenlegadh na múr 7 na mballud. Rogabsadur lucht na cathrach [314a] ag cosaint co calma, cruaidhnertmur .i. drem dibh le gainnibh gera, greannmura, 7 dream ele le soigdib srubgera, seghmura, 7 drong le gunnaibh gaibtecha, guasachtaca, 7 foirind ele le clochuibh tairthecha taball, 7 furinn ele re slegaibh slinnletna, snasmine; 7 drong ele le leccaibh lanmora 7 le murliagaibh mora, mileta aga tilgen to mullaibh na morcathrach, 7 na huili arm diuraic[th]e archena. Cuig la dec doibh fur in abairt 7 fur a nedfhualann-[4]) sin gan sidh, gan saime, gan socracht, 7 is ed torchair la Gyi 7 la Heront aran fedh-sin .i. cet[5]) marcach mermenmach 7

[1]) *auilligi*; reading uncertain.

[2]) l. *mer menmnach*? But this time there is less clearly a space in the MS.

[3]) l. *diuice*.

[4]) *edfhualann* = *étualang*?

[5]) MS. *.c.*

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mili troightech trénealma, 7 nír comairem cred torchair la sluaghaibh na cathrach o sin amach. Tanicc dono cara cairdemail, carthanach co Gyi do sluaghaibh an imperi co hincleith, 7 adubairt fris: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'ata scel maith agum duid, uair rachaidh an t-imper a marach co moch coic cet[1]) ridiri gan arm, gan eidedh, annsa furais fhiadhaigh, 7 cullach cuibfhiaclach arna brath[2]) dó innti, 7 bidh-si, a Gyi, lín a basgaidh isin furais o aidhchi, 7 dena do toil fein don imper'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'In scel-sin', ar-se, 'dober-sa mili plata d'ór alaind, athle[g]tha duid'. Doraidh in fer braith: 'Cunnaibh-si misi agud no co nderbuir sud, 7 mina faghair na fhirinde é, cedaighim ma riadhadh duid'. Is ann-sin docuaidh Sir Gyi, Sir Heront, 7 æntriar ridiri maræn rú a cenn an diuice, 7 se ina seomra ag imirt fhitchle co fathach, firglicc; 7 robennaigh dó, 7 roindis co mbeth in t-imper co huaingech isin furais ar maidin. Iar clos na scel-sin don diuice, roeirigh ina shesum co prap, 7 dothoirbir teora pog do Sir Gyi. 7 Adubairt: 'Logh damh, a læchmil*id*, do techt le techtairecht cugum', ar-sé: 'nach mé docuaidh ad dochum'. Doraidh Gyi: 'Rachud-sa ann súd arcinn in imper, 7 dober lium d'ais no d'ecin é do denum sidha rit-sa'; 7 romol in diuice in comuirle-sin. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, rogluais roime dia thigh osta, 7 iar tiacht tosaigh na haidhci roimigh Sir Gyi asan cathraigh amach co tai, tost- [314 b] adhach 7 mili ridiri maræn ris, 7 docuadh[3]) san [f]urais, 7 docuadur ainn[4]) na tulcha robúi innti. Annsa maidin iarum docunnuic Sir Gyi an t-imper ac techt san furais co n-uathad sluaigh uime .i. coic cet[5]) ridiri gan arm, gan eidedh, d'uaislibh 7 d'armaithibh[6]) a muindtiri. Doraidh Sir Gyi rena muindtir: 'Ata in t-imper cugainn', ar-se, 7 atámid-ni idir é 7 a muindtir, 7 ní fuil cumachta ar dul bhuaind, 7 denaidh-si tapadh maith, a ridiri crodha', ar-se. Is ann-sin rofhech in t-imper seocha, 7 dochunnaicc na sluagha armtha, eidighthi ar techt ina timceall. Doraidh in t-imper: 'Romairnedh 7 romalartadh sinn do Sir Gyi o Berbuicc', ar-sé, 'uair docim-si Sir Gyi guna muindtir ag techt inar ndochum'. Is ann-sin docuaid

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1) MS. .*u* .*c*. On the construction cf. note 6 to p. 313 b, above.

2) l. *breth*?

3) l. *docuaidh* or *docuadur*.

4) l. *cu inn*; cf. 318 b, below.

5) MS. .*u* .*c*.

6) l. *ardmaithibh*.

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Sir Gyi roim na muindtir a n-arrthaisc an imper, 7 cræb oliua ina laim mur chomurtha sidha. 7 Doraidh Sir Gyi ac techt co lathair dó: 'Na tairgedh ænduine aguibh cosaint na comnadh do denum do muindtir an imper', ar-se, '7 da nderna, benfad-sa a cenn de'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Gu rob Dia do betha, a imperi uasail, urrunta', ar-se, '7 ata fledh urrlum, inchaithme ag diuice na Lobeine duit, 7 tarra da tócaithem 7 do dhenum sidha ris, 7 dobera se é fein guna uili maithus duid'. Is ann-sin tangadur an mili marcach robúi fare Gyi co lathair, 7 craeb sidha a laim gach æinfir dibh, 7 rofurail Gyi umla 7 anoir do denum don imper, 7 dorindedur amlaidh. Adubairt Sir Gyi risin imper: 'Eirgem don cathraigh budesta', ar-se, 'uair ní fhuil nert agud gun techt lium gac conuir is ail'. Adubairt in t-imper: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'da tugtha-sa do daingin dam nach fellfaidh form, co rachaind let'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Tuingim', ar-se, 'fan fer rofuluing pais tarcenn in cinidh dæna: nach egal duit ænni isin cathraigh úd'. Is ann-sin rothuirrling in t-imper, 7 roiadh a dhi laim im braiged Sir Gyi, 7 rotoirbir teora pogh co dil, díchra, deth- [315a] tairisi dó, 7 adubairt asa haithli-sin: 'A ridiri crodha, cosgurthach, diadha, dercach, dethbertach, rachad-sa let budesta'. Docuadur 'san cathraigh iarum, 7 ní roibi senoir spalmach, na ogh anbann, anæsmur, na curaidh crodha, coscarthach, na læc leidmech, lancalma, na milid menmnach, morgnimach, na ainnir alainn, ilcrotha isin cathraigh uili, na derna umla 7 anoir 7 urgairdiugudh don imper 7 do Gyi. Dochuadur iarsin co palas in diuice, 7 dofreasladh 7 dofritholad in t-imper cona muindtir la Gyi do rogha gacha bidh 7 gacha dighi, 7 ní tanic in diuice cucu ind aidhci-sin. Dala in diuice iarna marach roeirigh ar maidin, 7 rosgail do braighdib in imperi,[1]) 7 adubairt riu dul na rogha conuir, 7 roerb forra grasa d'iarraidh do aran[2]) imper; 7 dorugsat na braighdi uili buidechus risin diuice. Dala na mbraigid iarum, roiaradur an diuice leo a cenn an imper, 7 docuaidh co hurrlum, 7 roben na hédaighi romaisecha sida de acht amain ænleine shremnaigi sroill re grian a geilcnis, 7 dochuaidhitir cach a fiadnuse an imper, 7 rolig a glún des 7 clé fai, 7 rocrum a fiadhnuse an imperi. Adubairt an diuice: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'teim[3]) fein fod grasaibh, 7 rotuilles bás

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[1]) MS. *in inn imperi*. [2]) MS. *iar an*.

[3]) Should we read *táim*, or is this *téim* for *téighim*, I come?

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d'faghail buaid, uair is me romarbh Sir Sadon .i. do derbrathar, 7 doberim mhe fein *cen* comaithes duid, 7 dena do bail fein dim festa', ar-se. Adubairt Sir Gayer, mac an imperi: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'tabur cairt a shidha don diuice, uair is fer crodha, cosgarthach, fírinech, firglic e, 7 dorindedh an ecoir air'. Adubairt diuice Rener: 'Dena súd, a tigerna', ar-se, 'uair is coir romarbh se mac do brathar, 7 gebe aderadh na budh fhír, dorachaind-si da suidhiugudh air'. Adubairt iarla Uadiner: [315b] 'Dena siud, a tigerna', ar-se, 'uair nír tuill in diuice andligedh na ecoir do denum air; 7 is cara dam-sa riam é, ge taim anois ina agaid; 7 mina dernair sidh ris co lúath, rachad-sa tar m'ais co cathraigh na Cuiline, 7 cuirfed dirmada dethsluagh ar ænslighi, 7 dodhen cogudh rit-sa a comluadur diuice na Lobeine'; 7 nír labuir in t-imper risin re-sin. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'comuill in gelladh tugais dam-sa isin furais. 7 In tuigidh fein curob fada ata in diuice ara gluinibh 7 co fedfadh sé gan beth amlaidh? Uair is treisi ann-so é na tu-sa, a tigerna: 7 doberim fom breithir, mina tucair cairt a sidha co luath dó, co n-ingen-sa díth 7 dochar duit fein 7 dod muindtir'. Doraid an t-imper: 'Is bertha don diuice a buidechus don ændia dorinde nem 7 thal*main* an lá doconuicc-se tu-sa, a Sir Gyi', ar-se; '7 coimeollad-sa mo gealladh duid-si; uair mathaim don diuice marbadh in ænduine rob annsa lium rotharaill tal*main* riam .i. Sir Sadóg, mac mo derbrathar, 7 doberim cairt a sidha do'. Is ann-sin roeirgedur na sluaigh uili ina sesam, 7 tugadur tri gartha bennacht don imper trit in trocuire-sin dorinne se aran diuice. 7 Roimpoigedur na sluaig ar æ[n]slighi a n-aig*idh* ar Sir Gyi, 7 tugadur gartha bennacht dó, 7 adubairt d'aithescc æinfir: 'A ridiri crodha, coscartach, 7 a treinmil*id* firtal*chair*,[1]) is dod gaiscedh-sa 7 dod gnimecht, dod gais 7 dod glicus tanic in sidh ud do denum'. Doclos scela na sídha-sin dona sluaghaibh robúi a timchill na cathrach amuigh. Tanicc iarum Oton, .i. diuice na Lumbairdi, a cenn an imper co luinne 7 co luathfheirg, 7 adubairt: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'is ecoir doronais sidh risin da treturach is fallsa 7 is furmudaigh ata annsa doman uile .i. diuice na Lobeine 7 Sir Gyi o Berbuicc'. Iarna clos sin do Sir Gyi, dodhun a dorn co dethtapaid, 7 robuail in[2]) [316a] diuice ara sroin, 7 rodoirt

[1]) Expansion doubtful. Perhaps *fir-talmaidhe* or *firt-dlaind*.
[2]) *in* is repeated in the MS.

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a fhuil co firaibeil, 7 rotrascair co talm*ain* é. Rob ail leiss a bualadh arís, 7 roiar in t-imper mur athcuinge air gan a bualadh in builli. 'Dober-sa in athcuingi-sin duid-si gan ei-sin na duine ele do bualadh aniugh', ar-sé. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Rofell siud fa dhó fos orum gan adhbur', ar-se, '7 co ced do Dia ní liged sin gan díghailt fos', ar-se. Is ann-sin dopogadur cách a cheile don da sluaghaibh-sin tri met a luthaire ar son na [sídha]-sin.[1]) Conidh amlaidh-sin fa fuin don cogudh idir an t-imper 7 diuice na Lobeine. Doraidh diuice Rener na Sision co tiubradh sé ingin diuice na [Lo]beine 7 [gur] maith leis beth ana cairdis, 7 dorindedh in to[ch]marc-sin. 7 Tug an t-imper ingin mic derbrathar a athar mur mnai do diuice na Lobeine, 7 dogell inme mór 7 tigerntus le, 7 dorindedh in clemnus-sin. Doraidh Sir Gyi co mbeth fein ag imthecht. 'Na bidh', ar diuice na Lobeine, 'uair dober-sa in cathair-si duid 7 leth mo thigerntuis, 7 na fag me.' Dorug Sir Gyi budechus, 7 nir gabh sin.

17. Dala an imperi iar ndenum na sidha-sin 7 [2]) an clemnussin dó, doceileabur se do diuice na Lobheine, 7 roimigh roime Sir Gyi maræn ris. Im[thusa] diuice na Lobeine, robidh caicidhis gan biadh, gan dig, gan colladh do cumaid Sir Gyi do imthecht uadha, 7 is bec romair de dia serc 7 dia shirgradh. An tan dono dorainicc an t-imper san Almain, 7 Sir Gyi maræn ris, 7 dotairg an t-imper cathracha 7 caisteoil 7 pair[c]inna 7 furaisi firaille fiadhaigh do Sir Gyi, 7 co tibrad tigerntus diuice dó, 7 co tiubrad ilimud oir 7 innmus oir 7 innmus 7 na huile thoicci dó.[3]) 7 Rodiult Sir Gyi do gabail, 7 doceilebuir don imperi asa haithli.

18. Imthus Sir Gyi dono rogluais roime, 7 ní rug sé do muindtir les acht æncet ridiri fromtha, feramla d-uaislibh na nAlmainech, 7 rogluais roime laim re heochuirimlibh na mara moraidhble con n-accaidh in ænluing n-adhbulmoir con n-imud gacha maithusa iar ngabail cuain, 7 fochtuis Sir Gyi scela [316 b] dib. Rofreagair fer dána, deth th[e]angthach dibh, 7 adubairt: 'Tangamair-ni o cathraigh Consantinnoble, 7 is é fath fa

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[1]) *sidha* is supplied conjecturally. There is no gap in the MS.

[2]) 7 is repeated in the MS.

[3]) The MS. is obviously corrupt.

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tangamar .i. in Sabdan do tigerntus[1]) in imperi Gregaigh 7 do marbadh a muindtiri a cathaib 7 a comlunnaib, 7 ni fuil da tigerntus agan imperi gan gabail don t-Sabhdan fair acht cathair Consantinnobile amain. 7 Atá in Sabdan cona sluaghaibh ag techt dia gabhail, 7 tangamair-ne furinn luing ann-so d'iarraidh inaid ecin a fuidmis sidh 7 socracht diar mbethugudh, 7 tugamar rét ecin d'ar maithus lind ann-so, 7 is iat-sin ar scela-ne', ar an t-oglach; '7 denaidh-si for mbail fein dinn budesta'. 7 Robui uamhan 7 imegla aran furinn. Docuaidh dono Sir Gyi roime fon tír, 7 rofostaigh se da cet[2]) ridiri ele a cenn a roibhi aigi, 7 docuaidh coruigi in luing cetna. 7 Adubairt risin furinn in long do deisiugudh, 7 co caithfidis dul leis a fritheing na conaire cetna co Consantinnobile. Conidh i cuairt Sir Gyi san Almain connigi sin.

19. Dala Sir Gyi iar-sin docuaidh isin luing cona tri cet ridiri, 7 furinn na luingi maræn ris. 7 Tugadur sruthleim sanntach, sircalma tri srothaib na s*en*fhairrgi, 7 tri gæthaibh gaibhtecha, greannmura na glasfhairrgi, 7 robadur caicidis ar muir re moranfad, 7 rogabadur cuan cluthar, comdaingin a cathraigh Consantinnobile. 7 Dotobadur[3]) ardshuaitchenntus na Saxanach .i. mergi Sin Seoirsi, os cinn na luingi. Is ann-sin robúi in t-imperi ar taidhlib in duna[i]dh ag atach an duilem im fur+acht d'faghail asin ecin ina roibi, 7 dochunnuic sé in long luchtmur, lanmor, 7 suaithcenntus Sin Seoirsi arna togbail innti. 7 Docuir techta uadha d'faghail scel, 7 do cur failti risna Saxancaibh, 7 da tabairt ina comhdail fein. Roimigh in techtaire coruigi in luing, 7 rofiarfaigh scela do lucht na luingi. Roeirigh [Sir Gyi] na sesam 7 adubairt: 'Ridir[e] Saxanach atá ann-so', ar-sé, '7 Sir Gyi o Barbuicc a ainm, 7 atait tri cet ridiri mer, menmach, móraicenntach ina fhochair iar tæcht do cumnad don imper'. Tug immorro Sir Gyi guna sgharloide don techtaire, 7 roimigh roime mur a roibhi in t-imper, [317a] 7 roinnis na scela-sin dó. Iarna clos sin don inper[4]) rofech suas cum Dia, 7 doruc a budechus-sin ris. 7 Adubairt: 'Mase Sir Ghy o

[1]) Something omitted; perhaps *gabhail*.
[2]) MS. .c.
[3]) l. *dothógbadur*.
[4]) l. *imper*.

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Berbuic ata ann súd', ar-sé, 'ní fuil isin domh[un æn-][1]) ridiri is ferr lamh.' 7 Adubairt an t-imper re lucht na cathrach dul a prosesiam a n-arrthaisc Sir Gyi. Is ann-sin tángadur lucht gacha heglusa don cathraigh c̣o tapraibh 7 co priceduibh 7 co lampaib lansoillsi, co cloguibh, co mbachlaibh, co minnuib; 7 sluaigh na cathrach co n-ethaigib somaisecha sidha 7 orshnaith, 7 an rí co coroin cengailti, clochbuadhaigh cumdaigh fura cenn, 7 æs ciuil na cathrach a comseinm itir orgán 7 gitart 7 galltrumpa 7 tabur 7 fhedan 7 cruiti 7 clairsigh 7 na huili ceol archena. 7 Docuadur uili mur-sin a n-arrthaisc Sir Gyi, 7 rofersad fircain failti fris, 7 rothoirbir in t-imper teora póg co dil, dichra, dethtairisi dó, 7 rogabh ar laim e, 7 docuir an lámh ele fona braigid, 7 is mur-sin doruc in t-imper leis é isin palas rigdha, 7 docuir an t-imper Sir Gyi ara gualaind budhéin do caithem a coda. Roordaigh in t-imper iarom seomra uasal do derugudh do Sir Gyi cona muindtir, [7] gach æнní da n-iarfaidis do tabairt doib. Is ann-sin docuaidh in t-imper le Sir Gyi coruigi in seomra. Doraidh in t-imper iarum: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'cuirim mo cumairci ort, uair robhen an Sabdan mo tigerntus uili dím acht in cathair-so namá; 7 ata se ag techt da gabail orum, 7 dotoitedar da fichit[2]) mili a n-ænlo do[n] muinnter leo, 7 ní fuil do cloind agum acht æiningen, 7 is i is oigri orum, 7 dober do mnái duit-si hi, 7 cosain mo thir 7 mo thigernt[us] duit fein.' Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Ní do thabairt mna tanag-sa, acht do cumnad let-sa, 7 dodhen mo dicill duit, 7 gabaim do cumairci cugum'. Et nír cian do Gyi mur-sin iar n-imtecht don imper uadha in tan dochual*a* gair 7 greadhan eidhmi 7 acainti ar fud na cathrach, 7 docuir Gyi techta uadha d'faghail scel, 7 is ed adubairt nech ris: 'Tanicc Ambrail, darub ainm Coscras .i. mac derbrathar athar don t-Sabdan, 7 rí na Turcach, co mili Turcach do gabail na cathrach-so; 7 roshuidhsitt [317b] ina thimcill'. Iarna clos sin do Sir Gyi adubairt rena muindter a n-eidhedh do cur umpa, 7 crodacht do denum; 7 docuaidh Sir Gyi asin cathraigh amach na[3]) tri cet[4]) ridiri, 7 robui fein a n-arrthaisc na sluagh, 7 tuc se cath díthac, dána, dofreastail fona ḍethlæchaib. 7 Rocomruic Sir Gyi 7 Coscran reroile, 7 docuir Sir Gyi slegh co seitreach,

[1]) MS. indistinct.
[2]) MS. *.xx. m.*
[3]) l. 7 *na.* or *cona*?
[4]) MS. *.c.*

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sírcalma tri sciath Coscrain 7 trina craidhi co cudruma, 7 ro-thuirrling Gyi fair, 7 roben a cenn de. 7 Docuir techta leisin cenn cum cing Heirrneis darb ainm in t-imperi, 7 ni fuair riam na iarum taburtus ba ferr leis dh'faghabail na sin. Tarrla rí na Turcach da cheile isin cath 7 Sir Heron[t], 7 docomraicsit co calma, curadhcuisech, 7 rothoit rí na Turcach a furcenn in comruic la beimennaibh agmura, arrachta Heront. 7 Dotorcair se cet[1]) Eirristineach le Gyi sul tainic medhon læ in la-sin, 7 secht cet[2]) 7 da mili tareis medhoin læ. Teora la 7[3]) teora aidhchi dobi in cath-sin aga cur le Gyi. Dala Escladata .i. ridiri laidir do muindtir in t-Sabhdain rofagaibh se in cath, 7 sleg trina curp 7 leth a cinn ina fegmuis, 7 docuaidh se mur[4]) an Sabhdan. 7 Adubairt: 'Ata drochscel agum duid, a tigerna', ar-sé, 'uair do brathair,[5]) 7 docunnac-sa a cenn[6]) aga buain de. 7 Romarbadh rí na Turcach, 7 ní táinic béo dod muinnter acht misi amain, 7 dogebh bás annsan uair-si'. Doraid an Sabhdan, 'Dofuaradur sin tinol tromsluaig ecin', ar-se. Doraidh in ridiri: 'Fuaradur', ar-se, '.i. ridiri Cristaidhe darub ainm Sir Gyi o Berbuic, co tri cet[7]) ridiri maræn ris'. Doraidh in Sabdan: 'Tuingim-si fona deibh', ar-se, 'co ngebha misi in cathair con-gairech-sin co cenn caicidisi, 7 co crochfa me in t-imper-sin 7 Sir Gyi an æncroich'. Is ann-sin rothoit in ridiri tuc na scela-sin leis, 7 dofuair bas. Dala Sir Gyi o Berbuicc immorro, tanicc se isin cathraigh iar mbuaidh coscar 7 commaidhmi co n-edalaib imda lais, 7 robui se tuirrsech on tegmail cona muindter a haithli in catha iar mbeth tri la 7 tri haidhci a cur in catha gan biadh, gan digh, gan colladh. 7 Tugsud lucht na catrach tri garta bennacht dó iar-sin.

20. [318 a] Dala an imper immorro, adubairt sé nach roibhi sa domun æncerd rob annsa les na fiadhach 7 fiancos[c]or, — '7 atáim re ré cian 7 re haimsir fada nar lamhus dul tar dorusbel na cathrach-so amach d'uaman 7 d'imegla in t-[S]abdain 7 na

1) MS. *6. c.*
2) MS. *7 c.*
3) *teora la* 7 repeated in the MS.
4) Supply *aroibhi*?
5) Something omitted. Supply *domarbadh*?
6) MS. *cąenn.*
7) MS. *tri .c. c.*

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Turcach, no co tainic Sir Gyi dom comfurtacht. 7 Rachad amarach isin furais do t-sheilg 7 do fiadhach, 7 bed caicidis isin furais, 7 beth æenach 7 urgairiugudh[1]) againn innti frisin re-sin'. Iar tiacht an læ iarna marach docuadur san furais, 7 rogab drong dib ac fiadhach fur muir le líntaibh fur iascach; 7 drong ele le seabchaib ac fiadach fur enaib, 7 drong ele ag fiadhach le conuib 7 le líntaibh ar damaibh allta 7 ar cullcaib cuibfiaclacha 7 ar paitib primluatha 7 ar na huili[2]) fhiadhach archena. 7 Is annsin docuaidh ida eda a cenn sdibaird an imper, — Sir Morgad ainm in sdibaird, — uair rogab furmud fíchmiscnech re Sir Gyi é arson mur dothairg an t-imper a ingen do bancheile dó, uair[3]) serc siradbul acan sdibhard ar ingen inn imperi. Dala Sir Morgaduir robui se aga smuaintiugudh cinnus do denum[4]) se aimles Sir Gyi, 7 tanic se mur aroibi Sir Gyi isin furais, 7 adubairt ris: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'ní tuillinn am curp na am coluinn mét mo grada furt; 7 atait cuirtinna 7 caisteoil agum, 7 fonn 7 feronn 7 ór 7 airged 7 na huili maith archena; 7 is duid-si uili dob ail lium a cumus 7 a caithem do thabairt. 7 Tarra lium sa cathraigh mur a fuil ingen an imper, 7 imrem fitcell ina farradh, 7 tiucfam arís a cenn an imper, uair ni fuicfe se in furais isin sechtmuin-so.' Teit iarum Sir Gyi isin cathraigh lesin sdibard mur a roibi ingen an imper, 7 docuir Sir Gyi tri cluithci aran sdibard a cetoir. Doráidh in sdibard re Sir Gyi: [318b] 'An[5]) ann-so co foil', ar-sé, 'co ndechar-sa re gnothugudh'. Dochuaid in sdibard mur a roibh in t-imper isin furais, 7 rofhiarfaigh an t-imperi scela de, 7 doraidh in sdibhard: 'Atáit drochscela agum', ar-sé', .i. ridiri fallsa, firfhelltach ata agad-sa, i. Sir Gyi o Berbuicc ar n-eigniugudh h'ingine ina seomra fein; 7 marbhter let é co luath. 7 Rachad-sa ar ma costus fein coruigi inn imperi Almáinnech d'faghail sluaigh 7 shocraidi duit dod cabur.' Adubairt in t-imper: 'Ní creidem-sa aimles air', ar-se, 'uair ataim lan da serc 7 da shirgradh'. 7 O nar gab in t-imper in t-aimlessin, docuaidh in sdibard mur a roibhi Sir Gyi don cathraigh, 7 adubairt ris: '[Is][6]) ed atá do mét mo gradha ort, a Sir Gyi',

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[1]) l. *urgairdiugudh*.
[2]) MS. *huiluili*.
[3]) Supply *dobi*?
[4]) Mixture of constructions. Read either *do denum* or *do denadh sé*.
[5]) MS. *A an annso*.
[6]) Several words may be omitted here. MS. 7 *atá*.

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ar-sé, 'nach feduim rún do denum aran rét dorachudh a ndochar duit. 7 Fag an cathair-si co luath, uair da mbere in t-imperi ort innti dobera se bás duit'. Doraid Sir Gyi: 'Is docair tæbh do thabairt re tigerna taréis an imperi', ar-sé, 'uair is mór in maith doronusa dó acht ge atá ar ti mo marbhta, 7 is tuilledh da maith budh mían lium do denum coruigi so; 7 rachad anois a cenn in t-Sabhdain do denum dithi donn imper festa'. Docuaidh Sir Gyi iarum a cenn a muindtiri, 7 adubairt riu a trealam catha do cur umpa, 7 co faicfidis cathair Consantinnobile; 7 docuiredur a n-éided umpa primullum, 7 rotogsat a mergedha re crannaibh, 7 rogluaisidar rompa asin cathraigh. Robui in t-imper in tan-sin ar ind tulcha isin furais, 7 docunnaicc b*uiden*[2]) greannmur, grainemail ag fagbail na cathrach, 7 rofiarfaigh ce hiat. Adubairt aroile ris: 'Sir Gyi o Berbuic siudh', ar-sé, 'ag imthecht cona muindter iar ndenum aimlesa edrud-sa 7 se'. Adubairt in t-imper: 'Anuidh-si uili annso', ar-sé, '7 rachud-sa mur a fuil Sir Gyi'; 7 docuaidh co leidmlech,[3]) lanluath, 7 rofiarfaigh in t-imper do Sir Gyi fochuin a imthechta. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Docuala', ar se, 'nar ferrdi let-sa mo beth agud, 7 conid ferr let co fagainn do crich 7 do cæmferunn, 7 nach fuil fodnum agud orum. Doraidh in t-imperi: 'Tui[n]gim-si', ar-se, fan Dia rofuluing páis tar mo cenn, nach dubertsa sin, 7 nach fuil san bith ænduine [319a] is annsa lium na tu'. 7 Doréidhigh ris mur-sin. Conidh e aimles an sdibaird ar Sir Gyi conigi sin, *et reliqua.*

21. Dala Sir Gy iarum robadur techta a tír in t-Sabdain ag faghail scel, 7 tangadur cuigi, 7 roinnsidar dó co ticfadh in Sabhdan lín a sluaigh iarna marach d'innradh 7 d'argain na cathrach, 7 roinnis Sir Gyi sin don imper, 7 dorindedur a comurli ann-sin. Adubairt constabla na cathrach, 7 diuice uasal é, 7 robúi fesóg fada, finnliath coruigi a bruinne fair, 7 é féin in[4]) shenoir æsta: 'Denaigh mur ader-sa ribh', ar-se, 'uair atá sl*iabh* ard edruind 7 an Sabhdan, 7 ní fuil a athrugudh do conuir acu; 7 ergem-ne rompa ar fairsinge in t-sl*ebh*i, 7 cunnmam in

[1]) Several words may be omitted here.

[2]) MS. *b*[e]? *b*–? Expansion uncertain.

[3]) *leidmlech*; spelling due to some confusion, perhaps of *leidmech* and *leimnech.*

[4]) l. *ina.*

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Sabhdan cona muindter fuinn isna fantaibh, 7 beth belaigi cumga caille edruinn 7 iad-san. 7 Cuirfem ar n-urcair do gach arm diuraic[th]i ina mesc, 7 ní roithfe fuiliugudh na forrdergad sinne uatha a n-agaid in aird'. 7 Romol[1]) Sir Gyi 7 cách a coit(c)inde in comuirle-sin, 7 dorónsad amlaidh. Teit iarum in t-imper cona sluaghaibh aran sliabh-sin, 7 ni facadur enrét folum don tír acht lan d'echaib eidigthi 7 d'feruibh armta. Is ann-sin docuaidh Sir Gyi arcinn na conuire a ticcidh aran sliabh, 7 rogabh re ais nach ligfedh ænduine tairis isin conuir-sin, 7 sluagh catrach Consantinnobile o sin amac do coimét na mbernd cumung robui ag techt aran slia[bh]. Doraid in Sabdan re hEliman o Tibe[2]) dul a tosuch an catha, 'uair ní fuil fer do choisc isin domun a cath na a comrug na a comlunn', 7 roba rí uasal urunta ei-sidhe. Tanic immorro Eliman o Tibhe a tosuch na conuire, 7 mili ridiri mer, menmnach[3]) faris, 7 tugadur cath fuilech, foburtac, fírneimnech d'aroili, co to[r]cair in mili fer feramail, furniata sin le beimennaibh gaibhtecha, greannmura Gyi. Rogabh ferg [319 b] 7 fírdasacht Eiliman o Tibhir, 7 adubairt nach sguirfedh no co toitedh Sir Gyi cona muindtir leis a n-eruicc a muindtiri fein. Is ann rocomruic Sir Gyi 7 Eliman o Tibir re[r]oile co menmnach, móraicenntach 7 co disgir, dasachtac, doedrana, 7 tuc Sir Gyi sathadh sanntach, sirchalma sleghi ar Eiliman o Tibir, 7 docuir trina curp siar sechtar hi co torchair marbh gan anmain. Doraidh in Sabdan re cing o Nuibie: 'In feicenn tú mo muindtir aga marbadh le laim ænridiri, 7 co fuilmidh-ni cet ridiri rathmur, rouasal fan ridiri da fuil ar n-adhaigh?[4]) 7 Ber-si mo muindtir-sa let, 7 eirigh ina timcill sud, 7 dénaidh marbhadh 7 mugugudh[5]) forra, uair ni bia suilbeacht na solas orum-sa no co nderrntur dochur doibh sud. 7 Docuadur le cheile iarum a n-arrthaisc Sir Gyi, 7 roan-san ina ænar ru, 7 rogabh ag ledaird 7 ag lanmarbadh gan dichell, 7 romarbadh in sdét robúi fæ Sir Gyi, 7 robrisedh a sciath. 7 D[o]nocht a cloidheam asa haithli, 7 is amlaidh robúi in cloidim, 7 is amesc na Niubaidhe dorinnedh hé, 7 is annsan Almain

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[1]) No capital in the MS.

[2]) l. *Eliman o Tiber*, as below? I am not sure that the Irish form was not taken to be a name *Otibe* or *Otiber*. See p. 13, above. The Middle English versions have 'Elmadan of Tyre'.

[3]) Perhaps *mermenmnach*.

[4]) l. *inar n-adhaigh*?

[5]) l. *mudugud*.

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dofuair Sir Gyi é, 7 robidh crith 7 combuaidhirt ar antí docibh in adhaigh é nochta, 7 ní blaisedh betha intí ara ndergadh. Dala Sir Gyi dono robídh ag marbadh 7 ag mícórugudh na nEirristinech leisin cloidhem cathbuadhach, cruadhach-sin, 7 robidh a cruinniugudh 7 a corugudh na curp cnamgerrtha ara scáth aga imdhiden ar urcuraibh a escarnamud. Dala Sir Gyi iarum roordaigh tabhalla imdha do denum 7 beth a diubhrugudh cáich asta i ngach aird a coitcinne, 7 is romór domarbadh co mítrocar dona hEirristinibh mur-sin. 7 Roba cruaidh do Gyi isin uair-sin, 7 docuir techta arcenn Sir Heront dia chabur on guasacht-sin. Is ann-sin tainic Mirabala, .i. ridiri dorinnedh an la-sin [320 a] féin co nua, 7 rochomruic-se co fírarrachta, feramail, furniata re Sir Gyi, 7 a furcenn in comruic robuail Sir Gyi buill buanarrachta, borbnertmur ar Mira[ba]la, 7 tug cned guasachtach fair, 7 roimigh Mirabala iarum do thoradh a retha rindluaith. Docuaidh[1]) Mirabala dno, docuaidh roime a cenn in t-Sabdain, 7 adubairt ris ech leidmech, luathescaidh do gabail, 7 teithedh co luath asin cath, — 7 'ní béo misi', ar-se, 'ia[r] tescadh mo ball, 7 is bec maires dod muindtir'. Is ann-sin rofhech in Sabhdan esbaidh a muindtiri .i. triar ar coic ar fichit dfitibh mile.[2]) Robadur a dei duaibsecha, diablaidhi a coimidecht in t-Sabdain an la-soin .i. Turgamagunt 7 Mathamhain, 7 adubairt riu: 'A dée fallsa fírbregacha', ar-se, 'is mor d'ar n-onoir 7 d'ar n-urgairdiugudh doronusa riam, 7 is olc robabuir-si[3]) rium-sa aniugh'. Roglac iarum bata arrachta, imremur, 7 rogab orra co mer, 7 roimig in Sabhdan asin cath fon am-sin, 7 gach ar-mair dia muindtir maræn ris. Tanic immorro Sir Gyi tarais cona muindtir iar mbuaidh cosgair 7 comaidhti co Consantinnobile. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'A ridiri uaisli, amhantracha, tabraidh anoir 7 uaisli don ændia docum nemh 7 tal*main*, 7 dorinde na duile do neimfni, uair is é berus buaid dibh isna cathaib 7 isna comlannaibh minca ina mithi,[4]) 7 is maith a cumain

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[1]) l. *Dala.*

[2]) MS. *triar ar .u. ar .xx. d-fitibh .m.* I take *fitit* to be an error for *fichtib.* The number seems large, and perhaps the last *.m.* should be expanded *marb.* But Guy slew a thousand alone in his first fight with Eliman o Tiber, and according to one middle-English version the dead bodies covered fifteen miles.

[3]) MS. repeats *robabuir-si.*

[4]) l. *ina mbithi.*

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aniugh oruib', ar-sé. Conidh e sin indera cath docuir Sir Gyi aran Sabdan.

22. Doraidh in sdibhard felltach, furmudach, fíruathmur risin imper: 'Ar[1]) tigerna', ar-sé, 'acht gid mór dothoit let do sluagaibh in Sabhdain, is bec é ag fechain a fuil aigi ina mbethadh, 7 ata sé fergach, fíchmur chugud, 7 is agud ata in t-ænridiri is mó a gniim 7 a tus isin cruinne co comcoitcenn; 7 cur do choir 7 do cert ar comlund [320 b] deisi risin Sabdan, 7 madh ort-sa rachus tabur fregra 7 anoir don t-Shabdan; 7 madh er-sin rachus, in cetna uadha duid-si'. 7 Domol[2]) in t-imperi in comurli-sin. 7 Is e adbur fa thug in stibard in comurle don imper an doigh comad e Sir Gyi dorachudh ann 7 co muirbfidhi ann é. Rotimsaigh 7 rothinoil in t-imper a muindtir as gach aird ina docum, 7 roinnis in comurli-sin doib. Adubairt diuice .i. cenn sluaigh 7 constabla na cathrach: 'Is áis cet bliadan dam', ar-se, '7 da madh incomruic me, do rachainn leisin toisc 7 leisin techtairecht-sin. 7 Gideth ní tiucfainn as beo, 7 mallacht na truagh 7 na tren ar antí dotug an comurli-sin duit, uair is drochcomurle i'. 7 Gideth fós roiar in t-imper ridiri do dul uadha a cenn imper na Turcach leisin techtarecht sin, 7 rodiultsat cach dul ann dó. Sir Gyi dono, romerlasadur a shuili ina cinn co ruibennta, rofergach,[3]) 7 roaithin Sir Heront a adbur, 7 tainic mur a roibi Sir Gyi, 7 adubairt ris: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'is aithnid damh-sa créd ata ar h'áire, 7 lig an smuaintiugudhsin uaid, uair ní tiucfa beo tar h'ais a tir an t-Shabhdain dia ndecha innti, uair is mor a faltanus rit. 7 Cuir mi', ar Heront, 'uair is bec in scel mo bas ag fechain do bais-[s]i'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Nar ligi Dia dam-sa mo ridiri do cur dia marbadh d'iarraidh anora dam fein'. Is ann-sin roeirigh Sir Gyi ina shesum, 7 docuir trealam comdaingen catha uime, 7 docuaidh a fiadnuse an imper, 7 rogab ced aigi. Doraid in t-imperi: 'Nar ligi in fírDía furorda docum nem 7 tal*main* tusa do dhul ina comór siud do guasacht'. 'Rachat-sa ann co derbh', ar Gyi. 'Rachmaid-ni let', ar Sir Heront [7] na tri cet ridiri, 'atamaid ar do theglach.' 'N[i] racha ænduine lium', ar Sir Gyi. 7 Rogluais roime asa haithle ina ænar, 7 nír cían ac ascnam na

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[1]) l. *A tigerna.*
[2]) No capital in MS.
[3]) MS. repeats *in a cíun* after *rofergad.*

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conaire co facaidh se sluaigh in t-Sabhdain a foslongpurt 7 coic[1]) mili dec fad in fhoslongpuirt, 7 in urduil cetna [321 a] ar lethud ann, 7 iad do reir spere no compais comcruind, 7 ursa[2]) na puipli ina céile acu. Robúi dono pupull[3]) in t-Sabhdain ina n-eidirmedhon 7 crann sármor sleghi ina sesum asin pupuill, 7 delbh ilair do dergór alainn, aithle[g]tha fura barr. 7 Carbungculus .i. leg loghmur a n-airdi os cinn na puipli, 7 nír ba soillsi an la særaluind samhra[i]dh dóibh 7 grian co gnúsalainn furær 'nan ghemhaidhchi geimridh le cumachtaibh-sin. 7 Is amlaidh robui in pupuill-sin in t-Sabhdain, iarna ndin co dethmaisech d'édaibh[4]) sída 7 orsnaith o mullach co lár. Docuaidh dano Sir Gyi asteg isin pupuill fura sdét, 7 is amlaidh robui in Sabdan in anam-sin, co maithibh a muindtiri a longad bidh 7 dighi fur borduibh brecdathacha. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Dia uilicumachtaigh rofulaing páis tar cenn na fíren, 7 is é scarus la 7 adhaig[5]) reroile, 7 is é doni fuacht 7 tess, 7 dober línadh 7 traghadh arna marannaibh, 7 dorindi in domhun 7 na huili archena, 7 inté dorinde na huili maith do toirbiugudh duid-si, a Shabhdain colaigh, clænbreathaigh, ainndligthig, uair is olc na dee diablaidhi dia creidigh, 7 ata do leabaidh ar lasadh a n-ifernn ichturach. 7 Docuir mo tigerna imperi cugud lá togbail cum comruic, 7 ridiri bhuaid-si ann-sin 7 ridiri ele on imper, 7 gidbe acca thernoighes on comruc cís 7 cain d'faghail dia tigerna gan troid, gan tegmail o thigerna inté claiter isin comruc. 7 Mas áil let sin, ag súd misi ullam incomruic, 7 dorachaind a hucht an imperi 7 na cora, da suidiugudh ar h'[6])oglach-sa co fuil in ecoir agud.' 'Ca hainm tu-sa?' ar in Sabhdan. 'Sir Gyi o Berbuic m'ainm', ar-se. 'Is tú romarb mo brathair', ar an Sabhdan, '7 toitfir fein ann'. 7 Roordaigh in Sabhdan Sir Gyi do gabail co lanurrlum, 7 a cur ina cipe crapaillti a prisun in fedh dobétis a caithem a coda. Doraidh Gyi: 'Mase mo marbadhsa gan fhochuin dob ail let', ar-se, 'dober-sa adhbur marbtha duit[7]) [321 b] orum'. 7 Is amlaidh adubairt, 7 roleig da spor

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1) MS. *.u.*
2) l. *ursana?*
3) MS. *pupupull.*
4) l. *d'edaigibh?*
5) MS. *adhaiḡ.*
6) MS. *h-*, with the upper stroke partly erased.
7) *duit* repeated in MS.

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an æin[f]echt isin sdét robui fǽ, 7 roben leim luthmur, lanmor este, 7 rotharraing in cloidhem coinnlenach, cruadhach amach, 7 robuaim[1]) beim bithnertmur, buanolcach bais furan Sa̓bhdan, gur scar a cenn re coluind dó, 7 rothogaibh fein in cenn asa haithli, 7 docuir a ngail a sceith é. Dala Sir Gyi dono, roghluais roime a haithle in airdechta-sin, 7 rogairedh anoir 7 aniar, anes 7 atuaigh dó, 7 robui Sir Gyi ag ledairt 7 ag lanmarbadh na læchridhi ina urtimchill. Is ann-sin rogabsad ar aradhain é iar n-iadhadh ina timcill doibh, 7 r[o]marbudar in sdét robui fæ, 7 robai imain enlethe aigi orra ac [c]namgerrad a cenn 7 a cos. Dala Sir Gyi immorro, rotharraing roime do innsaighi cnuic cennchuirr, clochaig, 7 docuaidh ar i*n* 7 ar admullach[2]) na tulcha dia n-aimdeoin, 7 rogab ag tealgadh na liag cloch lamh risin læchraidh co lannertmur; 7 in nech doroithedh[3]) co lathair, romarbadh d-ænbéim cloidhim é, 7 donibh cairn co móra do curpaibh curadh 7 cath miledh ina timcheall da imdidin. 7 Toreair tri cet 7 mili les dibh fon am-sin. Is ann-sin roiadar da mili ridiri rochalma do maithibh in t-sluaigh ina timcell, 7 doligedur cetha sruthluaimnech soighed ris fon am-sin, 7 rofhoilgedur curp in curadh comradhaigh le slegaibh shlinngera, sodiuraici 7 le gainnib gera, grainemla, guasachtacha, 7 leis na huili arm[4]) diuraice archena. 7 Ba samalta Sir Gyi in tan-sin re fiadhcullach furniata fasaigh itir conairt aga cruadhledradh; gach sithi sanntach, sircalma da taburthaigh cuigi gan choigill aga crechtnugudh, 7 ni nech dibh-sin do ternuigedh gan tromainmi o beimennaibh guasachtacha, greanmura Gyi. 7 Girbedh ni roibi nert a cosanta[5]) na a coiméta aigi air fein fon am-sin le huili na tromdebhtha aga turnam 7 aga trasgairt. Dobúi Sir Heront ina suan coll*ata*[6]) [322 a] a cathraigh Consintinnobile, 7 docunnuic fis aduathmur .i. mur dobeth magh lán do leoghanaibh a timcill Sir Gyi, 7 dobeth aga marbadh eturra. Dobidhg Sir Heront asa chollad leis sin, 7 roiar a muindtir leis 7 adubairt co roibhi Sir Gyi a n-ecin 7 a n-anfurlonn, 7 rogluais roime co lanurlum, 7 na tri cet ridiri maræn ris, 7 fuaradur Sir Gyi itir na sluaghaibh

[1]) l. *robuail.*
[2]) l. *ardmullach.*
[3]) repeats *roithedh co.*
[4]) l. *armaibh?*
[5]) MS. *cosananta.*
[6]) l. *codalta.*

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aca farrach 7 aga fheoilgerradh. Dala Sir Heront dono, robris furna sluaghaibh co seitreach, sírcalma, 7 torchair secht cet[1]) læch leidmech, lanchalma leo isin ruathar-sin. 7 Ni roibhi on muir ngainmigh anes gusin muir tinntighi a tuaigh Eirristinech-incumannta nach roibhi aran æensluagh-sin, 7 roteithedur uili fon am-sin roim Sir Gyi cona muindtir, 7 docuredur ár adhbul in tan-sin orra. Tanic immorro[2]) Sir Gyi fa buaid coscair 7 comaidmi co n-édalaibh imdha leis, 7 roleig in cenn ar lár a fiadhnuse an imper. Conidh amlaidh sin fa fuin do cogadh in t-Sabdain la Sir Gýi.

23. Dala an imperi iarna mharach, docuaidh se cum fiadhaigh cona teghlach, 7 robui sé na suidhi ar inn tulca, 7 Sir Gyi ina farrudh ann, 7 nir cían doibh ann in tan dochunncadur leoghan límfhiaclach, lancalma 7 dragan dana, duaibsech, doingabhala a comruc 7 a cathugudh reroile, 7 robúi in leoghan breoiti, baccach, 7 cor d'irbull in dragun a timcill an leogain, 7 gin granna gnusghorm in dragun oscailti innus co rachad ridiri cona eidedh ina beolu. Doraidh Sir Gyi co rachadh fein[3]) do cumnad don leogan co lanurrlum, os é rob anmainne[4]) isin cathugudh; 7 adubairt nach lemud ænduine dul les isin cathirgail-sin. Iarna chlos-sin don imper rotheith se cona muindtir la huaman an draguin. Docuaidh Sir Gyi fura s[d]ét, 7 doshaith in t-ech cum an draguin, 7 tug sathudh sanntach, síreealma sleighi ina bél isin dragun, 7 dochuir in t-sleg tri cul a cinn siar sechtair, 7 rothuirrling fair, 7 roben a cenn de. Tanic in leoghan co Gyi, 7 robí se ag lighi a cos 7 a cæmcuirp 7 rocoimil Sir Gyi a lámh do muinel in leoghain, 7 rolen an leoghan é asa haithli in gach conu[i]r ina teighedh. Aroile lá dia roibhi Sir Gyi a caithem a coda ar bord inn imperi, robui an leoghan an lá-sin fo bun croinn ina colladh [322b] isinn erber, 7 a tarr a n-airrdi re grein, 7 roconuic sdibard in imperi mur sin é, 7 tug sathadh sanntach sleghi isin leoghan, 7 docuir trit hi, 7 roleig a abac 7 a inathar re cosuibh. Rosgrech 7 rosgairt in leoghan co lanmór, 7 docuaidh mur a roib Sir Gyi 7 rocrom

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1) MS. 7 .c.
2) MS. *h'*.
3) Several letters erased after *féin*.
4) l. *rob anmainn e?*

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fona cosuibh, 7 a inathar amuigh, 7 dothoit iarum, 7 torcair marbh gan anmain. Dala Sir Gyi iar-sin, rogabh a sdét, 7 docuaidh uirre, 7 roglac a cloidem, 7 docuaidh [1]) in t-imper, 7 fochtuis do chach a coitcinne cia romarbh a leoghan, 7 ní fuair a fhis ag æннech. Dala Sir Gyi, adubairt gidhbe ró-innosudh dó inté romarbh an leoghan co tiubhrad a luagh dó .i. mili punt d'ór alainn, aithlegta, 7 ní fuair a fhis ann. Tanic iarum cumul coimidechta ingine an imperi coruigi Sir Gyi, 7 ro-innis dó gurb e sdibard an imperi romarb an leoghan, 7 ro-innis mur romarbadh e. Iarna clos-sin do Gyi, docuaidh roimhe isin seomra ina mbidh in sdibhard, 7 brathair dó faris isin t-seomra in uair-sin. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'A sdibair[d]', ar-se, 'ni derna fein olc na urchoid duid-si riam; cia romarbuis mo leoghan gan adhbur?' 'Nír marbusa é', ar an sdibhard. 'Dorindis co deimin', ar Gyi. '7 Rofheallais fo dhó roime súd orum-sa, 7 ní dingnair in chethruma fecht orum-sa na ar duine ele.' 7 Is amlaidh adubairt, 7 tug builli borb, bithnertmur, bedgnimach bais don sdibard co nderna da n-orduin certa, cudruma, comora de. Tug immorro brathair in sdibaird sgian scothfæbrach amac, 7 tug sathudh sanntach docum Sir Gyi, 7 tug Sir Gyi builli brighmur, bithcalma, [7] doben an lámh des aga gualaind de, 7 mur-sin doleig uadha co comurthach é. Iar clos na scel-sin don imper adubairt se gur coir romarbh Sir Gyi in sdibard, 7 gur thuill se roime sin o Sir Gyi a marbhadh.

24. Dala an imper iarum, adubairt re Sir Gyi: 'Is mor an lan maithusa dorinis dam, 7 ni fetur a innsin ara mét; 7 bidh ullum arcinn na maidhni amarach do posudh m'ingine, 7 dogebuir leth mo tigerntuis re m'bethaidh 7 é uile iar m'ég'. D*ixit* Gyi: 'Doden-sa do thoil-si, a thigerna', ar-sé. Iar tiacht in læ iarna marac docuaidh Sir Gyi cona tri cet ridiri fa gúnaib sida co fér umpa, 7 docuadur don eglus, 7 tangadur espoc na cathrach 7 a lucht [323 a] uird, 7 rofiarfaighedur do Gyi in roibhi fainne posta aigi. Rofhosguil Sir Gyi a puidsi, 7 is e fainne tarrla cuigi, in faindi robui mur comurtha cuimnigti itir é 7 ingen iarla o Berbuic, 7 rosmuain uirre asa haithli, 7 rothoit taisi 7 taimneoll fair. 7 Anuair far-eirigh Sir Gyi asa neoll, adubairt:

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[1]) *mura roibh*, or something equivalent, omitted.



'A tigerna', ar-se, 'ní fuilim fein inposta aniugh, uair atá aingcis tromgal*air* ar mbualadh orum; 7 tabur cairdi damh no co faghar slainti'. Dobui Sir Gyi coic[1]) la dec ina luighi, 7 nir lig nech ina cenn risin ré-sin acht Sir Heront ina ænar. Doraidh Sir Gyi re Sir Heront: 'A Eroint', ar-se, 'créd doden re hingin an imper, uair ata gradh dermail, dofhuling agum ar ingen iarla o Berbuic, 7 ata a fhis agud-sa curob fír-sin'. Doraidh Sir Heront: 'Ata a fis agum-sa', ar-sé, 'gurub i ingen inn imper ben is ferr fuath 7 chuma isin cruinde co comchoitcenn, 7 co fuigir-si in n-imperacht-so le; 7 da mad hí ingen in iarla bes agud, ní bia inme bus mó nan iarlocht agud'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Tuicim as sin, a Sir Heront, nach buidech tú dim tri gan ingen inn imper do thabairt; 7 a nfuil a fis agud, a Sir Heront', ar-sé, 'curob do gradh 7 d'annsacht ingine iarla o Berbuic dorinni-sa a nderna do ghoil 7 do gaiscedh riam, 7 fos gur foibhres bás d'faghail[2]) roime-so?' D*ixit* Sir Heront: 'Ní roibhi a fis-sin agum-sa, 7 os anois ataisi[3]) (?) is ferr lium agud'. Roeirigh Sir Gyi a cinn coic[4]) la ndec, 7 docuaidh sé iar-sin mur a roibi in t-imper, 7 roba luthaireach in t-imper roim Sir Gyi in la-sin iarna fhaicsin slan do. 7 Dochaith Sir Gyi an la-sin a cuibhrenn an imper. 7 Doraidh Sir Gyi risin imper: 'A thigerna', ar-se, 'ní feduim-si h'ingen-sa do beth agum mur mnai, uair ata briathar edrum 7 ingen iarla o Berbuic, 7 ní biadh a hathrugudh agum co crich mo báis, 7 ataim secht[5]) mbliadhna agud-sa, 7 rob ail lium cet imtechta d'faghail festa'. Is romor dogoill sin aran imper 7 ar shluaghaibh na cathrach uili. Is ann-sin tuc an t-iarla[6]) tri miacha moaibhli d'ór aluind, athleghta do Gyi o nar gabh se tigerntus ele uadha. 7 Rodiult Sir Gyi [323 b] sin do gabail, 7 adubairt gur roibhi a lordhæthain oir 7 innmusa aigi fein, 7 nach d'iarraidh enneth ele tanic, acht do cumnadh don imperi. 7 O nar gab Sir Gyi in t-ór doroinn in t-imperi ar muinntir Sir Gyi é. Is ann-sin adubairt in t-imperi: 'A Sir Heront', ar-sé, 'is tu-sa indera ridiri is ferr lam dochunnac-sa riam .i. Sir Gyi o Berbuic 7 tu-sa. 7 O rodiult Sir Gyi m'ingen-sa do bancheile,

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1) MS. .*u*.
2) MS. *dfagbail bas* with marks of transposition.
3) MS. *atisi*.
4) MS. .*u*.
5) MS. .7.
6) l. *an t-imper*?

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doberuind tigerntus 7 toice 7 tinnlacudh duid-si, a Sir Heront', ar-se. Doraidh Heront: 'Da tucta in imperacht uili dam-sa', ar-sé, 'ní gebhuind bhuaid é, 7 Sir Gyi do treigin'. Is ann-sin rocheilebuir Sir Gy don imper, 7 roimigh roime asa haithli. Conidh i cuairt Sir Gyi fare himperi Consantinnobile connigi sin.

25. Imthus Sir Gyi 7 a muindtiri, dogluasidar rompa, 7 ni dernsad fos na fuirech co rangadur co cathraigh na Coloine san Almain. Rofer in t-imperi failti cona muindtir re Gyi, 7 tug anoir mór dóibh, 7 [do]thairg toici 7 tigerntus do Sir Gyi, 7 rodiult Gyi sin, 7 adubairt nach anfad no co ndechadh co crichuibh Saxan. 7 Dogluais roime iar-sin, 7 dochunnaicc cathair dighfoghlaigti uadha i n-am esparta do ló. 7 Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'A Sir Heront', ar-se, 'ber na ridiri let 7 eirgidh sa cathraigh, 7 gab teg osta duinn; 7 anfa misi ann-so co foill ag radh m'esperta 7 ag eistecht re ceol na henlaithi'; 7 doronsad amlaidh. Dala Sir Gyi dono, nir cian dó ag siubal na furaisi gur coduil re ceol na henlaithi, 7 is é ní roduisig asa shuan é .i. sgrech aduathmur, mishnimach do clos dó. 7 Docuaidh roime mur a cual*a* in sgrech, 7 fuair ridiri gonta, geranach, guasachtach, a comtilgen a fhola re fantaibh na furaisi. Fochtuis Sir Gyi scela de. Doraidh in ridiri gæta: 'Ní fuil feidm agud ar mo scelaib d'fagail', ar-se, 'uair ní moidi let do menma mo scela-sa do clos, 7 ní mó téit m'aire-si rem comfurtacht duid'. D*ixit* Gyi: 'Ar gradh[1]) [324 a] enDia uilicumachtaigh innis do scela fein[2]) damh', ar-sé, '7 doden do maith, da fedar'. D*ixit* in ridiri gonta, 'Tabur fat firinne', ar-sé, 'co n-[d]ingnair mo les'. 'Doberim', ar Sir Gyi. Rofech in ridiri os a cinn, 7 adubairt 'Budh[e]cus mor[3]) rit ræt maith do denum', ar-sé, 'uair is ridiri furtill, firarrachta tú, 7 is truagh do Dhia docum nem 7 tal*main* nach tu Sir Gyi o Berbuic'. 'Innis scela dam festa', ar Gyi. 'Doden', ar an ridiri. 'Is misi Sir Tirri, mac iarla Aimbri, 7 tug ingen diuice o Loren serc dichra, difuluing damh, 7 tugusa in cetna di-si; 7 tanicc Otun .i. diuice na Lumbairdi dia tabairt, 7 dogabhad la docum posta eturra .i. an sechtmhadh[4]) la on ló-sin, 7 docuir-si cugum-sa

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1) *ar gradh* is repeated in the MS.
2) *fein* is repeated in the MS.
3) MS. *m̃*.
4) MS. .7.

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techt ara cenn fon aimsir-sin. 7 Tanag-sa', ar-se, 'deichnemur[1]) ridiri roarrachta co hincleit co cathraigh diuice na Lobheine, 7 docurus techta arcenn na hingine, 7 tainic si a ndocum a mucha na maidni mochsoillsi. 7 Docurus ar mo chúluib hi, 7 rofhagus in cathair, 7 docunncadur lucht na cathrach me ag imthecht, 7 do heighem a mdiaigh 7 rolensad in da diuice cona sluaghaibh me, 7 torcair mo neithnemar[2]) ridir[e] leo fon am-sin. 7 Dothorchair drecht dana, dofreastail dona sluaghaibh-sin lem-sa, 7 tarrla gabal mórthonnach mara re m'ucht 7 robenus leim luthmur, lanedruim as mo sdét fon muir amach, uair dorugus do roghain mo bhathadh isin muir na ma thoithim leisna Lumbardachaibh. 7 Rob ferr le hingin diuice o Loren a bathudh fein na beth na banceile ag diuici na Lumbairdi, 7 tuc an sdét sinn a tir ***[3]) 7 nír fedudh ar lenmain isin sruth, 7 tangamur man caillidh-so, 7 robadhusa toirrsech, tromgonta, 7 docures mo cenn a n-ucht na mna, 7 adubairt re coimét, 7 gur ecin damh suan 7 sircolladh do denum. 7 Dothoit mo thoirrtim suain 7 sircollta orm, 7 tangadur coic[4]) ridiri dec am comdhail, 7 dosaithedur a coic[5]) slegha [dec][6]) trim curp, 7 dorugadur mo ben buaim, 7 atait siat a pupull bec ar la[r] na fibuidhi'. D*ixit* Sir Gy [324 b] 'Is olc ataim cuca sin', ar-se, 'uair ni fuil arm agum'. Adubairt Tirri: 'Ata mo cloidem-sa ar scáth na homna ugud ar h'incaibh', ar-se. Is ann-sin roglacc Sir Gyi an cloidem, 7 dochuaidh ar mul bec ar lorg na læchraidhi, 7 dochuaidh co dorus na puipli, 7 rocengail in múl don dorus, 7 docuaidh fein asteg, 7 adubairt: 'A ridiri uaisli, créd far marbubhair mac iarla Aimbri?' ar-se. Adubairt aroili dibh: 'Ni ba ferr h'anoir-si', ar-se, 'uair dogentur in cetna rit'. Is ann-sin ronocht Sir Gyi in cloidem colga, curata, 7 torchuir na cuig fer dec lais acht madh ænridiri ar mbuain a lethlaime de, 7 dorind retha as. 7 Dorug Sir Gy ingen diuice Loren 7 sdét Sir Tirri leis coruigi an inadh ar fhagaibh sé in ridiri gæta, 7 ní fuair sé acht ait in ridiri ann. Dala Sir Gyi dono, rofagaib se ingen diuice Loren ann-sin, 7 dochuaidh fein a toraighecht Sir Tirri, 7 ní cían docuaidh sé in

[1]) MS. *.x̄.* Cf. p. 313 b, above.
[2]) l. *mo deichnemar.*
[3]) MS. obscure.
[4]) MS. *.u.*
[5]) MS. *.u.*
[6]) No space in MS. for *dec.*

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tan docunnaicc sé in cethrur ridiri roarrachta, 7 Sir Tirri ar imchar acu a fuad fhada, firdaingen, 7 fochtuis Gyi scela dibh. Adubairt aroile fer acu gurb é Sir Uighi .i. brathair do diuice na Lumbairdi robúi ann 7 triar ridiri maræn ris, — '7 Sir Tirri, mac iarla Aimbri ata aguind da breith da milludh docum diuice na Lumbairdi'. D*ixit* Sir Gyi: 'Fagaid festa hé', ar-sé, 'uair is cara craidhi dam-sa é, 7 ni liged lib-si e nis foidi'. Adubairt aroile dibh ag impo[dh] fris: 'Bermuid-ni tu-sa 7 Tirri linn no co faghthaigh ænbas docraidh ar ndis'.[1]) An dias ridiri roimpo fris, roben in da ceann dibh. Dixit Sir Uighi .i. derbbrathair diuice na Lumbairdi: 'A fhir oig, eguind, anbfesaigh', ar-sé, 'is olcc in lesugudh thu isin ngnim doronais, 7 toitfir fein ann'. 7 Docomruic se co hullum re Sir Gy, 7 roben Sir Gyi a cin[d] d'ænbuille de, 7 roben a lethlam don cethramadh ridiri, 7 is e sin roba comurtha do a dul a cenn diuici na Lumbairdi. Docuir Sir Gy Tirri ar ech iarum, 7 dorug leis e coruigi an fod arar fagaibh ingen diuice Loren, 7 ní fuair acht a hinadh ann. Dala Sir Gyi iar-sin, dorug se iarla Tirri les annsa cathraigh, 7 docuir 'sa teg osta é rogab Sir Tirri ara cind. [325 a] Docuala Sir Gyi in tan-sin gul 7 geran athruagh,[2]) egaintech, 7 rofiarfaigh Sir Gyi fochain in gerain-sin. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Le na fad lium-sa co faca tusa anocht, docuadhus man coillidh cetna gut iaraid, 7 fuarus æningen aluind, edrocht ag diucaire co geranach, 7 tugus lium hí, 7 is i doní an geran adcluinti-si anosa, 7 is í robui ann-sin .i. ingen diuice Loren'. 7 Rogab urgairdiugudh menman Sir Tirri iarna clos sin dó, gerb anbann robui. 7 Docuiredh leigus ar Tirri asa haithli-sin, 7 robui slan. Is ann-sin roan iarla Tirri ag Sir Gyi, 7 tugadur daingen bratharda da ceile. Conidh e cetcumann Sir Gy re Sir Tirri ann-sin.

26. Aroile la dia raibhi Sir Gyi, 7 ucht ar fuindeoig in t-seomra ag feitheam na cathrach ina timcell, 7 docunnuicc cuigi ridiri, 7 sdét firluath fai, 7 fochtuis Gyi scela de. Adubairt in ridiri: 'Do muindtir iarla Aimbri damh', ar-se, '7 ataim ag iarraidh a mic .i. Sir Tirri, 7 ní faghaim enfhocal da scelaibh, 7 ní fedur an mairenn sé. 7 A ndighail mur dorug sun ingen diuice Loren leis ata diuice na Lumbairdi 7 diuice na Loueine

[1]) l. *far n-dis?*
[2]) l. *atruagh.*


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ag milludh 7 ag moragain[1]) tigerntus iarla Aimbri, 7 domill se uile é acht cathair Ambri nama, 7 atait in da diuice dimsechasin ac techt co cathraigh na Goimrisi[2]) dia gabail; 7 is iad-sin [moscela]'[3]) ar an ridiri. D*ix*it Sir Gyi: 'Tuirrling', ar-se, '7 anfa rinne anocht, uair is againn is docha duid scela Sir Tirri d'fagail'. Tanic in ridiri astegh iar-sin, 7 fuair se Sir Tirri ara cinn co feramail, furbailigh, 7 dorindi umla 7 anoir do. Is annsin adubairt Sir Tirri: 'A Gyi', ar-sé, 'acht gidhmór do maith 7 do mormiadh doronuis co ró-so, is mó rigim a les anois rit na riam coruigi-so, uair [?][4]) dam-sa m'athar d'argain 7 d'innradh, do shlat 7 do sharugudh ar mo shon'. D*ix*it Sir Gyi: 'Dober-sa nert mo laime let', ar-sé. Docuaidh Sir Gyi iar-sin fon cathraigh, 7 rofhostaigh se deich[5]) cet ridiri roarrachta. 7 Roimgedar rompa asa haithli co cathair na Gormisi. 7 Dorindi iarla Aimbri 7 a teglach [325 b] umla 7 anoir do Sir Tirri. Adubairt Sir Tirri: 'Is ferr do dhil anora 7 urgairdighti Sir Gyi ó Berbuic na misi', ar-se, 'uair is é rocosain m'anma dam, 7 is ara teglach ataim'. Iarna clos-sin don iarla 7 da muindtir doronsad anoir do Sir Gyi. Is ann-sin docualadur gair 7 greadan 7 eidhme amluatha, etréna ar fud na-cathrach co comcoitcenn. 7 Rofhiarfaigh Sir Gyi fochuin na n-eidhme-sin, 7 adbert aroile fris gurb iad sluagha seghmura, sírcalma na Lobeine 7 læchrad línmur, lanarrachta na Lumbairdi tanic do gabail cathrach na Gormisi. D*ix*it Sir Gyi: 'A Sir Tirri', ar-se, 'ber-si da cet[6]) ridiri do muindtir-si let, 7 tabur cath curata, coscarchalma doibh siud, 7 findum[7]) co maith do gaiscedh 7 do gnimecht a ngleo an laithisi aniu. Dala Sir Tirri iarum, dochuaidh co rechtmur, roarrachta a comdail na curadh cathcalma-sin, 7 docuiredh deich cet[8]) mili merchalma, móraicenntach ina n-aghaidh, 7 docaithedur co mer, menmnach, miceille reroile. To[r]chair deichnemar[9]) læch lanchalma don cetruathar la Sir Tirri, 7 nir cian iarum gur toit

[1]) l. *morargain*.
[2]) l. *Gormisi*, as below.
[3]) No space in MS.
[4]) Something omitted.
[5]) MS. *.x̄. c.*
[6]) MS. *.c.*
[7]) The word is not clear.
[8]) MS. *.x̄. .c.*
[9]) MS. *x̄.*

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da cet co coscarta, cnamgerrtha i n-urtimcill Sir Tirri. Docured iar-sin mili ridiri mer, mórdalach do chathugudh ris, 7 docuir Sir Tirri in cath aris co nua fon am-sin, 7 torcair se[1]) cet dibh lais co lanurrlum. Is ann-sin docured fiche cet[2]) ridiri curata, cruadhcalma do chathugudh re Sir Tirri, 7 robui Sir Tirri o moch na maidni mochsoillsi co medhon læ isin cathlathair-sin gan cabur o nech ele fair acht é féin 7 a dha cet ridiri, 7 fa cruaidh dó fon am-sin la himud na læchraidhi Lumbardaighi ina urtimcill. Doraidh Sir Heron[t]: 'A Gyi', ar-sé, 'dambram[3]) cabuir 7 comfurtacht budesta do Sir Tirri'. 'Doberum', ar Gyi. Is ann-sin docuaid Sir Gyi cona dha cet[4]) ridiri do cumnum do Tirri, 7 adubairt Gyi ris: 'A Tirri', ar-se, 'fagaib in cath budesta, 7 eirigh 'sa catraigh 7 lig edrum-sa 7 in cath sel ele'. Teith iarum Tirri co crechtach, cathbuadhach fon cathraigh, 7 docuaidh Sir Gyi co colga, cetfadach fon cath, 7 robris forra co leoganta, leidmech, lancalma. Cidh tracht robui Sir Gyi co greannmur, gnimechtach a[c] cur in catha-sin o medhon læ co haidhci, 7 fedh na haidchi gan [326 a] coicill a[c] comarbadh na curadh co hergi greine iarna marach, 7 fed an dara lái co noin, co nar mair dib man am-sin acht cethorcha 7 fiche[5]) dibh ina cimhedaibh crapailti, cruadhcuibrighti a laimh, 7 fiche[6]) ele do dul cirrta, crechtach, crosledartha, crobhainech a cenn in da diuce le scelaibh. Adubairt aroile: 'Is olc in t-inadh ar cureabair sinne', ar-sé, 'uair ní terno eladhach betha diar muindter acht madh sinni æn fichet[5]) crechtach, comurthach, cnamhgerrtha, a n-esbaid ball 7 brighi'. Rogab luindi 7 lanferg diuice Loren ar clos na scel, 7 rofiarfaigh cia roine[7]) na mórechta-sin. Adubradur na techta gurb iad tri colunaigh connmala 7 cothaighti na crodachta doroine sin .i. Gýi greannmur, gnimechtach o Berbuic a crichaibh seghmura, sobreagha Saxan, 7 Sir Tirri tren, tromnertmur, tegmalach mac iarla Aimbri, 7 Sir Heront arrachta, ardmenmach, in cuingi calma, cetfadach. Doraidh diuice na Lumbairdi: 'Robudh ferr lium na moran do maithus na cruinne

[1]) MS. .s. c.

[2]) MS. *.xx. c.*

[3]) Reading doubtful. Should it be *taibrem*?

[4]) MS. *.c.*

[5]) MS. *.xl.* 7 *xx.*

[6]) MS. *.xx.*

[7]) l. *doroine*?

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co comcoitcenn co mberinn aran triar-sin a cathair na Gormmisi, 7 bét-sa', ar-sé, 'a n-urrthosuch na maidni mochsoillsi amarach a timcill'. Dala Sir Gyi, tareis coscair 7 com[r]aimme in catha-sin, tainic tarais co cathraigh na Gormisi co mbuaidh n-amanntuir 7 n-edala. Conidh amlaidh-sin fa fuin don cath-sin.

27. Dala Sir Gyi ar maidin iarna mhárach dochuaidh d'est[e]cht aithfrinn, 7 rofhágaibh in tempall iarum, 7 docunnuic na dronga 7 na dirmadha dethsluaigh ag techt dochum na cathrach. Doraidh Sir Gyi re Tirri: 'Atait na sluaigh seitreacha, sirchalma ac techt 'nar ndocum, 7 eirgem ar minlech na magh 7 ar fairsingi na ferunn do chathugudh 7 do cruadhcomrug riu'. Docuadur co hurrlum, 7 tugadur cat dian, dasachtach d'aroile. Is ann-sin tarla diuice leidmech, lancalma na Lumbairdi da cheile isin catlathair 7 Sir Heront, 7 adubairt Sir Heront: 'A diuice furmadaigh, fhingalaigh', ar-se, 'is ecoir rofhellais orum fein 7 ar mo tigerna'. 7 Is amlaidh adubairt, 7 tug builli borb, buanarrachta don diuice gor ben leth na ceinnbeirti clochbuadaigh, cengailti do cend an diuice, 7 dorinne fuindeog fhairsing, fírdomuin ina gualainn fair, 7 rotrasgair co trennertmur e, 7 rothuirrling fair dia dicennugudh. 7 Tangadur ann-sin cet Lumberdach lanchalma eturra, 7 dorugadur in diuice o Sir Heront, 7 dolen Sir Heront trit in cath e. Is ann-sin rochruinnigedur læich línmura na [1]) [326 b] Lumbairdi a timcill Sir Heront, 7 r[o]-marbadur a ech, 7 robrisedh a cloidhem. 7 Tanic ann-sin ridiri feramail, fírarrachta Frangcach co lathair, robui ar teglach diuici na Lumbairdi, 7 adubairt: 'A Sir Heront', ar-se, 'tabur tú fein dam-sa festa, or ní fuil nert do cosanta agud'. 'Co h'ainm thú?' ar Heront. 'Sir Gailiard m'ainm', ar-se. Doraidh Sir Heront: 'Doberuind me duit da thucta fhirinde re m'anucul'. 'Doberim', ar Galiard. Is ann-sin dothug Heront é féin, 7 rotucadh a cenn an diuice a laim e. Is ann-sin rofiarfaigh Sir Gyi scela Sir Heront, 7 adubairt aroili fris co facaidh féin aga gabail é. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'A Tirri', ar-sé, 'lenum Sir Heront, uair ni fuigim aimsir a fhuasgalta is ferr n'anuis'. 7 Rolenudur co hurrlum é, 7 ní rugadur air no co rucadh 'sa cathraigh e. Is ann-sin roimpo Sir Gailiard re Gyi, 7 roferudar gleo greannmur, grainemail reroile, 7 tug Sir Gyi sathudh sanntach sleghi ar

1) *na* repeated in MS.



Sir Gailiard. Doraid Sir Gailiard: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'tabur m'anum damh, 7 beth am oglach agud, 7 is me roainic Sir Heront ara marbadh', ar-sé, '7 da fedur dober lium tarais é'; 7 tug a firinde ris-sin, 7 fuair a anum. Dala Sir Galiard iar-sin, rogluais roime a cenn diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 roiar Sir Heront air rena aisic do Sir Gyi, 7 rodiult in diuice uime e. Doraidh Galiard co rachadh fein fare Sir Gyi do cogudh 7 do cathudh risin diuice tri gan Sir Heront do thabairt do dia aisic do Gyi o Berbuic, 7 ní ciur (?)[1] cairdi duid gan dul do denum do dithi acht anocht amain. Is ann-sin dothainic ridiri ele do muindtir diuice na Lumbairdi do comruc re Gy, 7 doronsad comrac frithir, fergach, furniata reroile, 7 tug Sir Gyi sathadh sírshanntach sleghi isin ridiri, 7 rotrasgair é,[2] 7 rothuirrling fair dia dicennudh. D*ix*it an ridiri: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'tabair m'anum dam, 7 dober braighi maith duit asum fein .i. Sir Heront'. 'Da tuctha t'firinne ris-sin', ar Gyi, 'doberuind h'anum duit'. Tug iarum, 7 fuair a anum, 7 rogluais roime a cenn diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 roiar Sir *H*eront re aisic [327 a] do Gyi, 7 fuair sé sin co prap, 7 ba luthairech le Sir Gyi Sir Heron[t] do thecht. Is ann-sin dolen diuice na Lumbairdi cona muindtir Sir Gyi iarna faicsin a n-uathadh sluaigh, uair ní roibi fare Sir Gyi in tan-sin acht Sir Tirri 7 Sir Heront. Dospor Sir Gyi in sdéd a certlár sluaigh na Lumbardach, 7 nír shail Tirri na Sir Heront a faicsin co brach, 7 tarrla diuice na Lumbairdi re Sir Gy isin cathlathair-sin, 7 tug builli bailc, brigmur, boirbnertmur don d[i]uice, 7 rochrom in diuice roim in mbuilli-sin, 7 robenadh an cuid siar da ceinnbert de, 7 roscris in t-eideth ara druim, 7 rogerr in dilat aluind, oraighi trithi, 7 in cursun caillti, cnaimremur d'ænbeim; 7 roimigh dia [a]indeóin asta amach amesc a muindtiri, 7 docuir se mersi[3]) Sin Seoirsi re crann, 7 rob ail leis bualadh ar na sluaghaibh. Adubairt diuice na Lumbaird:[4]) 'Dorindedur súd ilimud uilc duinn aniu', ar-sé, 7 atait agar sanntug[udh] co sir-calma anosa', ar-se, '7 sechnam iad, 7 eirgem co cathair na Páni, uair ní fuil fius[5]) ar ndíghthi aniú aguind', ar-se. Tainic Sir Gyi tarais co cathraigh Aimbri co n-ilimud gacha maithusa

[1]) For *ciur* read *tiur*? For the form see pp. 302 a, 341 a, 347 a.
[2]) MS. *ré*, repeating final *r* of *rotrasgair*.
[3]) l. mergi.
[4]) l. *Lumbairdi*.
[5]) MS. not quite clear.

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iar mbuaidh cosgair ar naimdibh. Iar n-ergi do diuice na Lumbairdi asa othrus, tanicc sé mur a roibi diuice Loren, 7 adubairt fris: 'A diuice Loren', ar-sé, 'benfa Sir Gyi o Berbuic 7 Sir Tirri do tigerntus dít, 7 dodenuid in cetna rium-sa da feduid, 7 dena mo comairle-si', ar-se '.i. cuir techta ar cenn Sir Tirri 7 Gyi o Berbuic, 7 gell clemnus do denum re Tirri 7 sidh re hiarla Aimbri 7 re Sir Gyi, 7 abuir co mbia fledh bainnsi agud doibh. 7 Bed-sa con mo muindtir inar trealam comdaingin catha a ceilg agud, 7 gebum Tirri 7 Sir Gyi 7 Sir Heront, 7 beth Sir Tirri 7 Sir Gyi 7 Sir Heront agum-sa ina cimedhaib crapaillti, 7 bidh iarla Aimbri cona muindtir agud-sa, 7 doena[1]) do bhail fein díb'. Adubairt diuice Loren nach fellad sé ar Sir Gy co brach, ar an diuice, — 'uair ata ilimud da cumain form'. *Dixit* diuice na Lumbairdi: 'Ni da riribh adubartsa súd', ar-sé; '7 gidedh tabur cuccud iad 7 dena sídh riu'. [327 b] Conidh amlaidh-sin rocomhuirligh diuice na Lumbairdi fell for Gyi.

28. Dala d[i]uice o Loren iarum dochuir-se espac uasalgradhach ar cenn iarla Aimbri cona muindtir, 7 rogell sídh 7 clemnus doibh, 7 fledh buan-tigluictech bainnsi do beth urrlum fora cinn. Ba luthairech le hiarla Aimbri na briathra-sin. *Dixit* Sir Gyi: 'A iarla Aimbri', ar-se, 'na creid na briathra binnbrega, blasta ugud; 7 rofheall diuice Otun fa dhó roime-so orum-sa, 7 is e is comurlech do diuice Lorén, 7 docreidhfinn co n-ingnadh in treas fecht da fedadh'. *Dixit* iarla Aimbri: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'na bidh uaman na imegla fort, uair ni ferr linne sidh na ndiuice dha ud d'faghail na leo-san ar sídh-ne, 7 ní fellfuid foruind'. Doraid Sir Gyi: 'Da ndechuir-si ann siud', ar-se, 'beridh trealaidi comdaingni catha lib'. *Dixit* iarla Aimbri: 'Ní berum', ar-sé; 'os do denum sidha rachum, ní biadh greann coguidh oruind'. Is ann-sin roimidh iarla Aimbri cona muindtir co dunadh diuic o Lóren gan arm, gan eideth acht gunaidhi somaisecha sida co fér umpa. Is ann-sin docunncadur diuice na Lumbairdi[2]) ina ndocum co sluagh n-armtha, n-eidighti, 7 rogabsat Tirri 7 Heront 7 na sluaigh uili archena lais. Dala Sir Gyi robi sé idir na sluaghaibh co seitreach, sirchalma a[g] gabail da dornaibh co dana 7 da uillennaib forra. 7 Roben bata buna, borbremur as lamaibh ridiri acu, 7 robuail builli air fein de co

[1]) MS. not quite clear; perhaps *daena*. Read *dena*.
[2]) MS. *Lumbairni*.

torcair lais. Dochunnaic Sir Gyi ridiri ina docum, 7 sdét firalainn fai, 7 adubairt Sir Gyi fris: 'Da thucta in t-ech-sin[1]) fúd damh', ar-se, 'da mairinn do dénuind do les fos'. 'Tuingim fam Dia co fuighir-si hí', ar an ridiri ac tuirrling, 7 docuaidh Gyi fuirri co fíraibeil, 7 roshaith fona sluaghaibh co sircalma, 7 torcuir dias ridiri co firluath les, 7 tuc a n-eich don ridiri tug in sdét dó roime-sin. Dala Sir Gyi iarum dochruinnigedur læchraidh linmair, lancalma na Lumbairdi ina hurtimcill, 7 dorindi conair coitcenn, congairech do fein trithu, 7 dolenadur na Lumbardaig e, 7 tarrla sruth domuin ris, 7 doben leim luthmur, lanedrom [328 a] asa sdet fon inbir, 7 docuaidh tar an sruth, 7 ní dechaidh as dia cuidechtain gan gabail no gan marbadh acht Sir Gyi 7 Sir Gailiard. Conidh e scela in fill conicci sin. Dorug diuice na Lumbairdi Sir Tirri crapaillti leis, 7 dorug diuice Loreṅ Sir Heront 7 na braigdi uili o sin amach.

29. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, docuaidh mur a roibi iarla Aimistir Amunndæ, 7 rofer in t-iarla failti re Sir Gyi. D*ixit* in t-iarla: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'is let fein misi con m'uile maithes. Ann-sin roinnis Sir Gyi mur dofealladh air, 7 mur dogabadh iarla Aimbri 7 a mac 7 Sir Heront 7 na sluaigh uili archena. Dorindi iarla Aimistir truaigi 7 tromgeran trit na scelaib-sin. Robui Sir Gyi teora la co dubach, dobronach isin cathraigh-sin, 7 adubairt: 'A iarla Munndæ', ar-sé, 'is tuirrsech duind mur-so'. Adbert iarla Munndæ: 'Ata cathair catharrdha conaich ar comghar duindi ann-so, 7 aderur curob e treas parrtus na cruinne ar conac e. 7 Ata Turcach trennertmur na triath 7 na tigerna ann, 7 ní dechaidh ænduine ina cenn riam tainic beó tarais, 7 dogabhter comlunn éinfir ann 7 comlund deisi, 7 in mét is ail le nech'. Adbert Sir Gyi co rachudh fein isin cathraigh-sin. 'Na herigh', ar iarla Aimistir, 'uair ni tiucfa beó tar th'ais as súd a frithing na conuire cetna'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Ni dingnuind-si ar ilimud maithesa gan dul ann, 7 ni ber ænduine lium'. 'Co deimin rachad-sa let', ar Gailiard, 'uair ni sgeradh co crich mo bais rit'. Roimgedair rompa iarum isin furais, 7 tug Sir Gyi builli tenn, trennertmur aran mbarr mbuabuill robúi fo braigid. Iarna clos sin don Turcach adubairt co luinde 7 co lanferg: 'Cia rolemadh in coscur-so do chur am forais?' ar-se.

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[1]) *sin* repeated in MS.

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Docuaidh ridiri do muindtir in Turcaigh mur a roibi Gyi, 7 adubairt ris techt a comdhail in Turcaigh. Tanicc Sir Gyi mur a roibh in Tu[r]cach. Doraid in Turcach ris: 'A ridiri', ar-sé, 'ni heir huair shein na amanntair tughuis in builli ud aran mbarr mbuabaill', ar-sé. Doraid Sir Gyi: 'Ni fedar', ar-sé, 'gur misdi in builli ugud do thabairt, uair ni raibi cosgur fiadha na fethuidi agum acht mhé ar merugudh 7 d'fhail eoluis'. Robui sdét[1]) firnertmur fon Turcach, 7 adubairt [328 b] Sir Gyi: 'A tigerna toicthech, tromconaich, tabur in sdét-sin fud damh-sa', ar-sé. Doraidh in Turcach nach tibradh, 7 co tibradh bas co hobunn dó. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'ni treisidi sibh dias ridiri tanicc ar bar n-incaibh do marbadh co mitrocar, 7 masa[2]) ferrdi let ar nderbadh inar ngaisgedh, cuir do rogha deisi ridiri dod muindtir do chathugudh frinn. 'Cia fein?' ar an Turcac. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Ridiri suaithne Saxanach me', ar-se, '7 Gyi o Berbuic m'ainm'. Dala in Turcaich rofer sé fircain failti re Gyi, 7 adubairt ris: 'Dorindi-si maith dam-sa roime-so', ar-se, 'uair torcair brathair do diuice Otun let, dorinde dochar dam-sa roime-so. 7 Bith in t-ech maith so agud-sa, a Gyi', ar-sé, '7 ní fuil isin cruinne co comhcoitcenn a comaith d'ech, 7 da mbeth a tri letheid acum dogebhtha iat'. Tug in Turcach sdét degmaisech ele do Gailiard mur anóir do Gyi. Dorug Sir Gyi buidechus in bronntais-sin risin tigerna, 7 docuadur rompa a cenn iarla Munndæ. Conidh i cuair[t] Sir Gyi a crich na Turcach connicci-sin.

30. Dala Sir Gyi iar mbeth noi[3]) la dó a farradh in iarla adubairt: 'Is fada ataim', ar-se, 'gan dul d'faghail scel Sir Tirri 7 Sir Heront, 7 atá a uaman orum da milltir iad, 7 rachud da fisrugudh budesta'. Doraidh iarla Munndæ: 'Cuirfed-sa deich[4]) cet ridiri do muindter let'. Adubairt Gyi gur fada les beth ag fuirech riu, 7 nach beradh ænduine leis. 'Rachud-sa let', ar Sir Gailiard; 7 dogluaisidar rompa iarum, 7 adubairt Gyi re Gail[i]ard: 'Eirigh ar h'ech', ar-se, 7 cuir in t-ech maith-so a t'aici', 7 dorindi Gailiard sin. Dala Gyi dono, rochoimil sé

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[1]) Written below the line in MS.
[2]) MS. *masa a* with punctum delens under *a*.
[3]) MS. .9.
[4]) MS. .x̂. c.

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duaibhsech d[o]ibh[1]) ina ndias, 7 docuir sin d*ath* dubh, duaibhsech, doaithennta orra, 7 docuadur isna rechtaibh-sin a cenn diuice na Lumbairdi. Doraid Gyi: 'Is fada tanag cugud a crichaibh na fer ngorm', ar-sé, '7 docuala nach fuil sa doman lam is ferr na do lamh, na diuice is mó conach na tú. 7 Tug me cugud in t-æneach is ferr isin domun co himlan da reic rit, 7 ní fuil do lucht acht mad ænlocht .i. nach fuilngenn sí ara da glacad acht an t-ara ata riam aga rognatugudh'. 'Ca[2]) [329a] h'ainm tu-sa?' ar an diuice. 'Gibun Marcel m'ainm', ar-se, '7 Seoirsi in gilla'. 'Mochen fur torachtain cugum', ar an diuice, '7 dob ferr lium na ilimud maithesa co mbeth in t-ech-sin agum in uair fargabus in braighi fil agum, uair da mbeth ní rachadh Sir Gyi o Berbuic as le luas a eich'. 'Cia hi in braigi fil agud?' ar Gyi. 'Sir Tirri, mac iarla Aimbri', ar-se. 'In fuil se agud?' ar Gyi. 'Ata co derb', ar an diuice. 'Is truagh gan misi farit-sa isin uair-sin', ar Gyi, 'uair domuirbfinn co-[3]) mitrocar in mac-sin', ar-se, '7 ni dingnuind braigi de, uair romarbh Sir Tirri derbrathair dam-sa', ar-sé. '7 Tabur si cóimét na braigid-sin damsa, uair is me nach dingna troccaire dó'. Is ann-sin dothug diuice na Lumbairdi eochracha an prisun do Gyi. Imthusa Gyi iar-sin, docuaid isin prisun pennuidech i n-aroibi Sir Tirri, 7 fochtuis scela de cinnus robúi. 'Cia thu-sa?' ar Tirri. 'Is misi Gyi o Berbuic', ar-sé. 'Is olc ataim-si mur-sin', ar Tirri, 'uair robui súil re m'furtacht agum bhuaid-si coruigi anois, 7 gideth is mesa lium tu-sa do beth isin guasacht a fuilidh na me fein', ar-sé. Robúi Lumburdach do lathair ag eist[e]cht risin comradhsin. Adubairt an Lumbardach: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-sé, 'ní fuicfe tu-sa in prisun-sin co crich fur mbais'. Doraidh Gyi: 'Déna dethrún orum', ar-sé, '7 dogebuir ilimud óir 7 innmusa buaim'. Dodiult an Lumbardach sin do gabail o Gyi, 7 rogluais roime d'innsin scel don diuice, 7 rolen Gyi é, 7 robuail builli nertcalma don eochair arracht[a] iarnaidhi robúi ina laim fair, 7 torcair marbh gan anmain, 7 dothoit se a fiadhnuse in diuice. Doraidh in diuice: 'Toitfir fein isin ngnim-sin, a treturaigh fhallsa', ar-se. Doraidh Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'ní fedar-sa gur misdi a marbadh, uair robúi se ar ti Tirri do goid asin prisun,

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[1]) MS. obscure.
[2]) *Ca* repeated in MS.
[3]) *co-* written indistinctly above the line in MS.

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7 tug roga bidh 7 dighi na cathrach do'. Adubairt an diuice: 'Is coir romarbuis é', ar-se, '7 dobermuid cairt do sidha duit festa'. Docuaidh Sir Gyi sin prisun, 7 doscáil na geim- [329 b] lecha glaisiaraind robúi fur Tirri, 7 tug a lordæthain bíd 7 dighi dó, 7 adubairt ris: 'A Tirri', ar-sé, 'imigh romhud a n-urrthosuch na haidhci anocht a cenn iarla Aimistir, 7 an rium-sa ann; 7 masa thoil le Dia é, is gerr co mbet-sa 7 Uisin, ingen diuice na Lobeine, farit ann'. Mar-sin an aidhci-sin do Gyi, 7 adubairt diuice na Lumbairdi re hingin diuice Loren: 'Ullmaigh tu, a a bainntigerna', ar-sé, 'uair dogéntur ar n-aithfreann pósta amarach, uair ni riarais acht cairdi da la dec gan do pósudh, 7 tangadur chena'. Adubairt Uisin: 'A tigerna', ar-si, 'dodén-sa do thoil-si air-sin'. Dala in diuice dochuaidh roime fan furais fíralaind fasaigh do marbadh muc 7 agh 7 ainmindti a n-oircill na bainnsi iarna marach. Docuaidh Gyi in tan-sin mar a roib an bainntigerna, 7 adubairt ria co suilbhir, solasach: 'A rigan', ar-sé, 'an tabraid aithne orm?' 'Ní tabraim', ar-si. 'Is misi Sir Gyi o Berbuic', ar-sé. Adubairt in righan: 'Nirb é-sin d*ath* docunnac-sa ar Gyi', ar-si, 'uair is é rob aille don droing dæna'. Is ann-sin rothaiselb Sir Gyi comurtha robui air don righain, 7 roaithin si é iarum. Doraid Sir Gyi: 'A righan', ar-sé, 'fagh arm 7 eideth maith damh anocht, 7 do deoin Dia berud tu lium ona Lumbardach*aibh*'; 7 tug sí arm 7 eideth co hincleith cum Gyi. Dala in diuice ar maidin iarna marach docuir se Uisin ar mul glegeal docum an tempaill. 7 Dolen Sir Gy iat fura sdét, 7 eideth daingen, dobreoiti uime, 7 airm læich ina laim, 7 dorug orra, 7 adubairt: 'A diuice Otun', ar-se, 'is misi Sir Gyi o Berbuic, 7 bidh fur do choimét festa, uair rofellais teora fecht orum, 7 romarbhuis mo ridiri ar fasach na crichi-so'. Is ann-sin roshaith Sir Gyi slegh co sanntach, sarcalma tri curp in diuice, 7 tuc beim cloidim do iarum, 7 roben a cenn de, 7 doscoilt co-ruigi a imlinn e. 7 Tug cenn in diuice leis, 7 docuir ingen diuice na Lobheine ar culaibh[1]) Gailiard, 7 rofhagadur an cathair mur-sin. Dorugadur læich lánarrachta na Lumbairdi forra, 7 adubairt brathair [330 a] don diuice: 'A Sir Gýi', ar-sé, 'is felltach romarbhuis diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 is olc an lesugudh thú fein ann'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Ni ferr duid na ligen in conuir do ceimniugudh, uair rotuill in diuice uaim-si co minicc a

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[1]) MS. *ar a culaibh*, with punctum delens under *a*.

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marbadh'. Roimpo Gyi re brathair in diuice, 7 roben a cend d'ænbéim de, 7 romarbh deichnemar[1]) ele dona Lumbardach*aibh*[2]) maræn ris, 7 rofagadur in Lumbuird mur-sin. Anuair far'chuir ingen diuice na Lobeine a hegla di, adubairt: 'Is truagh in gnim dodenuid ná Lumburdaigh budesta .i. Tirri do marbadh co mítrocar'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Ni hegail leis ænní', ar-sé, 'uair adubart-sa risin seighler beth co maith ris, 7 do dheóin Dia is gerr co faicfir-si é'. Docuadur rompo iarum co cathraigh Munntani, mur a roibi iarla Aimistir, 7 fuaradur Sir Tirri ara cinn ann, iarna fothrugudh co firglan 7 iarna leigh*es* o crechtaibh na cep 7 na cruadhiarann. Dala na Lumbardach iar n-impo dóibh o Gyi, docuadur docum in prisuin do marbadh Tirri, 7 ní fuaradur acht a ait ann. Is ann-sin dorugadur diuice na Lumbairdi annsa leglus[3]) (?) 7 rohanuluicedh leo é. Conidh amhlaidh-sin docrichnaigh Sir Gy a cogud re diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 mur dodighail a ridiri.

31. Dala Sir Gy iarum, adubairt co rachadh se do lorgairecht Sir Heront. 'Rachud-sa coic cet[4]) ridiri let', ar iarla Amaistir. Dogluaisidur rompa iar-sin, 7 roinnradur 7 roairgedur gach cathair 7 gach caisteol dia raibi rompa do thigerntus diuice na Lobheine, co rangadur co cathair na Goirmisi mur a roibi iarla Aimbri; 7 rogab luth lanmór iarla Aimbri ar faiccsin a maic 7 Sir Gyi ina dhocum, 7 rothoit taisi 7 taimneoll fair tri uille a luthaire. Is ann-sin docuir Sir Gyi cenn diuice na Lumbairdi ar beinn cuailli eg crois cathrach na Gormisi, 7 roghoir cuigi Sir Gailiard, 7 adubairt ris: 'A ridiri uasail, firindigh', arsé, 'doberim-si marusgalacht mo sluaigh 7 a cennus duid, 7 ber se cet[5]) ridiri lancalma let, 7 tabur braighdi cumum-sa[6]) a ngill re Heront'. Dala Sir Gailiard iar-sin, docuaidh roime sa Lobhein 7 robui aga milludh co mitrocar, 7 rogab se coic[7]) caislein dec innti 7 secht[8]) n-iarlaigi 7 deichnemar[9]) barun. Dorangadur na

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[1]) MS. *.x. nemar.*
[2]) MS. *Lumbumbardach*-.
[3]) l. *annsa n-egluis?*
[4]) MS. *.u. c.*
[5]) MS. *.s. c.*
[6]) l. *cugum-sa.*
[7]) MS. *.u.*
[8]) MS. .7.
[9]) MS. *.x̄.*

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scela-sin cum diuice Loren, 7 rogab [330 b] uamhan 7 imegla é, 7 docuaidh mur a roibh a sdibhard budhein, 7 doroine comuirle fris. Doraidh in diuice: 'Domilledh 7 domorairgedh mo tigerntus', ar-sé, '7 atait sluaigh 7 sarmuindter Gyi o Berbuic ac techt do gabail na cathrach ina fuilim orum; 7 cia is ferr dam dul ar ech luath 7 teithem do denum, na anmain rem gabail na rem agabail?' Doraidh in sdibard: 'Dena mo comairli-si', ar-sé, 'mas ail let do les do denum, uair roboin Gyi o Berbuic a cenn do diuice na Lumbairde, 7 docuir sé in cenn-sin ar chuailli ag crois marg*ed* cathrach na Goirmisi, 7 tug sé Sir Tirri mac iarla Aimbri les, 7 Uisin .i. h'ingen-sa fein. 7 Ni heidir cathugudh na comrug ris, 7 gebuidh se in domun masa[1]) leis e; 7 fos atá ridiri calma, cosgurcruaidh da muindtir a laim agud-sa, .i.[2]) Sir Heront, 7 lig amach é a n-anoir Sir Gyi, 7 na braighdi uili·maræn ris, 7 tabur a maitus fein doibh, 7 moran ele maræn ris. 7 Cuir na braighdi-sin fein a techtarecht cum Gyi d'iarraidh gras fair 7 d'faghail cairti do sidha, uair is e Heront indera comurlech is treisi isin domun fair .i. Sir Tirri 7 Sir Heront; 7 ata se féin trocureach'. Adubairt diuice Loren: 'Mo bennacht co bithurrlum ort', ar-sé, 'uair is maith in comurle tuguis damh'. Dala diuice Loren iarum dosgail se a nglais 7 a ngeibinn dona braighdibh uili, 7 tug doibh gach uili maith dar-benadh dibh o bec co mór, 7 ilimud da maithus maræn ris. 7 Docuir iat docum Gyi, 7 roearb forra a maith do denum 7 a sidh do cengul re Gyi ar gradh Dia. Ann-sin roinnis diuice Loren do Sir Heront mur romarb Sir Gyi diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 mur tug se Sir Tirri 7 Uisin leis, 7 gach gnim ele dia ndernad. Ba binn le Sir Heront na scela-sin, uair ni roibi énfocul do sceluibh Gyi aigi o gabadh é féin co hæs na huaire-sin. Dala Sir Galiard, rogluais roime cona se[3]) cet ridiri co cathraigh [331 a] na Gormisi, 7 robúi Sir Gyi a n-oirechtus an la-sin ar ind tulca re tǽbh cathrach na Gormisi, 7 ni roibhi ina farradh ann acht Sir Tirri 7 iarla Aimistir. Adubairt Aimistir: 'Is ingnáth lium ce hiat na sluaigh ud', ar-sé, 'uair más lucht cocaidh 7 coinglecca iad is rogar duind atait siat, 7 rachud fein fur mo sdét ina comdháil'. 7 Docuaidh iarum, 7 roaithin se Sir Heront, 7 roferudur failti muintreamail re cheile.

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[1]) l. *masa ail leis?*
[2]) .*i*. corrected from .*s*.
[3]) MS. .*s*.

Doraidh Sir Heront: 'A Aimistir', ar-sé, 'guidhim tu, 7 aigill Sir Gyi damh d'faghail cairti a sidha do diuice o Loren, uair is am buidech misi de, 7 is na cuibhrinn docaitinn biadh 7 deoch, 7 nir cuir se glas na geibenn form, 7 ni fhuil enrét don díth rem gabail na na mbraiged uili, 7 is mór ar n-edáil da taburtus'. Dochuadur rompa iarum a cenn Gyi 7 Tirri, 7 roiarsad uili ar ænslighi sídh do diuice Loren, 7 rodiúlt Gyi sin do thabairt doib. Roeirigh Sir Heront ara gluinibh a fiadhnuse Sir Gyi 7 na hocht cet[1]) ridiri maræn ris, 7 roiaradur mur æinti ar Gyi cairt a sidha do thabairt do diuice Loren. Doraidh Gyi: 'Dober-sa in athcuinge-sin dibh-si gidh docuir lium e'. Dala Gailiard immorro robi se cona sluaghaib aran fedh-sin ag milludh 7 ag mórargain na Lobheine, 7 docuredh techta ara cenn, 7 tugad tarais é co cathraigh na Gormisi. 7[2]) Docuiredh techta ele co diuice Lóren d'iaradh ris fledh d'ullmugudh do denum [bainnsi ...[3])] ingine dia tabairt do Sir Tirri mac [iar]la A[imbri.] Docuadur iarum le cheile co cathraigh diuice Loren, 7 dorindedur [sidh][4]) 7 clemnus, 7 rocaitsit in banais. Conidh amlaidh-sin docoiscedh cogadh in da diuice le Sir Gyi ó Berbuic.

32. Fecht n-æn dia ndechaid Sir Gyi cum fiadhaigh o Loren, 7 roeirigh cullach allta do Gyi, 7 rolig a coinn dó, 7 rolen fura sdét é, docuaidh Gyi amugadh ona muindtir in tan-sin. Agus rolen in cullach tri ilimud do thirthib treaburdaingni, tromconaichi. 7 Dorug air [331 b] fo deoigh, 7 se ag marbadh na con, 7 tug builli borbnertmur, bithcalma don cullach, 7 romarbh e, 7 tug a craidhi dia chonuibh; 7 tug builli brigmur fur in mbarr mbuabuill robui fo braigid mur cosgurtha in cullaich torchair leis. 7 Roclos in builli buabuill-sin isin cathraigh darb ainm Ploirinntin, 7 adubairt diuice Ploirinntin inté tug in builli buabuill-sin ina furais do thabairt cuigi co hesonorach. Docuaidh mac do diuice Ploirinntin mur a roib Sir Gyi, 7 robuail dorn co dethfireach fair. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Is ecoir robuailuis me arson marbhtha in cullaich rolenus tri moran do tirthibh'. Adubairt mac in diuice: 'Dober-sa bás duit-si ara son', ar-sé. Iarna clos-sin dobuail builli don barr buabuill cona cris a cenn maic

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[1]) MS. *.c.*
[2]) 7 repeated in MS.
[3]) Two or three letters obscure in MS.
[4]) No space in MS. for *sidh*.

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diuice Ploirinntin, 7 b[a marbh] e. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, rogluais roime trit in furais, 7 dochunuicc cathair Ploirindtin uadha, 7 docuaidh astegh innti, 7 roiar biadh ar gradh Dia ar diuice Plorens, uair robidh se tri lá 7 tri haidhci gan biadh, gan dig, gan colladh a lenmuin in cullaich-sin. Roordaigh in diuice biadh do tabairt do Gyi, 7 tugadh a lórdh[æthai]n do, 7 robui aca caithem. Is ann-sin rocual*a* Gyi gair gola 7 cainti sa cathr[aigh], 7 docunnaic corp aga ligen ar lár isin halla righda, 7 robui in diuice aga fiarf*aigh*e cred in curp robui acca. 'Do mac-sa', ar-siat, 'iarna marbadh'. 'Cia romarbh é?' ar an diuice. 'Is doigh linne', ar-siat, 'is é in ridiri ugud a[c] caithem a coda ara[n] mbord romarbh é'. Iarna clos-sin don diuice roglac se cloidem claislethan, curata, 7 tug amach e, 7 tug builli cum Gyi de; 7 rocrom Gyi ar scath in buird, 7 roleig in builli thairis. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, roglac se glæidhe gerfhæbrach robúi rena thæbh, 7 robui aga cosaint co calma, 7 docruinnighedur lucht na cathrach uili ina urtimcell, 7 dotorcair seiser les dib. Doraidh Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'ni fhuil acht fell dibh énridiri na enur dia tugabur biadh do marbadh i nbur tigh, 7 masa duine fíruasal thu, tabur cet dam-sa dul ar m'ech tar dorus na cathrach amach, [332 a] 7 tabraidh mo cloidhem 7 mo sciath dam, 7 bid ced toraigechta agud orum, 7 is lugha is guth díb mo marbadh mur-sin na mo marbadh mur-so'. Adubairt an diuice: 'Doberim fein', ar-se, 'ced imthechta mur-sin duid, 7 ber h'ech 7 t'arm let'. Doglac Gyi a arm, 7 docuaidh ara ech, 7 rogluais róime, 7 robadur lucht na cathrach a n-oircill fair, 7 rogabsat dó ar gach tæb, 7 domarbh se trir dibh don ruathar-sin. 7 Dobuail an diuice builli borbnertmar fair, 7 docuir slegh trina sciath. Tug Sir Gyi sathad sanntach sleghi don diuice, 7 rotrasgair hé, 7 roben in t-ech de, 7 rofhech fair asa haithli. 7 Adubairt Gyi: 'A shenoir æsta, arrsaigh', ar-se, 'dobo chóra duit beth a n-egluis uaingigh a guidhi Dia co duthrachtach na beth re gaiscedh anosa'. Doraidh in diuice: 'Ata sechtmoga[1]) bliadhan nar glacus arm roime-so, 7 robo menmarc lium tu-sa do thoitim lium a n-éruic mo maic'. Doraidh Gyi: 'Ni muirbhfe me senoir mur thú', ar-sé, '7 doberim h'ech duit'. Imtusa Gyi rogluais roimhe, 7 rolenadur tinól na cathrach 7 in tiri uili é, 7 romarbh sé sesca[2]) dibh,

[1]) MS. .*lxx*.
[2]) MS. .*lx*.

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7 roimigh dia n-aindeoin iar-sin, 7 robúi se la con aidhci ac sírmarcaidhecht, 7 dorainic roime co Lorén, 7 roba luthairech lucht na cathrach uile roime, uair ní fes doib ca dorug é o ló na selga connici sin; 7 roindis Sir Gyi a echtra doib o tus co deredh. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'A Tirri', ar-sé, 'ataim-si secht[1]) mbliadhna nach faca me m'athair no mo mathair, 7 rachad a Saxanaibh festa'. 'Na herigh', ar Tirri, 'uair atait sluaigh imda sa Lumbaird, 7 cuirfid cogadh orum-sa tar h'eis dia cluinid tu-sa d'imthecht, 7 dober-sa cathair na Gormisi duit, 7 anfud fein a cathair Loren'. Adubairt [332 b] Sir Gyi: 'Ni gebh-sa sin', ar-sé, 'uair is aithnid duid-si, a Tirri, co fuil gradh agum-sa ar ingen iarla o Berbuic, 7 rachud dia fhis budhesta'. Imtusa Sir Gyi rogluais roime co crichuib Saxan, 7 docuaidh co Fuindsistuir, mur a roibh in righ, 7 maithi Saxan ina urtimcell, 7 rofersud failti re Gyi, 7 dochualadur gach gnim gaiscidh dia nderna fura echtra. Nír cian doibh mur-sin co facadur ridiri fur sdét ina ndocum. Fochtuis in righ scela de. Adbert in ridiri: 'Ata drochscel agum', ar-sé, 'uair tanicc dragun duaibsech, diablaidhi isin crich-so, 7 is mó na tunna tromlínta in muinel mothlach, mothardhorcha ata aigi. 7 Marbaidh gach ainmidhi ara mberinn o bec co mór, 7 ni hincomruic fir in talman fris, 7 caithfir in tír 7 in talam-so d'faghbail dó'. Rogab uaman 7 imegla in rí on scel-sin, 7 robui sel 'na thocht. Doraidh Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'na bidh a uaman súd ort, uair do deoin Dia coiscfed-sa comrug in draguin ud dib', ar-se. 7 Roeirigh Gyi asa haithli, 7 docuir a catherradh comhluind uime, 7 doruc triar ridiri leis .i. Sir Heront 7 dias ridiri ele maræn ris, 7 docuaidh coruigi in dragun, 7 rofagaib in triar ridiri leithmili tara eis, 7 rofagaib fo péin a n-anma orra gan techt tairis-sin ina lenmuin do cumnadh do. Dala Sir Gyi iarum, robui se tri huaire a cathugudh 7 a cruadhcomlonn risin dragun ndasachtach-sin, 7 nir fhét dergadh fuirre frisin re-sin. Docuir iarum in dragun snaidm sardhaingen don bod bunnremur, barrdaingen robui aigi a timcill Sir Gyi guna sdét innus gur bris 7 gur bruidh cliabh 7 craidhi in cursuin calma, cnamremur trina ceile, 7 dotrasgradh Sir Gyi co guasachtach. Dala Sir Gyi [333 a] iarum roeirigh co seitreach, sirchalma, 7 robuail builli bithnertmur fuirri, 7 roben in t-irbull co trennertmur di. Robuail in dragun beim borbnertmur do bun an erbuill fur Gyi, 7 tuc

[1]) MS. .7.

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cned guasachtach fair. 7 O nar fét Sir Gyi deriudh [1]) ina tosuch uirri, robui se aga ledairt 7 aga langerradh asa dereth, 7 robuail builli furtill, firarrachta ina tæb, 7 rogerr tri esna letna, lanmora innti, 7 rotuit in dragun leis-sin, 7 roleig sgrech aduathmur este. 7 Roimpo a tarr a n-airdi iar-sin, 7 robuail Gyi builli bígurrlum ina bruindi, 7 dorindi da n-ordain certa, cudruma, comora di, 7 roeirigh detach duaibsech, dobal*aidh* este. 7 Doben Gyi a cenn di, 7 rothomhuis hi, 7 robui tricha [2]) troigh dó ina fadh, 7 rogluais roime a cenn righ Saxan, 7 rothaisen cenn in dragun do, 7 romoladar cach a coitcinne in comrac-sin.

33. Iar forba in gnima-sin la Gyi adubairt rí Saxan: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'dober-sa do rogha diuiciacht da fuil a Saxanaib duit re cois oir is airgid 7 ilimud gacha maithusa archena'. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'Da madh ail lium-sa, a tigerna', ar-sé, dogebhuind imperacht Consantinnobile re cois gach [3]) maithusa ele dar tairgedh damh, 7 dogebhuind diuiciacht san Almain, 7 dogiabhuind iarlacht san Fraingc, 7 dogiabhuind iarlacht san Britain, 7 nir gabus cechtar dib, 7 ní geb sin bhuaib-si, a thigerna', ar-sé; '7 co roibh maith h'anora fein agud. 7 Fuair m'athair-si bas', ar-sé, '7 rachud d'fechuin mo thigerntus fein budesta. Rogab Gyi ced agan ríg, 7 docuaid coruigi a baile fein, 7 fuair ilimud oir 7 airgid 7 seoid uaisli ele on rígh or nar gab se tigerntus ele uada. Adubairt Gyi: 'A Sir Heront', ar-sé, 'is fada rolenais me, 7 is mor dom ulc fuarais, 7 ní fuil tigerntus agud fein, 7 doberim-si in mainer-sa duit 7 dot oighri ad diaigh, [333 b] 7 mili punt ina cenn-sin gacha bliadhna'. 7 Doroinn a tigerntus mur-sin uili ara ridiribh, 7 adubairt nar bec leis iarlacht o Berbuic aigi fein. Docuaidh Sir Gyi iar-sin a cenn an iarla co Burbuic, 7 dorinde iarla o Burbuic ilimud anora dó, 7 doruc a buidechus re Dia a techt asna guasachtaib móra ina roibi sé. Docuaidh Sir Gyi iarum mur a roibi Feili[s], ingen in iarla. Doraidh Sir Gyi: 'A Fheilis', ar-se, 'dob urusa dam-sa banntigerna budh mó inme 7 atharrdhacht na tu-sa d'faghail, 7 rodiultus uili dod gradh siat'. Adubairt Feilis: 'A Sir Gyi', ar-si, 'dob urusa dam-sa righ no prinnsa no ambrail

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[1]) Not clear in MS.
[2]) MS. *.xxx.*
[3]) l. *gacha?*

no diuice no iarla d'faghail posta, acht mina beth mo gradh a taisci innud-sa. 7 Ni beth fer na ferceile co brach agum mina ticte-sa beo tar h'ais'. Ba bind la Gyi in t-uraghall-sin, uair nír nocht in righan a rún do Sir Gyi coruigi sin. Docuaidh Gyi a cenn an iarla iarum. 7 Fochtuis in t-iarla do Gyi créd tuc gan mnai e. Doraidh Gyi: 'Gradh dofuluing tugus do mnái as m'oigi, 7 mina fhaghar an ben-sin ni biadh b*en* co brach agum', ar-se. Adubairt an t-iarla: 'In ail let m'ingen-sa gun mo maithus uile le, uair ni fhuil mac na hingen agum acht í, 7 da mad fiudh lib-si a beth aguib ni fhuil isin cruinde cliamain budh ferr linn aguind na tu'. Doraidh Gyi: 'Is i h'ingen-sa ænben is ferr lium d'faghail isin domun co himlan'. Ba lúth lanmor lesin iarla in comradh-sin. Docuaidh in t-iarla mur a roibhi Feilis 7 fochtuis di créd an æn tuga i(?),[1]) 7 ilimud fer maith aca hiarraidh, no gan fer co brach rob ail le beth. Adubairt Feilis: 'Gradh tugus d'fer as m'oigi, 7 ní bia fer co haimsir mo báis mina faghar é'. Doraidh in t-iarla: 'In ail let Sir Gyi o Berbuic?' ar-se. 'Is ail co derbh', ar an righan, 'uair is é mo rogha nuachair é'. Ba bind leisin iarla in freagra-sin. Docuaidh in t-iarla mur a roibi Gyi, 7 docuir dhaladh in posta an sechtmadh[2]) lá on lo-sin. 7 Dotheighedh in t-iarla 7 Sir Gy cum fiadhaigh gach lǽ frisin ré-sin a n-oircill na baindsi. Docuiredh iarum techta uadhadh arcenn maithi na Saxanach itir tuaith 7 cill, 7 tanic rí Saxan 7 an rigan 7 in prinnsa cum na baindsi- [334 a] sin, 7 tangadur espaic 7 airdespaic 7 abaid 7 aircinnigh 7 na huird brathar 7 cananach 7 manach, 7 dorindedh in posad-sin co huasal. 7 Ina diaigh-sin tocaithemh in banais-sin[3]) leo; 7 dothinnluicc Sir Gyi or 7 airged 7 édaighi sída 7 orsnaith 7 gema cristail 7 carrmogail 7 na huili maith archena. 7 Gach æn lerb ail tuillmedh 7 tuarusdul dothug Sir Gy sin doib dobo maith(?)[4]) cu purt in tighi an la-sin[5]) d'or 7 d'airged 7 do clochuibh buadha. 7 Dob imdha ridiri rathmur, robregha ag fritholadh furan mbanais-sin, 7 dob imdha céol 7 eladhna aran mbanais-sin, 7 ni roibhi dibh-sin ænduine nar dil Gyi fa thoil fein do dethduasaibh dingmala.

[1]) l. *cred tug a n-æntuma hi?*

[2]) MS. .7.

[3]) Mixture of two constructions: *in banais-sin do caithemh* and *dochaithemh na bainnsi-sin?*

[4]) I am in doubt about this sentence.

[5]) *sin* written above the line in the MS.

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Teora lá doib a caitheam na bainnsi-sin, 7 roimgedur iarum dia n-aitibh 7 dia n-inaibh[1]) fein. Conidh e tochmarc ingine iarla o Berbuic le Sir Gyi connigi.

34. Dala Sir Gyi iar-sin, robui se da fichit[2]) la 7 aidhci ag luighi le hingin iarla o Berbuic. A cinn na haimsiri-sin docuaid Gyi la chum f[i]adaigh, 7 romarbadh ilimud fiaigh lais an la-sin. 7 Ger bhi binn sin ni hann robui menma Sir Gyi acht ina duailchib budhein, uair robui egla in duileman fair. 7 Roba menmarc lais a lesugudh asa oige. Docuir Sir Gyi techta uadha in tan-sin arcenn Iohannes de Alcino[3]) .i. athair næmtha ei-side, 7 tanicc cuigi co prap. Doraid Gyi: 'A athar næmtha', ar-sé, 'cuirim cumairci m'anma ort, 7 eist ma faisidi co luath a n-anoir tri persann .i. Athar 7 Maic 7 Spiruta Næm. Uair is imdha mo pec*caidh*, uair co rimthar gainem mura 7 fér faithchi 7 duilli feda 7 relta an aigher ni dingentur rim na rocumdach a torcair lem do dhainibh 7 d'anmannaib indligtecha do gradh in t-sæghail-so d'faghail alluidh 7 ardnósa dam-fein do cur mo clua os cách, 7 gideth nír marbus ænduine ar gradh Di'. D*ixit* Iohannes de Alcino: 'Dia ndernta a trian-sin ar gradh Dia, roba [334 b] buidech Dia dít, 7 domaithfedh do pecud duit'. Adubairt Iohannes de Alcino; 'A Sir Gyi', ar-se, 'dena mo comurle-si festa .i. coiméd na deich[4]) n-aithnighi rofagaib Crist a talam itir claruibh ag Maisi .i. tabur gradh dod Dia os cinn gach uili gradha a nim 7 a tal*am*, 7 *cet*era; 7 sechain na pec*aidh* marbtha .i. dimus 7 ferg 7 leisgi 7 tnuth, druis 7 craes 7 saint 7 athim-radh; 7 bi co cennsa, umal, urnaightech, dercach, trocurech, buidh[ech], bennachtach'. Doraidh Iohannes: 'Fechar let, a Gyi', ar-sé, 'mur fuaradur na næim ata ar nim fl*aith*emnus .i. drong dibh co n-aine, co n-eirnuigthi, co n-oili[th]ri, co fighlib, co coibh-sinaibh minca, co n-almsanaib imdha; 7 drong ele co pais, co pianad, co purgadoir sæghalta, co loscadh, co crochud, co n-aingcis gacha galair 7 gacha peine do gradh Ísa'. 7 Adubairt Iohannes: 'A Gyi', ar-se, 'tabur do choibhsena co glan, 7 bí umal do Dia,

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[1]) l. *inadaibh*.

[2]) MS. *.xx.*

[3]) Perhaps *Dealcino*, though the separation of the parts is supported by the probable derivation of the name from 'Alcuin'. See p. 16, above.

[4]) MS. *.x.*

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7 bí tarcuisnech imud fein, 7 bidh a fis agud nach roibi ar seinnsir gan pec*adh* a parrtus acht tri huaire tri melladh in aibhirseora forra. 7 Docuiredh a parrthus iat, 7 fuaradur moran uilc isna talmunnuibh coitcenna 7 dochuadur a n-ifirnn iar-sin, 7 ní hiat fein amain acht gach ar geined uadha, no gur fulaing Crist pais 7 pennuid diar slanugudh. A Gyi, ar-se, 'creid mur adubradar na hespail in[1]) cre .i. creid in t-ændia uilicumachtach dorinde nem 7 tal*am*; 7 creidh bhéos a n-Ísa Crist do geinemhain o Muire cin díth n-oighe, cin lathar ferrda; 7 creid é dochennac shil Aduim ar urlár in croinn cesta; 7 creid gur eirigh o mar-b*aibh* an tres la iar n-indrud ifirrn, 7 co ndechadh fur des a athar iarum, 7 co tiucfa do figill bratha idir béoduibh 7 mar-b*aibh*; 7 creid annsa Spiret Næm .i. an treas p*ar*ta na diachta, 7 tuic beos curob ændia treodata ann-sin e .i. Athair 7 Mac 7 Spirat Næm; 7 creid toduscadh ferr ndomun 7 math*em* na pecc*adh* 7 in betha shuthain, 7 cumtanus na næm 7 na [n-a]ingel ait a fuil betha cin bas 7 slainti gan galar'.

35. [335 a] Iar coimlínad da fichet[2]) la do Sir Gyi a farradh a bancheile, robúi in aroile aidhchi 7 ingen an iarla, 7 a n-ucht ar fuindeoig an t-sheomra, 7 adubairt Sir Gyi: 'A Fheilis', ar-sé, 'atái-si torrach, 7 beruidh mac, 7 tabur Roighnebron fair, 7 budh maith in mac e. 7 Tabraid do Sir Heront da altrum e. 7 A Fheilis', ar-sé, 'ní lia relta docí tú sa firmamint na duine torchair lem-sa ar do gradh-sa; 7 da mad do grad Dia dodenuind sin dobeth se buidech dím; 7 dogén foghnadh do Dia festa'. Adubairt Feilis: 'A Gyi', ar-sí, 'dena-sa mainistreacha 7 tempuill 7 sepéil 7 droicchid 7 oibrecha spiretalta archena, 7 dena tegh n-aidhedh do bochtuibh in Coimdhe, 7 dena comnaighi festa'. 'Ni dingen', ar Gyi, '7 rachud do shiubal na talman rosiubail mo tigerna .i. Ísa'. Tug Gyi a cloidhem do Fheilis, 7 adubairt re a coimét dia mac, 7 adubairt se nach roibi sa cruinne co comcoitcenn cloidem rob ferr na se, 7 rogerr a slegh, 7 dorindi lorg di. Doraid Feilis: 'Ata ben a tal*am* ele agud is annsa let na misi, 7 is cuicci triall*air*'.[3]) 'Ni fhuil', ar Gyi, '7 gideth ni anum co deimin gan imtecht don dul-sa'. 7 Ropogsud a ceile asa haithli,

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[1]) l. *isin?*
[2]) MS. *.xx.*
[3]) MS. *triall-*, should the expansion be *triallai?*

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7 rotuitsit a naimneoll[1]) iarum, 7 roeirigh Gyi iar-sin, 7 rogluais roime. 'An imthecht rob ail let co deimin', ar-si. 'Is edh co derb', ar-sé. 'Beir leth in faindi-so let' ar-si; 7 roglac Gyi in fainne, 7 rogerr é, 7 rofagaibh leth in fainne aici; 7 dorug fein in leth ele leis de. 7 Adubairt Gyi: 'Na créid co fuighir-sa bás no co fagair mo leth-sa don fhainne'. Conidh amlaidh-sin docuir Gyi in sægal de.

36. Dala ingine in iarla iar n-imthecht do Sir Gyi uaithi, dobí tri lá 7 tri haidhci ina seomra gan biadh gan colladh, 7 tug si cloidemh Sir Gyi cuicci, 7 rob áil [335 b] a ligen trithi budhein. 7 Adubairt: 'Domuirbhfinn me fein', ar-si, 'acht muna beth a uaman orum co n-aibéorthaigh comad e Sir Gyi domuirbfed me'. 7 Docuaidh iar-sin mur a roibhi a hathair, 7 roindis dó Gyi do imthecht. Adubairt in t-iarla: 'Is dod derbadh-sa dorinde sé sin'. 'Ni hedh co deimin', ar Feilis, '7 ni feiceab-sa co brach é'. Dala in iarla iar clos na scel-sin dó, dothoit se a n-anmainne. 7 Docuir iarum arcenn Sir Heront, 7 roindis na scela-sin dó. Doraidh Sir Heront co cuairtheochadh sé in domun no co faghadh é. Roimigh roime aris*i*, 7 nír fagaib tir dar shiubail riam fare Gyi gan cuartugudh; 7 docuartaigh an Roim dó, 7 ni fuair a scela, 7 tarrla da ceile iat a cathraigh ele, 7 ní raithin Sir Heront Sir Gyi[2]) iar n-athrugudh anma dó .i. Séon Bocht aga gairm de, 7 a curp arna truailledh le treighinus, 7 a finnfed ar fas co fada, 7 nír lig sé a aithne cum Heront. Tanic Sir Heront tarais a Sasanaib, 7 roinnis nach fuair enfocal do scelaib Gyi, 7 ba mór na nuallgartha doronsad na Saxanaigh a cainedh Gyi. Conidh i dichuma na Saxanac im Gyi, 7 lorgairecht Sir Heront connici sin.

37. Imthusa Sir Gyi dorinde se oilirthi inmolta in domun[3]) co cathraigh Iarusalem, 7 as-sin co h-Alaxanndria, 7 robí se teora [bliadhna[4]] a siubal na cathrach-sin. 7 Tarrla don tæbh amuigh don cathraigh senoir æsta fair a[g] geran co domenmach. 7 Roflarfaigh Gyi fochuin a dhobroin, 7 nír indis do. Adubairt

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[1]) l. *a taimneoll?*

[2]) MS. *ar* after *Gyi*. Perhaps we should read *ar Sir Gyi*, since *aithgnim* may be followed by this preposition.

[3]) l. *domuin?* Cf. p. 306 a, above.

[4]) No space in MS.



Gyi: 'Guidim tú a hucht paisi Crist scela d'innsin damh'. 'Dogén budesta', ar an senoir. 'Iarla Ionutas m'ainm', ar an senoir, '7 cristaidhe me; 7 tanic Craidhamar .i. ri Alaxandria cona muindtir d'innrud mo crichi 7 mo cathrach, 7 tugus-[s]a cath doibh, 7 robrises forra, 7 robamur aga marbadh co mitrocar coruigi[1]) in cathraigh-so. 7 Dorindedur comnaighi ceilgi oruinn [336 a] isin coill*idh* ugud, 7 rofilladh[2]) oruind, 7 rogabadh misi 7 ma cuig mac dec, 7 romarbadh mo muindtir; 7 atamaid secht[3]) mbliadna; 7 ni fuaramar ar lethdíl bidh na dighi risin re-sin. 7 Bes bithbuan ata agan t-Sabhdan doni se æ nach festa comainm in læ dorugudh é gacha bliadhna, 7 bid a muindtir uili faris aran festa-sin. 7 Docuaidh Craidhamur .i. tigerna na cathrach-so 7 a mac .i. Faber cum na fleidi-sin, 7 roiar Sodoni .i. mac an t-Sabhdain er Faber cluithi do imirt ris, 7 roimredur in cluithi. Rogab ferg mac in t-Sabdain, 7 robuail dorn ar Faber, 7 adubairt Faber: 'Da mbeth fiadhnuse air, ni licfind m'esonoir let', ar-se. Iar na clos sin do Shodoni robuail aris e, gur doirt a fuil. Rofer[g]aigedh Faber, robuail clar in cluithi ina cenn, 7 torcuir marbh gan anmain. Docuaidh Faber mur a roibhi a athair, 7 roinnis sin do, 7 rotheithedur sa cathraigh-so, 7 ní rabadur acht tri la faris in Sabdan, 7 robui in fledh-sin se[4]) la da caithem. Dala in t-Sabhdain iar faghail fis báis a maic do, docuir techta arcenn Craidhamar do suidhiugudh in gnima-sin air. 7 Docuaidh righ Alaxanndria 7 a mac a coindi in t-Sabhdain. Adubairt in Sabdan: 'A Fabeir', ar-sé, 'is olc in gnim dorónuis .i. mo mac-sa do marbadh gan fochuin'. 'Ní gan adbur domarbus é', ar Fabér, 7 roinnis mur doroine in gnim-sin. Doraidh in Sabdan: 'Dober-sa da fichit[5]) la 7 bliadain do cairdi duit d'faghail fer comhruic, 7 ma treisi dot fer comruic-si dober-sa lesugudh ad litechus duit, 7 da toiti fer comhruic-si dober-sa bás duit-si 7 dot athair, 7 boinfet bar tigerntus dibh'. Tangadur iarum coruigi in cathair-so', ar iarla Ionutas, '7 adubradar[6]) rium-sa co tibraidis m'anum damh fein 7 dom cloind da faghaind fer comruicc docoiscfedh comrac in t-Sabhdain dibh; 7 mina fhagaind-sin doibh co tibradais

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1) *coruigi* repeated in MS.
2) l. *rofelladh.*
3) MS. .7.
4) MS. .*s*.
5) MS. .*xx*.
6) MS. *a. d̃.*

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bás damh fein 7 dom cloind. 7 Docuartaigh me [336 b] cricha Saxan 7 móran d'oilenaibh ele maræn ria, 7 ni fuarus intí robadhus d'iarraidh .i. Sir Gyi o Berbuic, mo triath 7 mo tigerna, 7 ní fuarus Sir Heront .i. ridiri crodha do muindtir Gyi o Berbuic; 7 anois ataim ac techt tar m'ais, 7 is ecin damh bás d'fulung anois damh fein 7 dom cloinn, 7 ní fuil d'aimsir in comhruic-sin gan techt acht da fichit[1]) lá, 7 is é-sin fochuin mo dobroin', ar-sé. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Rachad-sa let cum an comruic-sin', ar-sé. Adubairt iarla Ionutas: 'A oilirtigh', ar-sé, 'na dena fanamad fum'; 7 roeirigh ina shessum iarum, 7 dothoit asa haithli, 7 rothoguibh Sir Gyi ina suidhi é, 7 adubairt ris menma maith do beth aigi, 7 co coiscfedh fein adhbur a dobroin. Adubairt iarla Ionutas ac fechain ar Gyi: 'Dobudh cusmail rit co robuis uair ecin, 7 co n[d]ingenta rét feramail, fedmlaidir, 7 is truagh don fhir docum neam 7 tal*man* nach tú Gyi o Berbuic'. Docuadur iarsin sa cathraigh, 7 tarrla Craidamar orra, 7 fochtuis scela d'iarla Ionutas in fuair se fer coisci in comluind do hiaradh air. Adubairt iarla Ionutas: 'Ata oilirthech farum dogheall a cosc'. Fechuis an righ fur Gyi, 7 ní derna acht becni, 7 rofhiarfaigh in ri[2]) ca tir dó. Adubairt Gyi: 'Is misi Seon Saxanach', ar-sé. Doraid in righ: 'Is lughaidi orum tú beth a t-[S]axanach', ar-sé, 'uair is don tal*am*-sin in dias is lugha orum tainic riam .i. Sir Gy o Berbuic 7 Sir Heront, uair is é Sir Gyi romarbh in Sabhdan .i. mo brathair, 7 m'athair .i. Eiliman o Tighir, 7 robi misi[3]) do lathair ann in uair robeñ se a cenn don t-Sabdan. 7 Da ticed Sir Gyi anois cugum, 7 an comruc úd do cosc dim, doberuind cairt a sídha dó'. 7 Adubairt in righ: 'A senoir', ar-sé, 'cinnus doshailfe[a][4]) in comrug úd do denum, uair da feictea fer comruic in t-Sabhdain dogebhtha bás co hobunn rena uathmuracht, óir is amlaidh[5]) [337 a] ata sé in athachdubh, duaibsech, dimór, dasachtach, doingabala'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Nir gab egla misi riam', ar-sé, 'roim ní da facus'. Dala Gyi iar-sin docuiredh freastal 7 frítholad air, fotraici minca 7 biadh 7 deoch, co cenn da fichet[6]) lá 7 da fichet[6]) aidchi. Iar tiacht na haimsiri adubairt ri Alaxandria:

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[1]) MS. *.xl.*

[2]) Note the inconsistent spelling of *ri* and *righ*, both nominative.

[3]) MS. repeats *dobi misi*. Note *dobi* beside *robi*.

[4]) The final letter is blurred in the MS. Possibly *doshailfear*.

[5]) MS. 7 *is amlaidh óir is amlaidh*.

[6]) MS. *.xx.*

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'A senoir', ar-sé, 'cinnus rob ail let in comrac ugud do denum?' Adubairt: 'Rob ail', ar-sé, 'tu-sa do ligen iarla Ionutas cona cloind amach mad dam-sa bus treisi, 7 ma misi clæiter isin comruc den-sa do bail fein re hiarla Ionutas'. Adubairt in rí: 'Doden-sa sin co craidhi maith', ar an righ, '7 a fhuil do cimedaibh comdaingne do Cristadhaibh agum ligfed amach iat, mad duid-si bud treisi; 7 ni dingen cocadh ar Cristaidhi co crich mo báis, mad let-sa buaidh in comruig úd'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Fag-sa airm arrachta 7 eideth mar an cetna dam'. Adubairt in righ: 'Ata sin agum-sa, da fathaidh[1]) fer feramail, firarrachta da tiucfadh a n-imcur, 7 ni frith o fuaradur na fir aga rabadur bás .i. luirech Ector maic Prim 7 a cloidem, 7 ceinnbert Alaxander maic Pilib cæich'. 'Tabraidh cugum-sa iat', ar Gyi. Tugadh in t-edeth co Gyi, 7 docuir uime é, 7 is maith roail[2]) in trealamsin do Gyi. Dochuadh iar-sin mur a roibh in Sabdan. Adubairt righ Alaxandria: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'is ullum in fer comraic-si'. 'Dogebuir comrac mas*ed*', ar-sé; 7 docuiredh ar oilen iad do denum in comraic. Roathaigh Craidhamar na dee do nertugudh le Gyi .i. Mathgamain 7 Terragont. 'Diultaim-si doibh-sin', ar Gyi, '7 iaraim furtacht aran mac dorug in ogh nemheillnigthi, 7 rofulaing pais arson in cinid dæna'. Tanic Amoront .i. in t-athach a narrthaisc Gyi. Adubairt Gyi aga faicsin: 'Is cusmaila in fer ud re diabul na re duine', ar-sé. Dosaitedur in dias-sin a comdail a cheile, 7 roferadur comrac feramail, furniata, firarrachta reroile, 7 robuail Amoront builli borbnertmur ar Gyi, 7 darindi [da n-ordain][3]) don sdét robui fai, 7 tarrla Gyi da chois. [337 b] 7 Dorinde in Sabhdan gen gaire aga faicsin-sin. Docomrac Gyi co greannmur, 7 tug builli d'Amaront, 7 roscris in clogud curadach 7 in t-eideth arrsaid, ingnathach, 7 rogerr in dilat, 7 dorindi da n-ordain don ech, 7 tarrla Amoront ar lár, 7 dorinde rig[4]) Alaxandria gaire. Roeirig Amoront co luath, 7 robuailsit a ceile asa haithle. 7 Robui tesbach teinntemail isin ló-sin .i. an la iarna marach tareis lǽ Eoin Baisti isin t-samrud.

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[1]) *fathaidh.* I am doubtful about this form. Is it 2 pl., = *faighbhaidh*, or of 3 sg. pass. = *faighthe?* (But *fuighthi* occurs p. 340 b.)

[2]) For *doail* (*taill*), the preterite of *ailim* in the sense of 'suited, fitted'?

[3]) No space in MS. The words are supplied form the passage which follows.

[4]) The nominative *rig*, which is of course a mere spelling, has been noted above. See foot-note to p. 336 b.

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Adubairt Amoront: 'A treinfir', ar-se, '[tabair][1]) dam mur anoir do Dia fein ced dul san usci dom fothrugud'. 'Doberuind', ar Gyi, 'da tugtha in cedna dam aris, da n-iarainn é'. 'Dober', ar Amoront. Docuaidh in t-athach annsan usci, 7 rofhothruic ann é, 7 roib ni de, 7 robui co feramail, firarrachta dia eis, 7 docomraicsit co calma iarsin. Dogab tesfach Gyi iarsin 7 roiar cet dul san usci. 'Doberuind', ar Amoront, 'dia tucta a fhis dam ce tú fein'. 'Doberuind', ar Gyi, 'uair is misi Sir Gyi o Berbuic.' Adubairt Amoront: 'Berim-si a buidechus-sin rem deib, 7 tu-sa do cur cugum, uair is tú romarbh mo dias derbrathar 7 mo tigerna .i. in Sabhdan, 7 ar ór in domun uili ní tibrainn ced dot festa.' Dobuail Amoront builli borb ar Gyi in tan-sin, 7 rotrasgair ara gluinibh e. Adubairt Gyi: 'Ar cumairci na Trinoidi dam 7 Muire', ar-se, 'uair nír ed armo gluinibh dom ainndeoin me riam roime-so.' Roeirigh Gyi co grib, greannmur, 7 rosaith cloideam co seitreach, sircalma a n-ucht Amoront, 7 tug fuindeog fhairsin,[2]) firdomuin fair, 7 rosil a fuil co dasachtach, 7 tarla ar lar e. 7 Docuaidh Sir Gyi san usci risin ré, 7 rofothruic ann e, 7 roibh a lordæthain de, 7 tanic as. Adubairt Gyi: 'Ní rabusa riam uair is mó mo nert na anosa-, ar-sé; 7 is é fedh robui sin comruc-sin aga denum .i. deich n-uaire[3]) roim methon lǽ [338a] 7 a sé ina diaigh; 7 dotoit Amaront a crich an comraic le Gyi, 7 rob[e]n a cenn de. Adubairt Craidhamar: 'A Sabhdain', ar-sé, 'doci tú anois curub litechus ecoir dorindis ar mo mac-sa; min budh edh, ni leis doberthai buaidh in comhruic úd.' Adubairt in Sabhdan: 'Dogebuir-si cairt do sidha arason-sin, 7 lu[ach][4]) h'esonora.' Conidh e comrac Sir Gyi ó Berbuic 7 Amoront conici.

38. Tangadur iarum tara n-ais co cathraigh Alaxanndria .i. in ri 7 iarla Ionutas 7 Sir Gyi, 7 tucad a clann 7 a muindter[5]) uile cona n-uili maithus d'iarla Ionutás, 7 dochuadur iarsin co cathraigh an iarla. 7 Robúi Sir Gyi cæicis a farradh an iarla, 7 dothairg iarla Ionutas ilimud maithusa do Sir Gyi, 7 rodiult

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[1]) No space in MS.
[2]) l. *fhairsing*.
[3]) MS. has *.x.* *huaire* repeated.
[4]) No space in MS. for the missing letters.
[5]) MS. *nuindter*.

Gyi sin, 7 rogab lamh ar imtecht, 7 docuaidh in t-iarla ar fód[1]) foleth leis. Adubairt in t-iarla: 'Ar grad Crist', ar-se, 'innis dam-sa ce thú budhein'. 'Dodén', ar-se, '7 na hindisi do nech ele mé, uair is mé Gyi o Berbuic'; 7 rofhagaibh a bennacht aigi a haitli. Imtus Gyi dorinde sé treiginus 7 irnaighthi 7 oilirthe i ngach tal*am* da rimigh Crist, 7 ni dó labrus in sdair seal ele.

39. Dala Feilisi ingin iarla o Berbuic, iar n-imthecht do Sir Gyi uaithi, doruc si mac a cinn a hinmaighi, 7 dobaistedh é, 7 tugadh Roighnebron fair, 7 tucadh do Sir Heront dia oileamain é. Dala Feilisi iar-sin, dorindedh mainistreacha 7 sepeil 7 dethoibrecha le ar anmain Gyi o Berbuic. Dala Roighnebron a cinn a dha bliadan dec ni roibhi a Saxanaibh fer ocht mbliadan dec fa mó na se. Is ann-sin tainic long saidhbir fa cennaidacht isin crich-sin, 7 docuadur mur a roibi in righ, 7 tugadur seoid uaisli dó do cind ced cennaighechta do denum. Sir Heront immorro, is aigi robui coimét na cuanta don [t]æibh[2]) thes do t-[Sh]axan*aibh* [338 b] in tan-sin, 7 tugadur na cennaighi-sin ilimud maithus do cinn a les do denum. 7 Docuadur co dunad Sir Heront, 7 docuncadur in macamh mermenmach, mileta, mordhalach amesc in teglaigh, 7 fochtuid scela cuidh é. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Is e súd mac in enridiri is ferr taraill tal*am* riam .i. Sir Gyi o Berbuic'; 7 nír cían iar-sin gur fagaibh in dunadh 7 robadur foirenn na luingi cennaigh dia eis isin cathraigh. Dogoidedar furenn na luingi Roignebron leo iar ngelladh sheod uasal dó da ndechad sé leo amach, 7 docuaidh leo mur-sin, 7 tucadur coma ele dona doirrseoraibh ara ligen amach leo. Docuadur ina luing, 7 roimgedur rompa, 7 rogabsad cuan san Afraicc, 7 dobronnsad Roighnebron do righ na hAthfraice, 7 roindsidur gur mac do Gyi o Berbuic é. O roairigh Heront uiresbaidh a dhalta fair docuartaigh moran don domun aga iarraidh, 7 ní fuair a scela, 7 tanic tarais iarum. Is ann-sin tangadur Lochlannaigh do gabail Saxan, 7 tuc rí Saxan craidhail do maithibh a muindtiri teacht ina dochum, 7 itir gach nech da tanic ann tanic Sir Heront doshinnrud cona muindtir ann, 7 rofer in rig failt[e] ris, 7 doruc les a comurli é, uair ni roibhi ann-sin comurlech catha dob ferr na se, na ridiri dob ferr lam no is minca roderbadh. Rogab

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[1]) *fód* repeated in MS.

[2]) MS. *æibh* with no space for the *t*.

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tnuth 7 furmod Moduiant .i. diuice Cornubal trit-sin. 7 Adubairt: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'is olc in breath-sin dorugais oruinde .i. sinne do treigin ar an treturach fhallsa, feilcerdach dorec mac a tigerna 7 a dalta ar becan fiach re cennaighib'. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Is brég rocanuis, 7 dorachainn da suidiugudh curob edh'. Doraidh in rígh: 'Coiscidh da ceile', ar-se. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'A diuice Cornubal', ar-se, 'cuairteocha mé in domun uili ag iaraidh [339 a] mo dhalta, muna faghar nísa tusca é, 7 co cuirer a ceill do cach curob imdergadh ecoir tugaisi dam; 7 a diuice Cornubal', ar-sé, 'da fedar, cuirfed a aithrechus súd ort fos'. Adubairt Sir Heront re righ Saxan: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'cuir misi 7 mo muindtir, 7 ridiri oga Saxan maræn rum, in dream dibh aga fuil do chennach 7 do thuarusdal, do cur catha a n-aigi[d] na Lochlannach'. 7 Nir cian iar-sin co ndechaidh Sir Heront do cur in catha-sin anaig*idh* na Lochlannach, 7 docuiredh in cat[h] les, 7 dobrised arna Lochlannachaibh, 7 docuiredh a n-ár. Docuaidh Sir Heront iar-sin do lorgairecht a dalta, 7 nir imdha tír isin doman nar iar se dó, 7 ni fuair enfocal da scelaib, 7 docuiredh san Afraicc é, 7 robui ag taistil in tiri-sin no cathrach moir righ na hAfraicci, 7 robúi in tír uili na fasach, 7 robí in cathair ina lethfasach, 7 fochtuis Heront fochuin na cathrach do beth ina lethfasach 7 in tír uili ina lanfhasach. Adubairt aroile fris 'Ambrail nertmur, nemtrocureach rogabh in tir-sin uile acht in cathair-si amain, 7 ata se sel anosa a gabail na cathrach-so acht mina beth enridiri óg, anæsmur, ata innti aga cosaint co calma'. Dala Sir Heront dono ag dul on luing do, 7 tarla in Turcach robúi a gabail na crichi fair, 7 rogab e cona muindtir, 7 robui secht [1]) mbliadhna ina chim [2]) crapailti, cruadhcuibrigthi, 7 ni roibi enfocul do scelaib Roighnebron aran fedh-sin. Conidh í cimiacht Sir Heront isin Afraic connici-sin.

40. Dala Sir Gyi o Berbuic, iar ndenum oilirthi inmolta in domun [3]) dó, dosmuain impo tarais dia thír dhuthaig, 7 aroile lá dia roibhi se ac siubal na Lumbairdi tarrla duine doim dó ac diucaire fo bun croisi. 7 Rofhiarfaigh Gyi fochuin a gerain don doim. Adubairt an doim: 'Ní fuil feidhm ar mo sc[el]aibh

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[1]) MS. .7.

[2]) l. *chime*.

[3]) For *domun* in the gen. sg.; cf. p. 306 a, foot-note.



agud', ar-se. 'Innis a n-anoir do Dia damh', ar Gyi, '7 dober dígeann mo comurli duid', ar-sé. 'Ineosad co fír', ar Tirri, 'uair is misi Sir Tirri, mac iarla na Goirmisi', ar-se. '7 Tughus cath 7 [1]) da ceile 7 Berard [339 b] .i. diuici na Lumbairdi, 7 dobrised form-sa in cath, 7 docuiredh ár mo muindtiri, 7 dogabadh [me] [2]) fein, 7 ataim secht [3]) mbliadhna a laim', ar-sé, 'a cathraigh an impir, 7 adubhairt cach a coitcinne co roibhi an ecoir agan imper gum cunnmail-si am cime na cathraigh. Iarna clos-sin don imper, roordaigh se misi do ligen amach ar ordugudh d'airighthi .i. fer comruicc d'fagail as m'ucht fo cenn da mís 7 bliadhna; 7 da toiti in fer comruic-si ann-sin, bas d'imirt orum fein 7 mo tigerntus do beth ag diuice na Lumbairdi; 7 da mad treisi dom fer comraic-si, m'anum d'faghail dam, 7 mo tigerntus do thabairt damh; 7 ní fhuil isin domun ænduine is ferr lamh na diuice na Lumbairdi, 7 is é is treisi agan imper, 7 is é is [s]dibard aigi, 7 ní hincomruic misi ris. 7 Robui cara cairdemail agum tug fa dhó o bás mé .i. Sir Gyi o Berbuic 7 ataim da mí 7 bliadain aga iarraidh a crichuibh Saxan 7 a moran d'oilenaibh ele in domun, 7 ni fhuarus enfocal da scelaibh frisin re-sin; 7 rogoidedh in t-ænmac robui ag Gyi o Berbuic. 7 Ata Sir Heront aga lorgairecht ar fud in domuin, 7 ní faghthar scela cecht[ar] acu; 7 is iat-sin mo scela-sa', ar Tirri. Adubairt Gyi: 'Rachad-sa let a cenn an imper', ar-se, '7 ca fis nach dinghnad mo comurle ort?'; 7 rogluaisidur rompa asa haithli. 7 Adubairt Tirri co roibhi ailges codalta [4]) air, 7 adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Codail 7 cuir do cenn am ucht-sa', ar-se. 7 Docuir Tirri a cenn a n-ucht Gyi, 7 rotuit a thoirrtim fair, 7 docunnuic Sir Gyi cusmailius coluim no esoigi a nd*ath* glegel ac techt as bel Tirri 7 a dul asdech a poll talm*an* a carraicc comdaingin cloichi ar tæbh cnuic adhbulmoir; 7 tainic in bethadhach tharais iarum, 7 docuaidh se a mbel Sir Tirri, 7 roduisigh Tirri asa cholludh. 7 Adubairt: 'Is truagh donte docum nem 7 tal*am* nach fuil in fis docunnuc na fírindi'. 'Cred í sin?', ar Gyi. 'Docunnac', ar-sé, 'mur dorachainn fein 7 Gyi o Berbuic annsa cnoc úd dociid ar do comair, 7 co

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[1]) Omit 7? Or add *comlann*?

[2]) MS. indistinct.

[3]) MS. .7.

[4]) Expansion uncertain. I have adopted the common form of the genitive, but the abbreviation in the MS. seems to indicate a form with *ll*, perhaps *collata*.

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fuighmis uaim domain, [340 a] dorcha ann, 7 dragun na cholludh innti 7 a bód ina bel é a mod compais, 7 cloidem cumdaigh astigh ina lar, 7 ilimud oir ina timchill'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Rachmaid da fechain-sin', ar-se; 7 dorug Gyi eolus mur a ndechaid in bethadhach gel isin cnoc 7 docuaid astegh[1]) ann, 7 docunnuic in dragun na colludh 7 in cloidhem na lár. 7 Docuaidh Gyi co beodha do leim ar lár in draguin, (7) tuc in cloidhem les, 7 adubairt se[2]) Tirri: 'Atamaid aræn a terci loin', ar-sé, '7 tabur ní don or let'. 7 Docuaidhar amach asin uamaidh iar-sin, 7 tug an cloidhem asan truaill alainn oir, 7 adubairt: 'Ni fuil sa cruinni cloidhem is ferr na so'. Adubairt Tirri: 'Ní fuil acht tri mili buain cathair in imper', ar-sé, '7 eirgem innti'. Docuadur iarum co dorus na cathrach, 7 adubairt Tirri: 'Ni ligenn an egla dam fein', ar-sé, 'dul sa cathraigh anocht, 7 anum annsa tegh osta bec-so don thæib amuigh don cathraigh'; 7 doronsat amlaidh. Adubairt Gyi ar maidin iarna marach: 'Racud-sa cum aithfrinn', ar-sé, '7 an-sa ann-so co tiger-sa cugud, a Tirri', ar-se. 7 Docuaidh Gyi don tempull, 7 roeist aithfrenn, 7 dochuaidh aran conuir arcinn in n-imperi, 7 dorin[3]) umla dó, 7 roiar derc aran imper, 7 adubairt: 'Len dom palas mé', ar-se, '7 bidh ar do cuid ann, 7 dogebuir derc'. Dala Gyi iarum, docuaidh se co palas an imper, 7 fochtuis in t-imper de: 'In nderrnais moran oilir[th]i?' ar-sé. 'Doronus', ar Gyi, 'uair ni fuil oilirti inmolta isin domun nach derrna', ar-sé. Adubairt in t-imper: 'In cualais imrad orum-sa isna crichaibh-sin?' ar-sé. Adubairt Gyi: 'Docuala-sa maith 7 olc da rada rit', ar-se. 'Créd é fochuin uilc do rad rium?' ar-sé, 'uair is coir maith do rada rium'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Sdibard uaibrech agud .i. diuici na Lumbairdi do gabail iarla Tirri, 7 do buain a thigerntuis de, 7 tu-sa arna fulung-sin 7 arna métugudh leis'. [340 b] Adubairt diuice Berard: 'Tuingim fan ændia', ar-sé, 'gur fhoibres do gabail ar [h'][4]) ulcain 7 fhiacla do crothadh a t'ucht'. Adbert Gyi: 'Doberim-si mo briathar da nderrnta-sa sin co mbuailfind-si mo sgripa 7 mo lorg ar ænslighi a firmullach do chinn-si, no[5]) leicinn hincinn trit c'oicinn'. Adbert in diuice: 'Dobadh ferr

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[1]) MS. *astegh istegh.*
[2]) l. *re.*
[3]) l. *dorinne.*
[4]) MS. indistinct.
[5]) l. *no co?*

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lium na mor do maithus in domun co mad nech aderadh sin rium dorachudh da suidiugudh cugum'. Adubairt Gyi: 'Dor[ach]ainn-si da suidiugudh ort', ar-se, '7 ag siud mhe fein a laim an imper a ngell re comall in comruic-sin ar maidin amarach', ar-sé. Is ann-sin docuir diuice na Lumbairdi cor 7 slana air fein co tibradh comhrug don oilirtech ar maidin iarna marach. Mar-sin doib an aidhci-sin. Roeirigh Gyi a mucha na maidni mochshoillsi, 7 roiar eidedh aran imper, 7 fuair a lordhæthain airm 7 eidedh, 7 dorug in cloidhem fuair san uamaid fan dragun leis. 7 Robadur o noi[1]) mbuilli don clog co dub nél dorcha, doeolais na haidhci ag ledairt 7 ag lanbualadh a ceile. 7 Rogab in t-imper comosudh comraic eturra, 7 docuir in t-imper Sir Gyi da coimét co seomra a ingine. 7 Adubairt leigis 7 lesugudh do denum do. Adubairt diuice na Lumbairdi rena muinntir: 'Ni fuarusa riam comrac roba doilgi lium na comruc an læ aniugh', ar-se, '7 ata egla in lǽ amarach orum, 7 is truag dam', ar-se, 'gan a beth do comgæl agum nech ecin domillfed an t-oilirtech ud anocht innus nach fuighthi cum comraic amarach é'. Adubradar drong do gæltaibh in diuice co ningendais fein sin. Dala Sir Gyi, iar fothrugudh dó, 7 iar caithem a choda, rocoduil asa haithle, (7) rogoidhedh cona lebaidh é, 7 robui an lan mura fái in ngrianan in uair-sin, 7 sruth [341 a] ruadh robarta fái ag imthecht amach isin muir, 7 peileir primarrachta a cunnmail in grianain a n-airdi os cinn na mara, 7 rotilgsit Sir Gyi risin sruth-sin Dala Sir Gyi iarum, rofuadaighedh a n-aigein e, 7 roduisigh sé asa colludh, 7 roeirigh na suidhi ara lebaidh, 7 rofhech osa cinn, 7 roataigh Dia co dichra da furtacht. 7 Adubairt: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'ata a fis agud nach do chinn luaighechta[2]) 7 nach d'fagail airim docuadus do comrug, acht d'furtacht mo carud on ecoir doronad air; 7 a thigerna, gab agum', ar-se. Is ann-sin doconnic Sir Gyi an luingin iascaid ina docum, 7 fochtuid scela de. Adubairt Gyi: 'An cualabur', ar-sé, 'luagh[3]) aran duine mbocht dorinde comrucc aniug a cathraigh an imper?' 'Docualamar', ar-siad, '7 robo maith a maisi dó é'. 'Is misi doroine sin', ar Gyi, '7 rofelladh orum am cholludh 7 ni fedur cinnus docuiredh ann-so me, 7 a n-anoir Dia tabraidh cabuir

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[1]) MS. *.9.*

[2]) l. *luaighidhechta.*

[3]) l. *luadh.*

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orum'. Dorug in t-iasgaire Sir Gyi isin luing leis, 7 dorug da tigh fein hé annsa [ca]thraigh, 7 dorinne fothrugudh fair, 7 tucc biadh 7 deoch dó, 7 tuc air suan 7 sircolladh do denum ar imdhaidh uasail, oiredha. Dala in diuice iarum, roeirigh amaidin iarna marach, 7 doiar comruc, 7 ni frith in oilirthech a n-æninadh, 7 adubairt in sdibard: 'Is teithedh doroine an t-oilirtech', ar-se. Docuir in t-imper techta mur a roibi a ingen d'iarraidh in oilithrigh, 7 ní fuair a scela aici. Adubairt in t-imper: 'Is e diuice na Lumbairdi ro furail in duine bocht do milludh', ar-sé, '7 doberim fom breithir mina faghar é co tiur bás dom ingin 7 don diuice'. 7 Adubairt in diuice nach é fein roordaigh a milledh, 7 co rachadh da suidhiugud nach roibhi cuid dó anṅ, 7 co rachadh ina diaigh-sin faris in Sabhdan da digailt aran imper breg air. Is ann-sin adubairt Gyi risin iasgaire: 'Imidh', ar-se, 'mur a fuil in t-imper, 7 fagh do breath fein uadha do cinn ma scél-sa d'innsin do'. Teit iarum in t-iasgaire mur a roibh in t-imper, 7 roinnis scela dó, 7 ba luthairech leis na scela-sin d'faghail. 7 Dorugad iarum Gyi mur a roibi in t-imper, 7 tucadh a trealadh comruic dó, 7 rocomraic [341 b] risin diuice, 7 dothoit in diuice la Gyi a furcenn in comruic. Docuaidh techta mur a roibhi iarla Tirri, 7 adubairt ris: 'Is truagh duid in comrac is calma dorindedh sa domun riam aga denum a n-éncathraigh rit, 7 gan tú aga faicsin'. Docuaidh Tirri itir cách d'fechain in comruicc-sin, 7 ar marbadh an diuice la Gyi, docuir se air, 7 adubairt: 'Mina beth an ecoir agud', ar-sé, 'ní fuil sa domun ænduine dotiucfad beo od comrac'. Doraidh: 'A tigerna imperi', ar-se, 'tabur a cert fein d'iarla Tirri festa'; 7 tugadh Tirri co lathair, 7 tugadh a tigerntus do, 7 sdibardacht an imper, 7 cairt a sidha, 7 robui Gyi tamall fare hiarla Tirri. 7 Dorug Gyi Tirri leis mili ceimenn on cathraigh, 7 adubairt: 'Tirri', ar-se, 'in n-aithnighenn tú me? ní aithnighenn tu mé?' 'Ní aithnighim', ar Tirri. 'Is misi Sir Gyi o Berbuic; 7 is mé romarbh diuice Otun ar do shon-sa; 7 is mé romarbh na coic[1]) ridiri dec an uair fa fuarus a richt mairb ar coill tú; 7 is me [romarbh][2]) in cethrar ridiri robúi gud breith-si dod milliudh a cenn diuice Otún'. Adubairt Tirri: 'Is tu', ar-sé, '7 tugus baramail dod marcaighecht in uair robaduis a comrac re diuice na Lumbairdi'; 7 ropogadur a ceile,

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1) MS. .u.

2) No space in MS.

7 rotuit in t-iarla a n-anmainne iarum, 7 roimigh Gyi iarum. Dala iarla immorro, robui caicidhis ina sheomra gan biadh, gan digh, gan cholladh, 7 rofiarfaigh a banceile fochuin a dobroin. Doraidh in t-iarla: 'Sir Gyi o Berbuic', ar-sé, 'robui a richt oilirthigh am farradh, 7 is [e][1]) romarbh diuice[2]) na Lumbairdi ar mo son, 7 fuair mo tigerntus dam, 7 an la roimigh buaim tug deimin a scel damh, 7 ni ba buan mo betha dia eis'. 'Truagh duid gan a cunnmail agud', ar an righan. Conidh i cuair[t] Sir Gyi fare iarla Tirri conicci.

41. Dala Gyi iarsin docuaidh roime a Saxan, 7 fochtuis scela ca roibh cing Caulog .i. rí Saxan. Adubairt aroile fris co robhi in ri a Fuindsistuir', 7 ata righ Lochlannach ar techt do gabail Saxan, 7 tri fichit[3]) mili ridiri maræn ris; 7 ata athach agarb, aniarmurtach ann; 7 docuiredur na Lochlannaig 7 na Saxanaigh a cert 7 a coir ar comlunn deisi, 7 is e in duil du[b], [342 a] duaibsech, diablaidi-sin tic ona Lochlannchaibh cum in comraic; 7 ni faghter a Saxanaibh fer a dingmala, uair ní fuil isin talmain fer a coisc. 7 Is uime-sin is ecin dona Saxanachaibh umla do thabairt 7 cís cinnti do thabairt dona [Loch]lannachaibh. 7 Ata righ Saxan, 7 espaidh, 7 diuicidh, 7 iarlaidhi 7 lucht gacha dana archena ina troscad tri la ar aran 7 ar usci, 7 iad a guidi in ændia docum nem 7 tal*am* fa fer coisgi Colobroin d'fagail doibh; 7 is iad-sin scela na crichi-so', ar an t-oglach. Tainic Sir Gyi co Fuindsistair. Annsan aidhchi iarum tainic aingil cum an righ, 7 adubairt ris: 'A tigerna', ar-se, 'eirigh co moch amarach docum an tempuill, 7 bocht De dogebuir ann abair a n-anoir paisi Crist comrug Colobron do cosc dit'. Roeirigh in righ immorro co moch ar maidin cum an te[m]paill-sin, 7 fuair Sir Gyi a croisfighill ar belleic[4]) in tempaill ag edurguidhi in duileman. Beannaigus in rí do Gyi, 7 rofreagair Gyi sin co humal 7 fecus aran rígh, 7 doní umla dó iarna aithne, 7 roiar derc fair. Adubairt in rí: 'Dogebuir', ar-se; '7 tabur-si athcuinge dam-sa'. 'Da rabh agum', ar Gyi. 'Coisc comrug Colobron dim-sa', ar-se. 'Ni hathcuingi cnesta dam-sa sin do iaraidh orm', ar Gyi, 'air is am senoir anbann, anarrachta mé', ar-sé.

1) MS. 7 *i is*.
2) MS. *.d. diuice*.
3) MS. .xx.
4) Perhaps *ar bel leic*? I am not sure what part of the church is meant. *beilleac* occurs in Egan O'Rahilly's poems in the sense of 'tombstone' (cf.

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Is ann-sin roleig an rí fora gluinibh é, 7 maithi Saxan maræn ris itir cill 7 tuaith, 7 roguidhedur uili Sir Gyi im Colobron do cosc dibh. Gabus adnaire in bithuasal man ngreasacht tugadur na Saxanaigh fair. Adubairt iarum Gyi co rachadh se cum an comraic-sin a n-anoir Ísa, '7 faghaidh trealam comruic dam'; 7 tugad ilimud eid*eth*, 7 dobrised asa ceile re crothadh [342 b] gach eideth dib. 7 Adubairt Gyi: 'Tabraidh eideth Sir Gyi o Berbuic cucum', ar-sé, 'uair ba companach dam-sa é, 7 toiledh a eideth dam, 7 [1]) a taisgi aga mnai; 7 na fágaidh in cloidhem co brach'. Tugadh trealam gaisgidh Sir Gyi co lathair, 7 dogabh in senoir uime é, 7 dochuaidh a nglaic dilaiti in sdeid co socair gan nech ele aga cunnmáil dó. 7 Ba machtnugudh mor lesna Saxanachaib febus na hergi dorinne in senoir isin dilait 7 truime in trealaim robúi uime. 7 Docuaidh roime co lathair in comhruicc, 7 rotuirrling ann, 7 roleig ara g[l]uinibh é, 7 roaigh [2]) Dia co duthrachtach, 7 adubairt: 'A Tigerna', ar-sé, 'mata in cóir agum, sær on guasacht-so me le da mírbuilibh mora fein, mur doshǽrais Enóg o bás, 7 Isác on cloidem, 7 Iosebh on prisun, 7 pupul Maisi on Eigipte, 7 Duid o Golias, 7 Subhsanna on cair breige, 7 Dainial o log na leogan, 7 Abacú on gorta, 7 Lasurus o bas, 7 Ionas a broinn in mil moir, sær misi, a Tigerna, le da trocuire moir fein mur-sin', 7 *cetera*. 7 Docuaidh Sir Gyi fura sdét iarum, 7 dochuaidh a coinne Colobron, 7 dorónsud comruc feithfhuilech, fergach, fírneimnech re hedh 7 re hathaigh. Tug Sir Gyi sathad sanntach, sarcalma sleghi ar Colobron, 7 robris in t-eideth dubullta robui uime, 7 tug crecht crolinnteach, comurthach air fein. Tug Colobron beim bithnertmur do Gyi, 7 rotrascair é, 7 roeirigh Sir Gyi co prap, 7 robuail builli cruadhnertmur cloidim ar Colobron ina gualainn, 7 tug cnedh domain fair iar ngerradh a eid*edh*. Tug Colobron beim bithnertmur ina cenn, 7 rogerr na clocha brigmura buadha robui ina ceinnbeirt, 7 roscris in buill-sin co talm*ain*, 7 nír der[g] [3]) fair, 7 dobrisedh cloidhem Gyi don dubhruathar-sin. Adubairt Colobron: 'Tabair thu fein festa', ar-sé, 'uair ní fuil nert do cosanta agud iar mbrisedh do cloidim; 7 tabraid Saxanaigh 7 [3]) cis 7 cain dona

Fr. Dinneen's glossary.) According to the Middle English versions the pilgrim is found not at church, but at the north gate of the town.

[1]) *ata*, or some equivalent expression, omitted?

[2]) l. *ataig*?

[3]) Omit 7.

Lochlannachaib co fuin'. [343a] Adubairt Gyi: 'A Colobroin', ar-sé, 'in feicenn tu-sa ridiri lancalma ag techt le harmaibh cucum?' Fechuis Colobron secha do thoirmesc na n-arm do ligen co Gyi. Is ann-sin do rith Gyi cum na cartach ina rabudur airm Colobron, uair robúi cairt fo lan airm aigi, 7 rofuadaigh Sir Gyi biail béllethan este, 7 robuail [co] borbnertmur ar Colobron di, 7 robuail indera fecht é, 7 rodicenn fo deóidh, 7 doben a cenn de, 7 dorug in cenn leis a fiadhnuse in rig. Tanic in rig 7 maithi a muindtiri 7 lucht uird na cathrach ina proseisiam a comdáil Sir Gyi, 7 rogab an righ ar laim e, 7 rofer failti fris, 7 dorug leis ar laim isin cathraigh mur-sin e. 7 Rothair in rígh a rogha diuiciacht a Saxanaib do Gyi, 7 rodiult Gyi sin do gabail, 7 roan sé tri lá faris in rígh, 7 rogabh ced imthechta iarum 7 [roimigh][1]) roime asa haithli, 7 docuaidh in righ ar fod fo leth leis. Adubairt in righ: 'A muidh Dé', ar-se, 'innis dam cé tú fein, 7 ca tír duit'. Adubairt Gyi: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'da tugtha fírinne gan mo scela di'nnsin co cenn da fichet[2]) la, d'inneosaind mo scela duit'. Tug an rí in daingen-sin dó. Adubairt in senoir: 'Is misi Sir Gyi o Berbuic', ar-se, 7 roscar risin righ iarum. Conidh e comrug Colobron 7 Sir Gyi conici.

42. Dala Sir Gyi iarum dogluais roime co Berbuic, 7 fuair Feilís a ndorus an halla 7 da bocht dec aca ndil aici ar gradh Dia 7 ar anmain Sir Gyi o Berbuic. 7 Roiar Sir Gyi derc fur in ríghain mur gach mbocht ele, 7 rofhech Feilis fair, 7 tug toil 7 gradh díchra, dófulaing don t-shenoir, 7 nír aithin é. 7 Adubairt ris: 'Tarra lium don halla', ar-si, '7 dogebuir betha aniugh agum-sa ann'. Docuaidh Sir Gyi don halla, 7 fuair anoir na righna, 7 fuair oirchisecht [343b] da meis budhein. Doraidh Feilís: 'A muidh Dé', ar-si, 'atai-si anbann, 7 ní hinaistir tú budesta, 7 an agum-sa gud bethugudh ar gradh Dia 7 ar anmain Sir Gyi o Berbuic'. Adubairt Sir Gyi: 'Co n-ica in fírdhia furordha in anoir-sin rit-sa, a bainntigerna', ar-sé, 7 gebhud-sa in derc-sin uait, 7 rachad-sa fan furais-so renar tæbh', ar-se, 'd'atac 7 d'edurguidi mo Dhia 7 mo Duilemun, uair ni hinadh cradb*aidh* amesc morsluaigh; 7 cuirfed mo gilla gach lǽ arcenn mo proinne sa cathraigh'. 'Dogebha tu-sa sin

[1]) No space in MS.
[2]) MS. .xx.

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co craidhi', ar an cunndais. Dala Sir Gyi iarum docuaidh sé san furais, 7 fuair ditreabach ann a n[d]uirrthech[1]) ag edurguidhi an duileman, 7 robennaigh Sir Gyi dó, 7 roiar pairt don duirrtech air co fuin an betha. Dercus in dítreabhach fair, 7 adubairt: 'Dom dóigh', ar-sé, 'robadhuis uair ecin 7 roba díl anora tú, 7 dogebuir oired rium-sa dhe in fedh bus beo tú'. Dorug Gyi a buidechus-sin risin ditreabach. Dorindi Gyi slechtain co fhirluath iar-sin. Dolabuir in t-aingel osa cinn, 7 adubairt: 'A Gyi, ullmuigh tú arcinn do tirna[2]) .i. in t-Athur Nemdha an t-ochtmad lá ó niúgh'. 'Deo gracias', ar Gyi. Mur-sin dó co cend an t-ochtmad la, 7 docuir a gilla in tan-sin co Feilis, 7 adubairt fris: 'Ber mo noi[3]) mbennachtad d'innsaighi na bainntigerna, 7 ber leth an fainne-so mur comurtha cuici, 7 innis di co fuighir-sa bás san uair-so; 7 abair ré guidhi ar mo son docum Dia, 7 ticedh si do breit a mbethaidh orum'. Docuaidh in gilla co fírluath co Feilis, 7 roinnis scela Gyi di, 7 tug leth an faindi di, 7 roaithin si é, 7 roaithin gurb é Gyi robúi a richt duine[4]) aici is derthech. Dala na cunndaisi iarum rogluais roimpe ina reim roretha coruigi in derthach, 7 fuair-si Gýi sinti [344 a] ar urlar in dertaighi, 7 a aghaidh soir, 7 é ag fagbail na hanma; 7 rosgrech in rigan co rechtaicenntach 7 roger iar n-aithni Sir Gyi di. Rofhech Gyi fur in righain, 7 docrap sé a cosa cuigi in tan-sin, 7 tug se builli uadha dibh co prap, 7 doben se cloch don urlar ag fagbail na hanm,[5]) 7 ata feidm moirseisir a himcar ar bara. 7 Dochunnaic Feilis cusmailius coluim glegbil ag tiacht as bel Sir Gyi 7 ag dul súas a fl*aith*emnus Dia. Conidh amlaidh-sin fuair Feilis a hitci on duileman, uair roiaradh si ar Dia builli da suil 7 da radarc d'faicsin do Gyi sul nach scaradh a anum ris. 7 Rolin[adh][6]) an derthach do dethbaludh ainglidhi gur sharaigh na huili luibh 7 spisradh 7 gum ar dethboludh. Docuredh Sir Gyi a n-eiledrum 7 dob ail leo a breith sa cathraigh dia annlucadh, 7 a roibhi a Saxanaibh uili ni thoigeobdais asin ait-sin é. 7 Rohannlaicedh co hordamail annsa derthach-sin é[7])

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[1]) l. *duirrthech*, as below?
[2]) l. *tigerna*.
[3]) MS. .9.
[4]) *bocht* omitted?
[5]) l. *anma*.
[6]) MS. indistinct.
[7]) 7 expunged in MS. after *é*.

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an uair-sin. Dorindedh iar-sin sepel sidhamail, socharthanach ina timchill, 7 dorindedh mainister mór minalaind a timcill an t-seipeil, 7 docuredh ord craibtech cananach innti; 7 tug Feilis bethugudh don mainistir-sin co fuin an betha, 7 roordaigh deich sacairt fichet[1]) do beth ag serbís co síraidhi annsa mainistir-sin. Dala Feilisi iar-sin roullmuigh si hi fein, 7 fuair bás a cinn deich [la] fichet[2]) tareis na mainistreach-sin do crichnugudh, 7 rohannlaicedh a n-æntuma re Sir Gyi hi, iar mbreith buidhi doib o demhun 7 o domun, 7 atait a cuirp a bus isna talmannaibh coitcenna coleicc, 7 atait a n-anmanna ar nimh idir ainglibh. Conidh amlaidh-sin docrichnuighedh betha an ænridiri is lugha dob olc da roibhi ina aimsir.

43. [344 b] Dala Sir Heront docuaidh se do lorgairecht a dhalta ar fud in domun .i. Roighnebron, mac Sir Gyi o Berbuic, 7 dogabadh é san Afraicc, 7 robúi se secht[3]) mbliadhna a prisun ann. 7 Adubairt i n-aroile la: 'A tigerna', ar-sé, 'is truagh nach bás dotugais dam sul dobeinn isin carcair-so. Is mór do gaiscedh maith doríghnus riam ge taim ag toitim isin prisun-so'. 7 Robúi in seighler ag eistecht na mbriathar-sin, 7 docuaidh mur a roibhi Ambrail, 7 roinnis na scela-sin do, 7 adubairt gur doigh leiss co coiscfedh se in ridiri óg robúi ag innrudh 7 ag argain na crichi. 'Tabur cuguind co lúath e', ar Ambrail. Tugadh co lathair é, 7 fochtuis Ambrail scela de, 7 ca tír dó. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Sasanach me', ar-se. Adubairt Ambrail: 'Narb aithnid Gyi o Berbuic?' ar-se. 'Dob aithnid', ar Heront, 'uair is mé cet ridiri docuir sé ara seilbh riam'. 'Is mogenar agam beith an ridiri-sin anois', ar Ambrail. 7 Adubairt Ambrail: 'Ata ridiri og ag farrach 7 ac feoilgerradh mo muindtiri re sé bliadnaibh, 7 da ticed let a chosc dim doligfinn amach thu con do muinndtir'. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Mata fer a coisc sa domun, o nach mairenn Sir Gyi, is misi é', ar-se. Is ann tucad sdét faithech, firescaid do Sir Heront, 7 trealam comdaingen catha, 7 airm arrachta, urrunta, 7 rofreagair in comruc[4]) asa haithli,

[1]) MS. .x. *sacairt* .xx.
[2]) MS. .x. xx.
[3]) MS. .7.
[4]) *in comruc* repeated in MS.

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7 torchair deichnemar[1]) ridiri co prap leis. Tanic Roignebron co lathair in comraic, 7 adubairt: 'A senoir', ar-se, 'is adhuathmur in bail doberidh arna sluaghaibh', ar-se, '7 toitfir fein ann'. Is an[n]-sin docomruic Sir Heront 7 Roighnebron re ceile, 7 dorindedur [co] féigh fergach, firnertmur, fuileach, foburtach, 7 ní fes aran fedh-sin [345 a] cia acu doclaidhfigh isin comruc. 7 Adubairt Sir Heront: 'A ridiri oig', ar-sé, 'ni rug og na sen a comfad-so as damh riam gan toitim lium ach tu'. Adubairt Roighnebron 'A senoir ecuind', ar-se, 'is gerr co tuitfe tu-sa lium-sa'. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Innis scela dam cé tú, 7 ca tir duit'. 'Ní dingen', ar-se, 'no co mbenar in cend gruagach-sin dit-sa'. Adubairt Heront: 'Is [s]ine[2]) misi na thú', ar-sé, '7 innis scela dam a n-anoir Dia 7 mo seinnserachta, uair is mór fhailtigus mo menma romud, 7 ní du[th]raic lium do marbadh'. Adubairt Roighnebron: 'Indeosa misi scela duit', ar-se, 'uair is ridiri Saxanach me', ar-sé, '7 Roighnebron m'ainm, 7 mac do Sir Gyi o Berbuic mé'. Iarna clos-sin do Sir [Her]ont dothuirrling co prap, 7 rothoirbir Roighnebron do pogaibh co dil, díchra, deththairisi. Adubairt Heront: 'A Roighnebron', ar-sé, 'in aithnighenn tú misi?' 'Ní aithnigim', ar Roighnebron. 'Is misi Sir Heront .i. h'oidi-si', ar-sé, '7 docuredh orum a Saxanaibh gurb é do reic-si re luing cennaigh doronus. 7 Docuartaigh me moran don domun gut iaraid, 7 ataim secht[3]) mbliadhna am cime crapaillti a laim annsa cathraigh-so re da thæbh ag Ambrail, 7 is e romcuir[4]) cum comruic aniugh me ara son'. Dala Roighnebron iar clos na scel-sin do, fa domesta mét a luthaire. 7 Dorindedur in dias-sin sídh idir Argus .i. righ na h-Afraice, 7 Ambrail, nech lugha ceim na rí, 7 fa mo na diuice, 7 doligedur in da rí rathmura, rouaislisin amach gach a roibi a laim acu ar gach tæbh mur anoir don da ridiri-sin. 7 Roindis Sir Heront gurb é goid Roighnebron dorindedh uadha, 7 gurb aga iaraidh robui. 7 Dosgar- [345 b] udar risna rightibh in tan-sin, 7 dorucadur buidechus an anora riu asa haithili, 7 docuir Sir Heront a muindtir 7 a long roime a crichaibh Saxan. Conid amlaidh-sin rofaghadur in da ridiri-sin cricha na h-Afraice.

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1) MS. .x̄.
2) Haplography in MS.
3) MS. .7.
4) Note the infixed pronoun repeated by *me*.

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44. Dala Roighnebron 7 Heront rogluaisidur rompo fedh tre fhasaigibh fairsinge, furlethna, [7][1]) nach facadur duine na ainmidhi, 7 robadur fein 7 a n-eich cortha, ocurach a nderedh læ̃. 7 Docunncadur tor comdaingin cloichi uatha, 7 pailis daingin, dobreoiti ina urtimcill, 7 furaiss fhairsing do lethtæbh in caislein-sin, 7 roiaradar fhoslogudh rompa, 7 rofhiar[f]aigh in doirrseoir cuidh robui ann. 7 Adubradar-san[2]) 'ændias ridiri ina n-ænar'; 7 doronadh a n-uraghall, 7 doleiced asteg iat, 7 rogabadh a n-eich uatha, 7 doronadh umalass*aic* doibh, 7 tucadh a lórdæthain bidh 7 dighi cuca, 7 docaitedur [d]æthain[3]) de. Rofhiarfaigh Roighnebron créd tucc in tír-sin a nfasac uile. Adubairt:[4]) 'Rí di*u*ms*a*ch, diablaidhi, drochbertach docuir cocadh oruind', ar-si, '7 romarbadh ar muindtir les, 7 roben ar n-uili maithus din, 7 rogab no nomarb[5]) tigerna in tíri-so; 7 is e fa fer dam-sa. 7 Robé-sin iarla Aimistir Amundæ, 7 Sir Gyi o Berbuic docosuin riam coruici-so e, uair is aigi robúi ina oclach'. Adubairt Roighnebron: 'Rachad-sa', ar-sé, 'do lorgairecht ferceile duit, uair dob oglach dom athair-si e'. Roeirigh Roighnebron ar maidin iar[na]mh[ar]ach, 7 rogluais, 7 nir lig se Sir Heront leis, 7 roimigh ina ænar, 7 robui co cian ac siubal roime, 7 tarrla dorusbél uama fair, 7 docuaidh astegh innti, 7 roimigh teora mili fo thal*am*, 7 roeirigh soillsi taithnemhach ar fagbail na huam[6]) dó, 7 fuair sruth seitreach, sirlaidir, 7 tricha[7]) troigh ar doimne ann, 7 ní fuair Roighnebron sligi thairis. 7 Docuaidh ar cumairci na Trinoidi, 7 ro [346a] ben leim asa ech fur in sruth co sírcalma, 7 dorug si hairis e, 7 docunnuic se cathair fhairsing, firdaingen, 7 docuaidh astegh innti, 7 docuartaigh a lan don cathraigh, 7 ni fuair enduine innti; 7 docuaid iar-sin ann halla rigdha, romor, 7 fuair enduine mór, diblidi, deroil ina shuidhi sa halla, 7 ilimud iarainn fair; 7 dobennaigh do, 7 dofreagair in t-oglach in bennugudh. 7 Adubairt: 'A ridiri oig', ar-se, 'is truagh do thecht isin cathraigh-so a coinne do báis', ar-sé. 'Cia tu-sa?' ar Roighnebron. 'Is misi iarla Amistir

[1]) No space in MS.
[2]) MS. *a. .d̃.*
[3]) MS. has no space for *d*; another case of haplography.
[4]) *Ad* written twice in MS.
[5]) l. *romarb.*
[6]) l. *uama.*
[7]) MS. .xxx.

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Amundæ', ar-sé, '7 ataim secht[1]) mbliadhna a laim ann-so, 7 Sir Gyi o Berbuic dorinde ridiri dim, 7 is aigi robadhus am oglach'. Adubairt Roighnebron: 'Tarra ar mo culaibh-si', ar Roighnebron, '7 berud lium tú', ar-se. 'Da ndechar', ar an t-iarla, 'ber-si cloidhemh in ri let ata ar sliasait na fuindeogi úd, uair ni hétir dergad air le harmaibh ele, 7 ca fis nach da cloidhem fein ata a ndán a marbadh'. 7 Rogluaisidur rompa asa haithli, 7 docunncadur in ri sidha dia [rochtain],[2]) 7 domallaigh[3]) in rí do Roighnebron. Adubairt Roighnebron re hiarla Aimistir: 'Tuirrling'; 7 doroine iarum, 7 docomrac Roighnebron 7 rí in t-sigha comrac nertmar, naimdighi reroile o urthosuch na maidni mochsoillsi co medhon lǽ, 7 ni fes cia haccu doberadh buaidh in cathaighi frisin ré-sin. Tuc iarum Roighnebron builli brigmur, bithneimnech don rí sigdha, 7 rotrasgair e, 7 rothuirrling fair dia dicennudh. 7 Adbert an rí: 'A thigerna', ar-se, 'gab misi mur oglach cugud, 7 tabur m'anum dam, 7 dober mhé fhein con mo maithus[4]) duid; 7 roshailes nach roibh sa domun fer mo coisc acht Gyi o Berbuic no nech ecin da fhialus'. Tuc Roighnebron a anum don rí [346 b] 7 rolig in righ síghdha braigdi iarla Amistir amach uile do Roighnebron, 7 roaisig a maithus uili don iarla, 7 roinnlaicc tar an sruth iat. 7 Dochuadur mur a roibhi Sir Heront 7 ben iarla Amistir, 7 ba luthaireach leisin mbainntigerna a fer cona muindtir d'faicsin iarna mbeth secht[5]) mbliadhna gan faicsin di, 7 rofer si failti michar, muinnterach re Roighnebron. Conidh amlaidh-sin rogab Roighnebron nert fur in rígh sigdha conicci sin.[6])

45. Iar forba in morgnima-sin re Roighnebron roimigh roime asa haithli, 7 Sir Heront maræn ris, 7 ni derrnsad comnaidhi co rangadur cricha na Burguine, 7 fuaradur ina fasach gan suidhiugudh hi, 7 a cathracha ina mblodhuibh brisdi, buanrebtha. 7 Rofhiarfaigh Roighnebron créd tuc in tir mur-sin. Adubairt fris: 'Iarla Salua', ar-se, 'romill tigerntus diuice na Burghuine, 7 ata enridiri og, arrachta, oire[gh]dha ina farrud re

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[1]) MS. .7.
[2]) Written obscurely in the margins of the MS.
[3]) I am uncertain about the expansion: MS. *domall-*.
[4]) *mait*ȝ is *maithes* or *maithius*.
[5]) MS. .7.
[6]) MS. 7 *conicci-sin*.

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treimsi, 7 ní tainic o tosuch in domuin a commaith do ridiri, 7 is e roairg 7 roinnr*aith* in crich-so. 7 Ata sé ar inn na tulca ud ar bar comuir a coimét na conaire, 7 ni ligenn se éladhach betha thairis gan marbadh, 7 ata fiche[1]) cet ridiri marbh ina timcill torcair lais. 'Rachud fein do cathugudh ris', ar Roighnebron. 'Rachad-sa let', ar Sir Heront; 7 docuadur iarsin ar mullach in cnuic, 7 nír cian doib ann in tan rocunncadur in ridiri colga, cetfadhach ina ndochum, 7 é faenais re Roighnebron. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'A Roighnebron', ar-sé, 'bidh ar do coimét festa, uair ata in ridiri feramail, firarrachta ac techt inar comdhail'; 7 docuaidh Roighnebron ina coinne, 7 roferudar gleo gaibhtech, graiuemail reroile, 7 robadur isin [347 a] gliaidh-sin co medhon læ, 7 ní fes cia acu docláidhfi. Doráidh Roighnebron: 'O rogabus airm laich im laim ní rug do comhog in comfad-so damh gan toitim lium', ar-se. 'Dogebuir-si misi do gnath mur-sin', ar an ridiri, 'no co toitir lium'; 7 dobadur a fad na diaigh-sin a cathugudh reroile. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Scuiridh seal d'ar cathugudh', ar-sé, '7 innsim scela d'aroile'. Adubairt in ridiri: 'Ní thiur-sa scela dibh', ar-se, 'no co mbenar indera cend-sin dib-si'. 'Indis scela duind ar gradh h'einigh 7 h'edh-namha, uair ata ar craidhe furbailtech romhud, 7 ní mian linn do dhochur do denum.' Doraidh in ridiri: 'Inneosa misi scéla dibh', ar-se, 'uair is ridiri Saxanach misi', ar-se, '7 mac do Sir Heront me, 7 ridiri do muindtir Sir Gyi o Berbuic, 7 Sir Aslog m'ainm', ar-se. 7 Docuaidh m'athair .i. Sir [H]eront, do lorgairecht a dalta .i. Roignebron, mac Sir Gyi o Berbuic, 7 dogoidedar foirenn luinge cennacht uadha san Afraicc he, 7 atait secht[2]) mbliadhna o duaidh er an lorgairecht-sin, 7 ni fuaramar enfocal do scelaibh cechtar dibh risin ré-sin. 7 Anuair fa tainic ais gaisgidh dam-sa, dogabus gradha gaiscidh 7 deisi ridiri chugum, 7 tanag do shiubal an doman do lorgairecht m'athar 7 mo derbh-comhdhalta. 7 Rofostaidh iarla Salua me do cogud ar diuice[3]) na Burguine, 7 robinnradh 7 roharged in Burguine lium in bliadhain-so. 7 Ata[4]) coimet na slighedh-so re bliadhain, uair is i-so conuir coitcenn gach æin shiubhlus in doman soir no siar, 7 nir siubhuil in conuir-so re bliadhain ænridiri nar

[1]) MS. .xx.
[2]) MS. .7.
[3]) MS. *duicuice.*
[4]) l. *atá ac?*

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fiabhroighesa scela m'athar 7 mo derbcomalta dibh, 7 ni fuarus enfocul [347 b] da sceluibh risin re; 7 or nach fuarus, nir leigis eladach bethad orum dibh gan marbadh; 7 is iad-sin mo scela dib-si. 7 Fos doden in cetna rib-si .i. boinfed adharcenn dibh-si sul nach sgarud rib'. Adubairt Sir Heront: 'Ní coir duit sinne do marbadh', ar-sé, 'uair is misi h'athair, 7 is é-sin Roighnebron rena fuil tu a comrug'. Iarna clos sin do Sir Asloce dothuirrlig[1]) co luath, 7 dothoirbir teora póg co dil, díchra, dethtairis[i] do Roighnebron 7 do Sir Heront mur an cetna. 7 Docuadur a millsi briathar 7 a caine comraidh re chéile, 7 docuadur iarsin a cenn iarla Salua, 7 dorónsad sídh itir e 7 diuice na Burguine. 7 Tangadur a Saxanaibh iar-sin, 7 ní rug Roignebron béo ara mathair ann, 7 doglac sé oighrecht a shenathar cuigi .i. iarlacht o Berbuic, 7 iarlacht Boicigam, 7 tug sé barúntacht do Sir Heront, 7 ilimud maithusa ele rechois.

The Life of Sir Guy of Warwick.

[Irish text p. 25] 1. There was an exceedingly rich earl in England whose name was Richard[2]) of Warwick, and he had two earldoms, namely Warwick and Buckingham, and a rich and well-born man was the earl with an abundance of all good things. He had a comely and beautiful daughter worthy of himself, Felice by name, and there was not in her time a woman who was better in form and figure, in handiwork and knowledge, in embroidery and noble manners,[3]) than that maiden. A great teacher was set to instruct her in the gentle arts, and it was not long afterwards that she surpassed[4]) her master in every art, so that the master gave her the rod[5]) of his instruction after being outstripped by her in every kind of knowledge even at the end of her seventeenth year. Her fair fame spread throughout all the world for knowledge, dignity and honor, for piety, gentleness and discretion, for purity, wisdom and prudence, until the princes and nobles of the whole earth were filled with love and longing for her. Now there was at that time a steward, noble and honorable, in the service of the Earl of

[1]) l. *dothuirrling.*
[2]) On this name cf. p. 17, above.
[3]) For this collocation cf. *do thecasc druinechais* 7 *bescna doibh*, Marco Polo, CZ. I, 368.
[4]) *comelladh*, perhaps rather to be expanded *comella.* The meaning is also doubtful. I have taken it from *millim.*
[5]) I have noted no exact parallel to this use of *slat.*

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Warwick, Siccard by name, and he was a strong man and very brave, winning victory and fame in every exploit that was suitable for any one to engage in. If the earl was alone, he had no fear of host or army, provided only that noble baron were there to defend him. It was he that collected the taxes and imposts[1]) for the earl; and if there were any who made complaint or resistance[2]) to him about the taxes of the earl, he would impose upon them expulsion and banishment from his realm. That steward had a son worthy of himself, Guy by name; and he surpassed all the young men of his time in size, beauty and gentleness, in courtesy, strength and prowess, in pride, spirit and courage, so that the whole country and the neighbouring provinces were full of his fame and his praise. And everywhere that Guy heard of games at fair or festival or assembly throughout the length and breadth of the free and noble English land, he entered them and won the victory of every company, surpassing all[3]), and defeated the men utterly at every kind of feat.[4]) And he gave alms and frequent offerings[5]) to the churches, and gave [p. 25] gifts and clothing to God's poor,[6]) and buried the dead without murmur and without negligence, and visited the people who were in prison and in bonds, and performed all the works of mercy which the church praised in his time, and he was strong and zealous in the catholic faith. The Earl of Warwick made Guy a squire at that time. It was then that a Whitsuntide banquet and feast was prepared for the Earl of Warwick, and he assembled the nobles of his retinue to partake of it. The earl summoned Guy to him, and made him welcome, and said: 'Guy', said he, 'I assign to thee the office of serving and attending Felice throughout this feast which we are celebrating; do it with good cheer and with love'. Guy answered: 'My lord', said he, 'I will do my best for the noble lady.'[7]) As for Guy, then, he put a shirt of thin satin next the brightness of his white skin and a wonderful tunic of gold thread and a fine, scarlet gown outside of it; and in that splendor he went to the maiden's bower, and blessed her (i. e. greeted her with a blessing), and fell on his knees in her presence, and told her that it was to him had been assigned the duty of serving her and her attendant

[1]) On *cis* and *cain* cf. KZ. XXXVI, 440 and XXXVII, 255.
[2]) The translation of *doible* is conjectural. It is the same word as *duibhle*, Battle of Magh Rath, p. 8 (translated 'rage' by O'Donovan)?
[3]) MS. *co barruil?* Dr. Meyer suggested the reading in the text.
[4]) *lamach* means properly 'hurling'. Cf. Irische Texte IV, 274.
[5]) I have noted no other case of *otrala*, unless it is the same as *othrola*, RC. XIX, 380, which Stokes translates 'prayers'. Should we read *ofrala*?
[6]) Translation doubtful. Read *deblenaibh* 'poor, orphans'? But there is also an obscure word *debend* in O'Mulconry's Glossary, Archiv I, 271.
[7]) The more usual meaning, 'queen', is not suited to the passage.

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women. Felice asked for an account of him, who he was and what was his country and race. Guy said, 'I am the son of a noble baron of thy father's retinue, and my father is steward and marshall of the house to the Earl of Warwick; and my name is Guy', said he. 'I have heard of thy repute and thy noble manners', said the maiden, 'and thou art welcome[1]) to my attendance and service.' The lady arose, and washed and adorned her face and shining countenance, and her women did the same. As for Guy, then, he dispensed fresh food and old ale without restraint to the lady and her attendants for the space of three days and three nights, till Felice and her women were grateful and blessed Guy for the service he had given them throughout the length of this feast. And the women conceived a very strong love for Guy because of his deeds; and Guy conceived an ardent, unendurable love for the lady, so that he was fierce, drunken and mad by reason of love and great longing for her. As for Guy, then, he made his obeisance and his humble submission before the lady, and thereupon took leave of her, and went to his chamber; and he was in sickness and heavy affliction there, and his people asked what ailed him. Guy said that he did not know what ailed him,—'and it seems to me', said he, 'that death is near to me'; and it was reported throughout all the town that Guy was dangerously ill, and much grief did that cause to everyone. The earl, moreover, sent [p. 26] a very skillful physician to Guy, and he asked what ailed him. Guy said it was fiery heat, heavy and strong, and cold, severe and very grievous. The physician said that it was fever with ...[2]) that was upon him. A fortnight was Guy thus without company, without cheer, without pleasure. And at the end of that time Guy went directly to Felice, and paid her respect and honor, and said: 'O gentle maiden of the black eyebrows, and O fair damsel of many beauties', said he, 'grant me help full truly and faithfully in the honor of the Trinity, for I know no secret or rule to cure my sickness now; for the fulness of it is upon my body and my frame by love and long affection for thee kindled and set on fire; and my life will not be long without decease and everlasting death, unless I obtain from thee the return of my love, O noble lady', said he. Felice answered: 'It is shameless, foolish impertinence that thou dost begin to utter, Guy', said she', 'for heavy is the insult and the disgrace thou hast put upon me in seeking me for thy wife with thy soft, shameless words. For there is no son of a high king, or duke, strong and very brave, or noble, honored earl,

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[1]) Lit. 'it is welcome [thou art]'? In the English versions it is only the father's fame she mentions.

[2]) I cannot translate *buidertha causdin.*

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or rich, landed chieftain in the west of Europe, that has not conceived a great love for me, — as many of them as are in unmarried and single state; and I have not granted the return of his love to any man of them; and it is improper for thee, my servant and attendant, to think of taking me as wife'. Felice said: 'O Guy', said she, 'leave me instantly; and it shall be upon pain of thy life, if thou return where I am until the time of thy death.' Then Guy went to his chamber, and the increase of his disease and his sickness, lasting and grievous, grew upon him because of the answer of the fair woman; and he was lamenting and complaining and defying death, for he preferred death to life; and he was reproaching and reviling love. It was then that Guy looked at the strong tower of stone where the lady was, and said sorrowfully and piteously: 'It is fair for thee, tower', said he, 'if only thou hadst reason, for fair is the sight that is within thee; and it is sad that I cannot get a glimpse of her with my eye.'

The noble baron, Guy's father, was sad because Guy was in such danger, and so likewise was his mother. And as for the Earl of Warwick, he himself and all his company were full of grief and sorrow because Guy was sick. One day, then, Guy said in lamentation: 'I shall soon get my death from the sharpness of my love for the lady, [p. 27] if I remain long in this state; and I will rather meet death at the earl's hands after beholding his daughter, than be killed by love'. Then Guy went to the tower where the lady was, and gazed upon her, and fell straightway unconscious; and he rose quickly from his swoon, and no one observed him in that state. And it was reported to Guy that the lady was in a secret arbor beside the tower,[1]) and Guy went into the arbor, and knelt at the lady's feet, and begged her favor. And Guy said: 'I have come to thee, lady', said he, against thy command, and I have deserved to receive death, and have thou mercy upon me.' The lady refused him, and threatened him, and said: 'If the earl were to hear that speech, Guy', said she, 'he would put thee to death'. When Guy heard that he fell in a swoon and a fainting fit, and there never would have come to burial anyone who was fairer in form and countenance than he (?).[2]) The woman who attended upon the earl's daughter said: 'It is a pity, my lady', said she, 'for it is cruel, hard and merciless thou art with the gentle, kindly squire. And I give my word', said she, 'if I were the daughter of the emperor, and the high kingdom of the world in my power, I would not leave him there to get his death from love of me without the succor of gentle, sweet-sounding words.' Felice answered the girl:

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[1]) One indistinct word is omitted in the translation.

[2]) I am not sure about this sentence.



'Raise Guy', said she, 'to a sitting-posture, and support him against thy bosom and thy shoulder'. And the damsel did so. And Guy rose then from his swoon, and again addressed the lady; and she refused him, and threatened him on her father's part, and told him that he would meet his death because he had addressed her. Guy said: 'Lady' said he, 'it is in thy power to put me to death, justly or unjustly, for it is from thee that I choose to receive death', said he. And he fell in a collapse and a heavy swoon after these words. The lady seized him by the hand and said: 'O Guy', said she, 'I will not give my love to any man except to a knight surpassing in form and in fair figure, surpassing in speech and eloquence, surpassing in honor and wisdom, surpassing in deeds and in feats of war. And if there were any one like that, I would give myself to him'. Sweet were these words to Guy, and he quickly left the arbor, and went to his chamber, and put on his accoutrements for the tourney and the assembly, and went where the Earl [p. 28] of Warwick was, and he was made welcome there. Guy said: 'Gracious lord', said he, 'every good deed that I have ever done, it is for thee that I have done it, and every good deed that I shall do, it is for thee that I shall be pleased to do it; and do thou now give me the order of knighthood.' The earl said: 'I will give it to thee with good heart, and a great present besides.' And then the earl made a knight of Guy after hearing mass on the Sunday of the Holy Spirit, and twenty were raised that day to the rank of knighthood as an honor to Guy. And the earl with his company prayed the one God who made heaven and earth that the choicest gift of grace and of knighthood should be upon Guy. It was then that Sir Guy, full of joy and love, went in his knightly armor to the daughter of the earl, and showed himself to her, and said: 'Lady', said he, 'understand that until now I have been in great suffering and doubt because of my love for thee, and it is for thee that I have taken upon me the order of knighthood.' Felice said: 'Rejoice not in being a knight in the hope of winning my love, for it is a young knight thou art without proof yet of bravery or deeds of arms. And if thou prove thy strength, both near and far, in battles and in conflicts, then I will do thy will.' Guy thanked the lady for these answers, and went afterwards to his father and mother, and told them that he had taken order of knighthood, — 'and I shall set out to make a circuit of lands and peoples to prove my strength and my bravery'. The baron said: 'Our blessing upon thy adventure and thy success', said he; and his mother said the same. And thereupon Sicart called to him Sir Eront, a brave, victorious knight, and Sir Uront and Sir Uri, and told them to be 'three strong, brave picked men, and three pillars, manly and truly courageous, about Sir Guy to keep and protect him in the distant foreign lands in which he plans to go; and guard

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him well.'[1]) And they took it upon themselves to do their best for him. The noble baron put a full supply of food and drink into the ship with them. Thus far the illness and peril of Sir Guy of Warwick for love of the daughter of the earl, *et reliqua.*

2. As for Sir Guy, then, he went into his ship with his three knights, and they pulled an eager, strong, swift-bounding stroke[2]) on the old sea, and reached a safe, well-sheltered harbor in Normandy. And afterwards they came to a great city of Normandy, [p. 29] and they found a hostelry for the night there, and partook of food and drink. And Guy said to the inn-keeper: 'I have seen breastplates being rolled (?),[3]) and spears being polished, and swords burnished, and shields put in order, and shoes put on chargers and fine horses, and saddles made firm, and daggers sharpened, and all the accoutrements of battle being made ready, and I do not know what is the reason for it.' The inn-keeper said: 'The emperor has a fair, unmarried daughter, and she will be pleased with no man but him who bears the palm of valor and deeds of arms in the whole world; and the emperor believes that there are not ten valiant knights in the world whom he could not conquer singly. And now the sons of the king of Spain, and of Africa, and of Greece, of France, of Sicily, of Hungary, of Fuardacht, and of Deolann (?)[4]) and of the four tribes of Lochlann, and of all the world besides, have come to the city of the Emperor to this jousting; and it is to go against him that the hardy warriors of this city are preparing their arms and their many weapons. Whoever wins the victory in this tournament, he is to receive two shining white falcons, and two steeds with long manes,[5]) and two very keen hunting-dogs of the same color, and the noble, famous princess, the emperor's daughter, to wife, and the heritage of the emperor after his death. Now Guy gave a steed, stout and very strong, to the keeper of the house as a reward for his information, and bade his followers be of spirit and good courage, and said they would go to the castle of the emperor to see the fighting and the hard conflict. Thus far the course of Sir Guy in Normandy.

3. As for Sir Guy, on the morning of the next day he set out with his three knights, and he did not stop or delay until

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[1]) The mixture of direct and indirect discourse occurs frequently in these texts. Cf. pp. 312 b, 318 a, 319 b, 324 b, 342 a, 360 a.

[2]) *sraccud*, literally 'laceration, tearing'.

[3]) Translation doubtful.

[4]) I am not sure about the identification of *Fuardacht* and *Deolann*. The former appears to mean the 'Cold Country'. Cf. also *Uardha* (*Fuardha*), 'Caithreim Conghail', p. 70. Should *Deolainn* be emended to *Dreolainn?* For this name see the 'Eachtra Cloinne Righ na h-Ioruaidhe', ITS. 1, 179, note.

[5]) The translation of *sdimlebra* is uncertain. See the glossary.

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he came to the emperor's castle. And he saw the host on the green, and a single knight, bold and valiant, in his strong trappings of battle on the field of the racing and the jousting; and Sir Guy asked for an account of that knight. And he[1]) said: 'That is one of the sons of the emperor, and he expects to find no man who can overcome him in battle or in conflict, and his name is Sir Gayer.' When Guy heard that, he went resolutely[2]) to meet him, and they fought a fight, bloody and most virulent, for a space and a while, and Sir Gayer sent a spear through Sir Guy's shield and breast plate, and the spear came out, and did no harm to his body; and Sir Guy dealt the Emperor's son a blow, vigorous and powerful, and smote him three [p. **30**] paces from his saddle, and took his horse from him, and gave it to the squire who was with him. Then came Otun, Duke of Pani,[3]) fiercely and very bravely to fight with Guy, and Sir Guy sent a spear through his shield and his shoulder-blade, and threw him to the ground, and took his horse from him. The own brother of Duke Otun's father came proudly[4]) and valiantly to the place of battle, and angrily said: 'Thou hast killed my brother's son', said he, 'and evil is the injury, and thou thyself art the compensation.' And Sir Guy went to meet him, and the duke was thrown to the ground by Sir Guy, and Sir Guy seized his horse by the bridle; and when the duke rose from his swoon, Sir Guy gave him his own horse. And Sir Guy said: 'Thank me, Duke Rener', said he, 'for giving it to thee (?),[5]) for it was not to kill men that I came here, but to put them in bonds and fetters without killing them.' Then Duke Rener mounted his steed, and said: 'Brave and valiant knight, tell us thy country.' Sir Guy said: 'I am from the free and noble land of the English; and Sir Guy of Warwick is my name and title and description among the free and noble hosts of the English.' Then came Duke Anan to meet Guy, and they waged against each other a fierce, mad fight, and the grass was torn and bloody in very truth from the struggle.[6]) When Sir Eront saw this, he came to the help of Sir Guy against that attack, and gave the duke a strong, mighty

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1) The speaker is not designated.

2) *cetfadach* seems to have besides its ordinary meanings 'sensible, discreet, pertaining to the senses', the meaning 'bold' or 'resolute'. Cf. 'Caithreim Conghail' p. 77, note; and for other instances of its occurrence see the 'Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell' (ed. Murphy), pp. 222 and 318, and the 'Battle of Moyra' (ed. O'Curry) pp. 94, 216, 224.

3) On the Irish form *Pani* see p. 11, above.

4) *co poinnighi*; translation doubtful. It might be for *poinnmiche*, 'stately', 'grand', though it is always spelled without *m*. For the cases of its occurrence in these texts see the glossary. Perhaps we should rather compare *painidh*, 'strong' (O'Brien, O'Reilly).

5) Or, 'for sparing thee"?

6) *aforgait* = *athforgait*.

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blow, so that he drove a spear through his shield and through his heart, and the Duke fell dead and lifeless.

Duke Vadiner came against Guy, and a broad-trenched, shining,[1]) hard sword in his hand, and threatened Guy with instant death. Then Guy went eagerly and swiftly to meet the duke, and they fought a brave, hard fight for a long time; and there came bold, eager hosts of lords and high nobles of the army to the help of Duke Vadiner against Sir Guy. When Sir Heront saw this, and the two other spirited, valiant knights, Sir Turont and Sir Uri, they came ....[2]) brave, manlike and heroic, about Sir Guy to protect him from the arms of his foes. They fought with each other a battle, fierce, bloody and very deadly, till it was not thinly the plain was sown with men laid low by the fierce, eager strokes of Guy and his three knights; and many there were who fell on that day at the hands of those four, and especially at the hands of Guy. [p. 31] And this is the number that is remembered,[3]) namely six hundred knights who fell in the fight that day at Guy's hands alone. Then the hosts fled in every direction for fear of Sir Guy, and the plain was left clear before him, and battle and combat was refused him. Sir Guy with his followers thereupon went into the city, and they found a hostelry there; and Sir Guy took off his armor, and on his body were wounds, wide and very deep. Then the emperor came into his court, and said in the presence of the host: 'The strong, brave English knight has overcome us all, and there is no man in the world equal to him in combat. And let messengers be sent to him — namely, to Guy of Warwick — with the prizes that were promised to the man who should win the tournament.' Then a squire was sent with the prizes to Sir Guy, and gave them to him: two very beautiful falcons, and two brave, noble hounds, and two steeds with long manes and arching necks; and those six treasures were all of one color, the color of a beautiful swan. And the squire who brought them gave Sir Guy a very fair greeting, and said: 'May the true God, the excellent, make broad [thy way] before thee in every strait and every difficulty in which thou mayst be, for the courts and cities of the whole world are full of the reports of thy deed and of thy bravery. And Bloinsiflugar, the daughter of the

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[1]) *coinnlenach*. The translation is entirely conjectural, and I have noted no instance of the word outside of this text. If it is connected with *coinnlin*, 'stem, blade of grass', it might mean 'tapering'. If derived from *coinnel*, 'candle', it would also be a natural epithet for a sword. Cf. *tri claidhmhi coindli catha*, 'Leabhar na g-Ceart', p. 84. Also *tri cloidhmhe coinnealda*, 'Caithreim Conghail', p. 128, translated by Mr. MacSweeney 'tapering, flaming'.

[2]) *nathfuaithnedhaibh*; reading and translation both doubtful. Perhaps *na athfuaithnedhaibh*, 'in their terrible onslaughts'.

[3]) *fur cuimne*; translation doubtful.


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emperor, sends thee life and health, and thou art her choice of husband, if thou hast not a gentle wife before her'. Sir Guy gave thanks to the gracious and very noble lady for her gift and her offer, and proposed to make a knight of the squire who came with the gifts from the daughter of the emperor; and the squire refused this, for he said he had not reached the age to receive rank and presents. Sir Guy gave the squire gold and silver without deficiency, and after that he left him. As for Sir Guy, then, he sent messengers with those gifts to England to the Earl of Warwick, and they were given to him; and the messengers spread tales of the perilous and terrible [doings] of Guy from the time when he left England until that hour, and the tales put pride and high spirit into the earl and his company. And the king of England and the nobles of his great household rejoiced at the brave achievements of Guy, when they heard those stories. Thus far Sir Guy's first deed of bravery after leaving England.

4. [p. 32] As for Sir Guy, then, he went to the broad, fair land of France and to the strong, brave land of Lombardy, and he found plenty of fighting and hard battle in those lands, and he wrought destruction among them, and it was not possible to count the number that fell at Guy's hands in those lands; and he obtained plenty of gold and silver and many jewels in those great countries. And Sir Guy fought a battle after this with the Duke of Lombardy, and defeated him[1]) mightily and cruelly, and slew his men, and he was twelve weeks from one month's beginning to another[2]) cutting down and killing the Lombards, and he took from them their gold and their treasure and all their possessions. Then Sir Guy saw ten hundred brave and valiant knights of the Lombards coming against them, and strong battle-armor upon them, and one knight of great spirit and courage in front of them, and a skittish, prancing horse beneath him. He said to Guy angrily and fiercely: 'Violent[3]) and wicked knight, let us have a share in thy bravery and prowess, and give us part of the spoils of the Lombard land.' Sir Guy said: 'Thou shalt have a share of my spoils and my booty', said he, 'if thou art asking it in friendliness and courtesy; but if it is in threat and in ill-nature that thou saidst those words, thou shalt have death

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[1]) Literally 'them'. The construction changes.

[2]) Possibly *sé* is the pronoun. But if *sé caicis* is to be taken together, it means 'three months'. *Calland* is literally 'calends'.

[3]) The exact sense of *rechtaigenntach* is doubtful. It occurs twice in the 'Battle of Ventry': at p. 48, where Meyer did not translate it, and at p. 51, where he rendered it 'right courageous'. But the first element seems to me more likely to be *recht*, 'rage, fury'. Cf. *rechtbruth*, RC. XXII, 203, 429 and *recht*, *rechtmar* in this text. (See the Glossary.) Furthers reference in 'Irische Texte' IV, 425, s. v. *sirrechtach*.

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and destruction at once.' It is thus the knight was [armed]: a slender, long spear in one hand, and a short, strange (?)[1]) jousting spear in the other.[2]) And they spurred their horses one against the other, and Sir Guy passed under the long, sharp-bladed spear which the knight had, and put a spear through his side, and held him fast[3]) on the spear. Sir Guy leaped down, and seized the knight, and said to him: 'Ask mercy now, or thou shalt get instant death.' Then the knight uttered a threat and made light of Guy's words. And the knight blew a fierce, mighty blast on the end of the horn that was under his neck, and his followers came to him. Sir Guy said: 'I understand, knight, that thou art a traitor and a fratricide', said he, 'and now defend thyself.' He spoke thus, and bared his sword, broad-trenched and decorated,[4]) and struck the knight a strong, bold blow, so that he drove the sword mightily through his heart, and the knight fell down dead, without life. The other ten hundred brave knights came on the field at the call of the horn, and they fought a hard, fierce fight with one another, and five hundred of them fell at Guy's hand before mid-day, and two hundred more fell [p. 33] after mid-day, and two hundred made off at full speed of their horses. Thus far the destruction of the Lombards by Guy.

5. As for [Guy], then, [ ] and went to the land of Britanny; and there was an earl in Britanny whose name was Earl Birri,[5]) and he had a fair, unmarried daughter, and she wished no one for husband but the choice of the warriors of the whole world. And the earl proclaimed[6]) a tournament of three days to be held by the brave knights of the world for his daughter; and three hundred bold, warlike French knights were coming to this tournament. As for Sir Guy, now, he maimed and wounded six hundred strong, valiant knights full readily on the first day, some of them on horses and some on foot. Then on the second day Sir Guy came to the tournament, and no man answered him (i. e. accepted his challenge), and some of them said: 'He is the knight who slew [six hundred] warriors in Lombardy in a single day.' And they began to recount and to praise his deed and

[1]) For the various applications of *grennmur* in this text see the Glossary.

[2]) Literally, 'in his hand . . . . . in his hand'.

[3]) *docunnaibh* = *docongaibh*. Cf. RC. XIX, 384.

[4]) The various uses of *comurthach* in this text are collected in the Glossary. As applied to a sword it might mean either 'decorated' or 'gashed, scarred'. Cf. Meyer, 'Contributions', *sub voce*.

[5]) But cf. *Diuice o Birri*, p. 306 b. He has no counterpart, so far as I know, in the French and English versions. Cf. p. 13, above.

[6]) I am doubtful about the source and exact meaning of *craidhail*. For the cases of its occurrence in this text see the Glossary. Is it a loan-word from French *crier* or its Middle English equivalent? The Irish might also go back to 'trial' (OF. *trial*), substituting *cr* for *tr* as in *Craidhamar*, 'Triamour', below.

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his bravery, and they all refused to fight with Sir Guy on that day. And on the third day Sir Guy came to the tournament, and challenged all the hosts before him to fight with him; and they all refused him, and set out thereafter for their own castles. As for the Earl of Birri, moreover, he sent messengers to Sir Guy with two horses, pure white and swift in action; and he offered Guy his daughter as wife with all his possessions besides; and he said there was no man in the whole world whom he would rather have marry his daughter than Sir Guy. Sir Guy thanked the earl for the honor of his offer, but he refused the maiden for the sake of the daughter of the Earl of Warwick; and he said that in recognition of his offer he would serve the earl's profit and advantage in every difficulty he might be in. And Guy gave forty nobles of red gold to the messenger of the earl. Thus far the course of Sir Guy of Warwick in the mighty land of Britanny, *et reliqua.*

6. As for Guy, then, he returned to England, and went to the king; and the king and the nobles gave Guy a very fair welcome because of the greatness of his fame and honor in the distant lands where he had gone. Then the King of England gave Guy gold and silver and every treasure besides. After this Sir Guy went to the Earl [p. 34] of Warwick, and the earl with his followers paid honor to Sir Guy. And thereupon Sir Guy went to the beautiful bower of Felice, and said to her: 'I have done many deeds of bravery and prowess for love of thee, lady, and in thy honor', said he, 'and now fulfil thy promise to me.' 'If I should do that', said she, 'thou wouldst do no more fair deeds of valor and of bravery; and in truth thou shalt never be my husband unless thou win the prize of bravery and prowess from the knights of the whole world.' Sir Guy said: 'It is not likely that I should win that prize', said he, 'for there are many brave knights of good renown in the world, and it is hard to win the prize. Yet I will fall before them or conquer them.' Then he went to his father and mother, and took leave of them, and both young and old were sorrowing after him. Thus far Guy's course in England.

7. As for Sir Guy after this, he went on to Normandy. And the King of France at that time had a young unmarried daughter, surpassing in form and figure; and the King of France took an oath by the one God almighty that he would not give her to any man except to him who should bear the palm of bravery of the entire world. Moreover the king of France proclaimed a three days' tournament to be fought for his daughter upon the green of the castle in the presence of the kings; and whoever should be strongest among them, he should receive the maiden as his wife, along with all her possessions. Now the

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son of the Duke of Birri came to this tournament on the first day, and six bold knights were very quickly laid low before him. Then Sir Guy came to the spot, and he laid low the son of the Duke of Birri together with his horse at the first attack; and the followers of the duke's son quickly and courageously lifted him up, and put him on another steed, and he returned boldly and confidently to meet Sir Guy in the battle. As for those two worthy and noble knights, they broke their long, sharp-tipped lances on each other, and Sir Guy dealt the son of the Duke of Birri a mighty blow with his spear upon the top of his breast and his bosom, so that he threw him backward upon his saddle, and broke his long, slender, fair-thighed back with that blow, [p. 35] and he died instantly. And Sir Guy [challenged to] combat after this exploit, and every one refused him; and the hosts departed in every direction when Guy had won the victory in the tournament. The King of France offered his daughter to Guy as wife, and Guy refused her.

8. As for Sir Guy, then, he went to Germany, and he saw a great, noisy city before him, Bruges by name, and the rich, prosperous lord of that land was in the midst of his great retinue on the edge of the market-place with a numerous company. The fierce, strong lord of Bruges said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'thou hast killed my brother without cause, and thou shalt die for it thyself.' Guy said: 'It was not without cause that I killed him, but fighting with him in battle and in tournament; and if he had had the strength, he would have killed me; and I gave him back such payment [1]) that he fell before me.' As for the king of Bruges, then, he sent seven hundred strong, brave knights to fight with Guy and his three knights. Nevertheless Guy fought skilfully, fiercely, savagely [2]) against those warriors, and they all fell by mid-day; and at the end of that fight Sir Guy received a deep, incurable spear-wound in his side, so that he was not able to guard or defend himself longer at that time. Thus far Guy's journey to Bruges.

9. After performing this great feat Guy set out through the broad, vast deserts of Lombardy. When Ottun heard this, the Duke of Lombardy, he sent fifteen knights, who had been often tested, to go against Guy in their strong accoutrements of battle. And there was a noble, famous earl at the head of them, and the rest were barons and knights. And they were in ambuscade against Guy in a narrow pass of the forest. And these are the orders the Lombards gave to their followers: to kill without mercy the three knights who were in Guy's

[1]) Not quite literal; *cumain* has the sense of 'payment', 'obligation'.
[2]) *gérarmach*, literally 'sharp-armed'.

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company, and to deliver Guy himself to them for his punishment. As for Sir Guy now, there was no avoiding that road for him, and he was not long advancing on the way when he heard the neighing of the horses in the wood and saw the tops of the helmets. Guy said: 'Noble knights', said he, 'defend yourselves bravely and doughtily, for treachery has been played upon you, and there is an ambush before you in this wood'. 'Leave us', said they, 'for thou art not able to fight: and if there is a swift horse [p. 36] under thee, make for the broad and open country [1]) and leave us to settle with everyone. Guy said: 'Not for the wealth of the whole world would I do that', said he. It was then, moreover, that the ambuscade sprang to attack them, and they fought with each other bravely, manfully and bitterly; and Guy killed two knights quickly, and Eront killed a knight and overthrew another, and Uront killed a knight, and a knight fell at the hands of Uri. And Uron and Uri were slain in that fight. Then [came] Sir Gincadh, the son of Duke Otun's brother, to Guy and said: 'Guy', said he, 'yield thyself, and I will take thee captive to Otun; and thy three knights have been killed, and thou thyself art not able to fight against me, for I see the blood of thy body flowing; and if thou wilt not consent to be captured, I will certainly kill thee.' Guy said: 'I had rather die', said he, 'than be taken captive by the Lombards'. Then Guy struck Sir Ginchadh a fierce, hard blow with his sword, so that he broke off half of his beautiful helmet with violence, and pierced his armor upon his shoulder; but he wounded not his body or his fair flesh. However, Guy gave him another blow and struck off his right arm at the shoulder; and then Sir Gincadh fled, after being disfigured with scars, and Guy pursued, but did not overtake him; and the knight brought the news to Duke Otun. Guy returned to his followers in high spirit, and found them dead on the same road; and there came back alive of the fifteen knights only one knight with a single arm. Guy leapt down, and found Sir Uri and Sir Uront dead before him, and Sir Eront with little life in him. Guy put Sir Eront across his [saddle?] in front of him, and left the forest full quickly, and there was a deep wilderness to be traversed. And a hermit met him, and Guy greeted him, and asked information of him, whence he came. The hermit said: 'In the seclusion of this forest I live', said he. Guy said: 'Do thou bury in the forest beside thee the two knights of my company who are dead, and I will give thee a strong,

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[1]) *fairsingi 7 fireitech* occurs again on p. 313 b. The second word is not clear to me. Is it for *fir-reitech?* Cf. modern Irish *reidhteach*, 'plain, field', and see the note on the uses of Sc. Gaelic *reiteach* in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, II, 320. O'Brien's dictionary gives a form *eithreach*, 'wilderness', which suggests the emendation *fir-eithrech*, but the repetition of *fireitech* on p. 313 b is against this.


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brave steed in reward for thy work'. 'I will do that gladly', said the servant of God. And they went through the forest together, and took the bodies of the knights with them, and buried them honorably. Then Sir Guy set out, with Sir Eront in front of him, and it was not long for him before he saw a great, famous monastery, and the abbot and the company of canons in its door. Sir Guy begged them for God's sake [p. 37] to give honor of burial to the dead knight before him, and promised that he would pay them the reward of their labor. And he told how the Duke of Lombardy had betrayed him, and how his company had been killed. The congregation took pity upon him, and received Sir Heront from him. And it is thus that Duke Otun betrayed Guy.

10. As for Sir Guy, then, he set out from the monastery, and it was not long for him before he saw a special servant of God coming toward him on his road, and he fell on his knees before Guy, and begged alms of him. Now Guy gave him twenty nobles to secure his prayers for himself and his three knights, because he expected that he himself would die of his wounds. The hermit thanked Guy for his alms, and the old man said: 'O Guy', said he, 'stay with me for thy healing and for the cure of thy wounds, for there is not in the whole world a healer of wounds who is better than I.' As for Guy, then, he stayed twelve days with the old man for his healing, and he was whole and sound thereafter. Thus far the healing of Sir Guy.

11. As for the Abbot with whom Heront was left, he bade every priest of his convent say thirty masses for Sir Heront's soul. And one of the canons said, taking hold of Sir Heront: 'This knight is still alive', said he, 'and let him be cured'. The abbot said: 'It is a good reward I would pay for his cure',[1]) said he. Three months and five days was Sir Heront in illness, and thereafter he was well. Thus far the illness of Sir Heront, *et reliqua.*

12. As for Guy, after getting up from his illness, he proceeded to the castle of the King[2]) of Apulia, and the king and his household made him welcome. And Guy told him how the Duke of Lombardy had deceived him, and how his knights had been killed by him. The king said: 'O, Guy', said he, 'I will be in alliance with thee; have good courage, and I will give

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[1]) *adicfuindsi.* The translation is conjectural.

[2]) On the form *cing* here and in *cing Caulog* (p. 341 b) see p. 11, above. Perhaps the Irish writer regarded *Poil* as the king's name. Cf. p. 309 a.

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thee three knights, proved and manly and brave, and three squires like them, and I will give thee a full complement of bold, brave followers of those six'. [p. 38] Sir Guy gave thanks for this offer to the Heavenly King and to the King of Apulia. And Guy remained there for a while in very great honor.

13. As for Sir Heront now, after getting up from his illness, he said to the abbot and to the community, 'I will put on the garments of a penitent', he said, 'and I will go to seek my lord; and if I find him alive, I will pay well for my healing; and if I do not find him, there is nothing for me but to pray for you in return for my healing.' And the abbot and the canons gave him leave to go. As for Sir Heront, then, he proceeded to the country where Sir Guy was. One day when Sir Heront was travelling about that country Sir Guy came upon him clad in his armor of battle, and he on a hunt and a great chase,[1]) and Sir Heront was weeping and complaining mournfully. And Sir Guy asked him the cause of his sorrow, and Sir Heront said: 'It will not profit thee to know it', said he. Sir Guy said: 'Tell me the story for His sake who suffered the passion on our account'. 'I will certainly do it', said Heront. 'I am journeying about the lands and provinces of the whole world in search of my lord; and if he is alive, there is not in the world a single warrior stronger and braver than he; and if that brave warrior has fallen, could I learn where his grave and his resting-place is, I would dig up the earth, and I would stretch myself upon his neck, and in that manner I would die'. Guy said: 'What is thy land', said he, 'and who was the lord thou hadst?' Sir Heront said: 'I am an Englishman', said he, 'and Heront is my name, and Sir Guy of Warwick is my lord. And the Duke of Lombardy deceived us, and slew[2]) three knights of us, who were in attendance upon Guy, and two of us were buried, and I got up after a long illness; and there were wide, deep wounds on Sir Guy's body, and he came out of the slaughter alive but wounded,[3]) and I do not know whether he is living or dead, and that is the cause of my grief', said Heront. Guy said: 'Art thou Eront?' said he. 'I am he', said Heront. Guy leaped down quickly, and cast off his helmet from his head, and gave Heront three kisses when he had recognised him, and a swoon and a heavy faint came over both of them because of the greatness of their joy. Guy lifted up Heront [and put him] behind him, and then they went into the city, and Guy took leave of the king, and left a farewell for

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[1]) *fian-chosgar*, literally 'fian-breaking-up, slaughter (of deer)'? Cf. Stokes, Irische Texte, IV, Glossary.
[2]) Literally 'killed', though this was true only of the other two.
[3]) *beogonta* apparently means 'not fatally wounded', cf. RC. XXII, 408.


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him and his household. Thus far the course of Sir Guy in Apulia.[1])

14. [p. 39] As for Sir Guy, then, he proceeded with his company, and when he came where Duke Milon was [ ], and the Duke paid him honor and respect; and the Duke offered Guy gold and silver and abundance of goods, and Guy took them not from him. And he went thence to Flanders, and he was on the point of going to England, and a pilgrim met him at the end of the day, and Guy asked news of him. And the pilgrim said: 'I have news', said he, 'for there is a war and conflict between the Emperor and[2]) Rener and the Duke of Lorraine, and the Emperor's brother fell in that fight against the Duke of Lorraine, and the Emperor has plundered and laid waste the land and fair territory of the Duke of Lorraine, and that is my news', said the pilgrim. Guy said: 'Stay with me to-night, man of God', said he, 'and thou shalt have food and sustenance for the night in honor of Jesus'; and thus the night passed for them. In the morning Guy said: 'Heront', said he, 'what is thy counsel for us to-day?' Heront said: 'My counsel is ready', said he, 'namely, that thou shalt go to the support of the Duke of Lorraine, who has shown thee favor and great honor, and who offered thee gold and silver and an abundance of goods. And take with thee fifty knights, strong, tried and invincible, of the fierce, brave men of France'. They decided upon that plan. As for Sir Guy he set out, and sixty knights with him, into Germany to meet the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke gave Guy three kisses fondly, fervently, faithfully. The Duke said: 'Dear brother', said he, 'it is well thou hast come to my aid, for I was never in such plight or such need as I am now'. The Duke of Lorraine said: 'Guy', said he, 'I give thee command over myself and whatever I have of possessions.' Guy said: 'It will not be long till I win the battle and conflict with the emperor for thee', said he. Then they went to mass, and the Duke set Sir Guy on the same seat beside him in the church; and they went out of the church, and Sir Guy saw a host, armed and equipped, surrounding the city, and he made inquiry who they were. Someone said: 'That is the Emperor's steward', said he, 'coming to capture the city from the Duke of Lorraine'. When Guy heard this he stuck two spurs into the horse, and went to meet the steward. The steward of the emperor said: 'I see a knight, [p. 40] bold and brave, coming out to meet us, and beneath him a nervous, swift steed that is swifter than any horse in the world; and I think it likely that that horse will remain with me', said he. The steward came out

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[1]) Or 'with Poeil', taking it to be the king's name.
[2]) Or perhaps the 'Emperor Rener'.

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fiercely and courageously to meet Guy, and they spurred the horses against each other, and dealt each other two blows on the breast, and the steward was thrown to the ground by that onset. And they bore off the steward in spite of Sir Guy, and his followers were weeping and lamenting about him; and Sir Guy pursued them, and they fought each other boldly and bitterly, and the steward and his followers were defeated by Guy. And [Sir Guy] captured the steward himself with the best of his army, and took them with him as captives, fettered and hard bound, and put them in prisons. Guy told the Duke of Lorraine to be kind to the prisoners of the emperor, and that it would be easier for him to make peace by guarding the emperor's followers and protecting them from death and slaughter. Then Sir Guy sent a message to his friends and comrades, in whatever quarter they were, to aid and defend him in that conflict; and they came to him thereupon in companies and troops [1]) and confederated (?) [2]) battalions from every quarter where they were. As for Sir Guy, then, by him were captured the cities and castles and strongholds [3]) of stone that had been captured before this by the emperor from the rule of the Duke of Lorraine. Thus far the first battle of Sir Guy against the emperor.

15. Then news reached the emperor that his followers had been captured and killed by Guy of Warwick. Wrath and keen anger and a red burst of fury (?) [4]) seized the emperor when he heard this news, and he made a rally and a muster of his people from every quarter where they were. When the emperor's followers had gathered in one place before him, he complained to them of those exploits. The Duke of Pani [5]) said: 'My lord', said he, 'I will give thee good counsel: namely, to let me and Rener, Duke of Sision [6]), and Duke Vadiner seize the city of Greasmont; and we will take it, and make fettered, fast bound captives of the Duke of Lorraine and of Guy of Warwick, and we will slay their followers.' The emperor said: 'That is good counsel', said he. Then the three dukes came boldly and bravely to lay siege to the city of Greasmont, and terrible, vast armies along with them. And there were a hundred full bold warriors in the armies of these three dukes against every man who was in the city of Greasmont. Fear and terror seized the Duke of Lorraine with his household upon

[1]) *cedaib*; literally 'hundreds'.
[2]) *catharda* means primarily 'belonging to a city'. Its exact sense here is not clear to me. Sc. Gaelic *catharra*, 'warlike', suggests a possible emendation.
[3]) *cuirtenna*, ordinarily 'courts, palaces'.
[4]) *buinne roda rechta?* The translation is uncertain.
[5]) On the form *Pani* see p. 11, above.
[6]) On the form *Sision* for *Saxony* cf. p. 11, above.

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seeing [p. 41] these hosts coming against them. The Duke of Lorraine said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'what is to be done now?' 'To do bravely' [1]), said Guy. Then Sir Guy called Sir Heront to him, and took counsel with him, and said: 'Sir Heront', said he, 'take with thee three hundred knights in their strong battle-phalanx about thee, and fight a brave, hard fight with the Duke of Pani, and conquer the pride and the haughtiness and the high spirit of the Duke of Pani, because he has called us both false and fratricidal traitors, and has put shame and insult upon us. And I will be behind thee, and a thousand knights with me; and O Sir Heront, make a brave fight, for I will be near thee.' The Duke of Lorraine said: 'I will be near you, and the hosts of the city, in our defence; and we pray the God of all power to strengthen us to-day', said he. Now Sir Heront entered the fight fiercely, bravely and valiantly, and he saw the Duke of Pani coming against him, and he recognised him. And he said: 'O fratricidal, false and envious duke, thou didst twice deceive my lord and me myself, and by the will of God thou shalt have evil return for this to-day', said he. Then they fought with each other bravely and bitterly, mightily, manfully and madly; and afterwards they unhorsed each other, and rose again quickly and very lightly, and bared their decorated swords, and made a fiery, fierce attack upon each other, and the Duke of Pani was thrown on the back of his shield by Heront's mighty blows. Then came the bold, valiant hosts of the Lombards to the aid of the Duke of Pani. When Sir Heront saw them he sprang quickly and very lightly upon his steed, and the duke did the same. And they fought with each other anew * * * [2]) and tirelessly, and the Duke of Pani avoided combat [3]) with Sir Heront. As for Heront now, he took to cutting down and slaughtering the Lombard warriors. The Duke of Pani said with a loud, terrified and trembling voice: 'One single knight is killing and slaying us all', said he, 'for our friends and comrades have all fallen at his hands; and now fight boldly'. Then the battle was fought angrily and fiercely, and a multitude of mighty, violent blows were dealt upon Sir Heront's shield at that time. Then anger and great rage seized Sir Heront, and thereupon his followers closed about him, and [p. 42] the followers of the duke of Pani did the same. And this is the number of the army of the duke that fell by Heront's hand in that onslaught: a hundred and twenty knights, either captured or killed, did Heront defeat there. And Heront was ten hours

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[1]) This question and answer constitute a recurring formula. Cf. p. 353 a, below.

[2]) I do not understand *numaigi*. *nemarrsaid* ought to mean 'not old'; here 'freshly, tirelessly, unweariedly'.

[3]) Literally 'place of combat'.



of the day in that fight, and no one came against him in that time whom he did not valiantly overthrow or kill. The Lombards, however, gathered very bravely, and the Germans very boldly, about Sir Heront, so that he could not put his hand upon his bosom nor upon his girdle nor upon his fine garment because of the pressure of the warriors on his back in that fight. It is then that small, broken[1]) pieces were made of Sir Heront's shield, and his beautiful, soft-silken standard was lowered and badly torn, and the fair, golden helmet was shattered that shielded his head in the fight; and at that time Sir Heront had no strength to guard and defend himself, but only to endure pain and suffering. Then Sir Guy went into the battle against the Lombards, and he left Sir Heront behind him. Then Sir Guy saw Otun, the Duke of Lombardy, and said to him in a high, clear voice: 'O fratricidal duke', said he, 'wickedly and boldly didst thou deceive me, and didst kill my followers.' The two made for each other swiftly and madly, and they fought a bloody, warlike and ferocious fight, and the Duke of Lombardy was overthrown by Guy on that battle-field. And the duke got up bravely, and mounted his steed, and fought with Guy again, and Guy quickly overthrew him a second time. And he mounted his steed again, and Guy overthrew him the third time, and drove a spear through his shoulder-blade after splitting his shield. But when it pleased Guy to dismount to behead the duke, there came between them a thousand Lombard and German knights, swift and bold and very brave, and they took the duke with them away from Guy. And they all fought together against Sir Guy, and six knights of the fierce, bold warriors fell at that time at the hands of Sir Guy. Guy's followers, moreover, were on every side of him cutting down and utterly destroying the Lombards. Then the battle was won by Guy, and the Lombards fled to a deep, dark glen that was before them. [p. **43**] And the Duke of Sision and Earl Vadiner of Cologne were in this glen with their armies, and Guy saw them and told his followers that they were in that ambuscade. Guy said: 'The Lombards and the Germans have joined into one force against us', said he, 'and we have no way of escape from them; and fight boldly in our defence, and let us rise in the name of God and of John the Baptist to make an attack on them yonder.' Then did each of the battalions make the attack on the other, and no civil strife was ever to be compared to it,[2]) for the sore combat there was keener, and the enmity was fiercer, and

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[1]) *bordbristi*. The first element appears to be *bord*, 'edge, border'. Cf. *co na m-bordaib d'ór*, 'Leabhar na g-ceart', p. 166; *bord-nuide*, 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 224. Possibly we should read *borbbristi*, cf. *boirb-briseadh*, Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell', p. 298.

[2]) Translation uncertain.


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the strong men were stronger, and the warriors were braver. Then did Sir Guy see Rener, Duke of Sision, and he fought with him fiercely and savagely, and laid him low with the first blow, and weakness and infirmity seized him after his fall. Moreover Sir Heront and Earl Vadiner of Cologne came together, and fought hard and bravely, and the earl fell at the end of the fight and a knight of his company along with him; and Sir Heront was brave and victorious in that combat. Then Duke Rener rose from his swoon, and mounted his steed, and fought again with Guy desperately, fiercely and savagely. Guy gave the duke a mighty blow, rough and strong, so that he laid him low full bravely for the second time. Then Guy saw Sir Gilmin coming toward him, — a brave, victory-bold knight of the followers of the emperor, and brother to the Duke of Louvain was he; and he had a high commission from the emperor to keep every fair forest that he possessed; and there were a thousand fierce-spirited, arrogant knights in his own strong battle-troop around him. And this was the desire of Sir Gilmin and his company, that Sir Guy should fall full quickly at their hands. Then Sir Guy and Sir Gilmin fought with each other manfully, mightily and full bravely, and Sir Gilmin fell at the end of the fight before Guy's perilous, horrible blows. Thereupon the Duke of Sdragborn, and terrible, mighty hosts about him,[1]) came into the fight to seek Sir Guy, and there was not of the great armies of Lombardy, nor of the brave, warlike men of Germany a single hand that was stronger at winning battles and combats than that duke. And fear and terror seized Sir Guy, after being three days and three nights in his armor without food, without drink, and without sleep. Sir Guy sent messengers then to the city of Greasmont to the Duke of Lorraine to ask for aid. The Duke of Lorraine said: 'Whatever be the danger or peril in which Sir Guy is', said he, 'he is no more glad to receive aid and succor than I am to give it to him'. And he set out quickly and very readily, and three thousand [p. **44**] knights, fierce-spirited and courageous, along with him. Then those two slaughtering armies attacked each other. As for Guy, then, it was not credit, or fame, or honor in his eyes that a battle should be fought and maintained against him; and his lion's wrath, and his serpent's venom, and his soldier's strength, and his warrior's spirit, and his champion's ardor awoke, and his flame of battle rose upon his breath,[2]) and he staked his fame on the fight, and he brought defeat upon the Lombards full bravely, and upon the Germans full swiftly, and made a slaughter of them in that battle; and there were captured dukes,

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[1]) I have not been able to identify the name *Sdragborn*. See p. 13 above.

[2]) *uas* [*a*] *anáil*. For this expression see Windisch's Wörterbuch, s. v. *anál*, and his edition of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, p. 64.

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and earls, and barons and many nobles and high men of the army. And Sir Guy returned to the city of Greasmont in victory and triumph with many spoils[1]) and with an abundance of all kinds of possessions. And Sir Guy told the duke to keep the hostages of the emperor well, because 'it is they whom we expect to bring us peace yet from the emperor.' Thus far the third fight which Sir Guy fought with the followers of the emperor.

16. The emperor, then, on the day of that great fight, was in his own city, and the King of Hungary along with him, and games of chess going on between them. And they saw Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri, coming towards them, and a broad-trenched, decorated sword bared in his hand, and wide, deep wounds on his body, and blood flowing in streams down the sides of his body, and his shield in broken fragments at his side, and Tirri himself with a very sad face upon him. Tirri said: 'My lord', said he, 'though thou art gay and cheerful, strange and unrecognizable are thy followers, for of those who went to battle and to combat against the Duke of Lorraine there remains in safety and alive no one but myself only; and Duke Otun was heavily wounded, and not much remains of him; and Duke Rener and Earl Vadiner have been captured. And it is Sir Guy of Warwick who has done all these deeds, for no one tastes of life upon whom he deals the force of his blow, and the men of the ponderous[2]) world could not defeat him by reason of strength or prowess. After the emperor heard this news, wrath and quick anger seized him, and his sense and reason left him entirely. The emperor said: 'I swear', said he, 'by the One who made heaven and earth, that I will never stop until I capture the city of Greasmont, and until I hang the Duke of Lorraine and Guy of Warwick.' The emperor made a rally and a muster of the armies of the whole empire in one place, and then he advanced with them to the city of Greasmont. [p. 45] Sir Gayer, moreover, a fierce-spirited son of the emperor, and another noble earl along with him, and five hundred knights, bold-hearted and splendid, came in advance of the armies to reconnoitre the city; and five thousand knights were sent after them to defend and support them strongly and irresistibly, and five thousand more as a reinforcement to these, and three thousand behind them; for there were thirteen thousand knights and half a thousand supporting each other at the entrance of the road, and the emperor with a great host behind them. Then the people of the city of Greasmont saw the mighty,

[1]) MS. *co nelaib?* O'Reilly has *neal*, 'noble'. But the text should doubtless be emended to read *co n-édálaibh imdha*, 'with abundant spoils'. Cf. p. 317 b, below.
[2]) *tromoidigh* (= *tromfhóidigh*), literally 'heavy-sodded'.


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multitudinous armies coming against them, and fear and terror seized them at the sight. The Duke of Lorraine put on his battle-armor, and mounted his horse, and went to Guy, and told him the news. Guy said to the duke: 'Do thou keep the city secure' said he, 'and I will go out to fight the army', — and a thousand knights along with him. As for Guy, then, he went into that conflict quickly and very swiftly, and he saw a detachment of strong, bold footmen coming behind the five hundred knights who were at the head of that heavy army. Then Sir Guy saw the emperor's son coming, and he went straight to meet him, and they fought a bold, valiant battle with each other, and Sir Gayer was thrown, and afterwards captured, and three hundred of his followers with him, and the remaining two hundred fell before Guy. Sir Guy went to the city with the captives for their safe keeping, and afterwards went [back] to fight with the same army, and he saw nothing over all the land at that time except the host, armed and equipped for battle. When the emperor heard that his son had been captured, sorrow and melancholy seized him; and those heavy forces, strong and brave, came in one body against Sir Guy when they recognized him. And a bloody, angry, violent battle was waged between them; and though there were many strong, brave warriors in that battle, it was Sir Guy and Sir Heront who had the upper hand of them on every side. And though it was thick about every one in that fight, it was broad and open field[1]) about them both. Then a multitude of brave hands were laid on them, and it was hard for them at that time, and at that time was the beginning of slaughter for the hosts of the city of Greasmont. The Duke of Lorraine [and] three thousand knights came out of the city then to help Guy. Then Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri, met the duke, [p. 46] and they fought a manful, angry fight, and the duke was thrown by Sir Tirri, and he got up quickly, and struck Sir Tirri a mighty blow, and it is a long, lasting****[2]) that he gave there. There collected bold, irresistible troops of soldiers, fierce-hearted and haughty, around the Duke of Lorraine, and he was suffering pain and punishment, and was wounded bloodily, and had no strength to defend himself. Sir Guy saw the danger and the peril that the duke was in, and went to his aid, and killed four knights around the duke with four mighty, mortal blows. Now a fierce-spirited knight was killing and slaying and cutting in pieces and utterly destroying the duke, and he cast him from his saddle, and struck him to the ground, and would fain have beheaded him. And Sir Guy came to the scene of this heroic fighting, and he gave the knight a

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[1]) On *fireitech* cf. the foot-note to p. 307 a.

[2]) I cannot translate *uilligi*. Perhaps 'it is a compound of *fuil* (*fuil-lige*, 'blood-bed'?) and means 'wound, hurt, injury'.

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mighty blow so that he made two exactly equal pieces of him with one stroke; and Sir Guy then put the duke on his steed. The man[1]) said to Guy: 'I am weak and sorely wounded, and I cannot give thee support or assistance', said he, 'and I had rather thou wouldst go into the city with thy followers, for we are not in sufficient number to fight against them yonder, and it is not befitting us to be taken in bonds'. Sir Guy said: 'I will do thy will in this matter, my lord', said he. Thereupon they went together into the city. The emperor told his followers to sack the city boldly and fiercely. Then the army of the emperor came against the gates of the stronghold; and there were many beautiful, variegated standards on the gates of the city, and they began to destroy and to raze the walls and the fortifications. The people of the city began to defend it bravely and strongly: some of them with short, terrible javelins, and some with arrows, sharp-tipped and skilfully made,[2]) some with dangerous, perilous guns, and others with bulky[3]) stones from slings, and others with spears, flat-tipped and smoothly-polished; others still with great rocks and with stones of the wall, big and destructive[4]), throwing them down from the turrets of the great city, — and all sorts of projectiles besides. Fifteen days they continued that labor and that hardship without peace or rest or repose; and this is the number that fell in that time at the hands of Guy and of Heront, a hundred fierce-hearted horsemen and [p. 47] a thousand strong, bold footmen; and there was no count of those who fell before the armies of the city in addition to them. There came, then, to Guy secretly a dear and beloved friend from the forces of the emperor, and said to him: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I have good news for thee, for the emperor will come to-morrow morning early with five hundred knights, without arms or weapons, to hunt in this forest; and a tusked boar has been put in it for him; and do thou, Guy, be in the forest to-night with men enough to destroy them, and do thy will with the emperor'. Sir Guy said: 'For that news', said he, 'I will give thee a thousand plates of beautiful, refined gold'. The traitor said: 'Keep me with thee till thou provest it, and if thou do not find it to be truth, I give thee the right to hang me'. Then went Sir Guy and Sir Heront, and three knights with them, to the duke, and he in his chamber playing skilfully and cleverly at chess; and Guy greeted him, and told him that the emperor was to be alone in the forest in the morning. When the duke heard this news, he rose quickly to

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[1]) Read 'the duke'.
[2]) *seghmura*, 'curious, ingenious, well-wrought?' *segh* 'strength'?
[3]) *tairthecha* is probably for *toirtecha*; *toirtech* means 'bulky', from *toirt* 'a bulky mass'.
[4]) *mileta*, properly 'warlike, soldier-like'; here applied to the stones.

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his feet, and he gave Guy three kisses, and said: 'Forgive me, warrior, that I have allowed thee to come to me with a message', said he, 'and that it was not I who went to thee'. Guy said: 'I will go out yonder to meet the emperor, and I will bring him with me by consent or by force to make peace with thee.' And the duke praised that plan. As for Sir Guy, then, he proceeded to his inn; and when the early part of the night had come, Sir Guy set out from the city secretly and silently, and a thousand knights along with him, and went into the forest, and they went to (or upon) the hill that was there. In the morning, then, Sir Guy saw the emperor coming into the forest with a small company about him, namely, five hundred knights, without weapons or armor, of the gentlemen and noblemen of his company. Sir Guy said to his followers: 'The emperor is coming upon us', said he, 'and we are between him and his company, and he has no power to escape us; and fight bravely and well, my bold knights!' said he. Then the emperor looked off, and saw the hosts, with weapons and armor, coming to surround him. The emperor said: 'We have been sold and betrayed to Guy of Warwick', said he, 'for I see Sir Guy with his followers coming against us'. Then [p. 48] Sir Guy went before his followers to meet the emperor, and a branch of olive in his hand as a sign of peace. And Sir Guy said to him, as he approached the place: 'Let no man of you offer battle or conflict to the emperor's company', said he, 'and if he does, I will strike off his head'. Sir Guy said: 'God be thy life, noble and brave emperor'! said he, 'and there is a feast prepared for thee to eat by the Duke of Louvain; and do thou come to partake of it and to make peace with him; and he will give up himself and all his possessions to thee'. Then came up the thousand horsemen who were with Sir Guy, and a branch of peace in the hand of every man of them, and Guy bade them pay homage and honor to the emperor, and they did so. Sir Guy said to the emperor: 'Let us be off now to the city', said he, 'for thou hast no power to refuse to go with me whatever way I wish'. The emperor said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'if thou wouldst swear to me surely that I shall not be betrayed, I would go with thee'. Sir Guy said: 'I swear', said he, 'by Him who suffered the passion for the human race: have no fear of anything in the city yonder'. Thereupon the emperor dismounted, and put his two hands about Sir Guy's neck, and gave him three kisses fondly, fervently and faithfully, and then said: 'Brave and victorious knight, pious, merciful and virtuous, I will go with thee now'. After that they went to the city; and there was no wasted (?) [1] old man, nor tender youth without years, nor brave, triumphant

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[1]) *spalmach.* The translation is wholly conjectural. I have not seen the word elsewhere. *spealaim* sometimes means 'I waste, grow poor'.



hero, nor strong and valiant warrior, nor soldier courageous and famous, nor maiden fair and very comely, in the whole city who did not pay homage and honor and great respect to the emperor and to Guy. After that they went to the duke's palace, and the emperor with his retinue was served and provided by Guy with the choicest of every kind of food and drink, and the duke did not come to them on that night. As for the duke, he arose the next morning, and released the prisoners of the emperor, and told them to take the roads they chose, and enjoined upon them to ask of the emperor favor for him; and the prisoners all gave thanks to the duke. As for the prisoners, then, they asked the duke to go with them to the emperor; and he went readily, and took off his splendid, silk garments, all except one fine [1]) silk shirt next the brightness of his white skin, and he went with them all into the presence of the emperor, and bent his right and left knees beneath him, and knelt in the emperor's presence. The duke said: 'My lord', said he, 'I am at thy mercy, and I have deserved to receive death [p. 49] at thy hands, for it is I who killed Sir Sadon, thy own brother; and I give myself up to thee without opposition (?),[2]) and do thy will with me now', said he. Sir Gayer, the emperor's son, said: 'My lord', said he, 'give the duke assurance of peace, for he is a brave, victorious man, faithful and very wise, and wrong has been done him'. Duke Rener said: 'Do this, my lord', said he; 'for it was justly that he slew thy brother's son, and though he should say this were not true, I would undertake to prove it on him'. Earl Vadiner said: 'Do this, my lord', said he, 'for the duke has not deserved that wrong or injustice should be done him; and he has always been a friend to me, though I am now against him; and if peace is not made with him quickly, I will go back to the city of Cologne, and I will bring hosts of good troops together, and I will make war against thee in company with the Duke of Louvain'. And the emperor said nothing at that time. Sir Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'fulfil the promise thou madest to me in the forest. And dost thou not see that the duke has been long on his knees, and that he might refuse to be so? For he is stronger here than thou art, my lord; and I give my word that unless assurance of peace is given him quickly I will bring destruction and ruin on thee and on thy followers'. The emperor said: 'It is for the duke to give thanks to the one God who made heaven and earth for the day when he saw thee, Sir Guy', said he; 'and I will fulfil my promise to thee; for I pardon the duke for having killed the

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[1]) *sremnaigi* = *srebnaide*. This is often translated 'bright, shining', but it seems to have reference primarily to the texture of the material. Cf. Irische Texte III, 2, 531.

[2]) On *comaithes* see the foot-note to p. 308 a, above.

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one man who was dearest to me of all who were ever on the earth, — Sir Sadog, my own brother's son; and I give him assurance of peace'. Then all the hosts rose to their feet, and gave the emperor three shouts of blessing for the mercy he had shown to the duke. And the hosts turned together to Sir Guy, and gave him shouts of blessing, and said with the voice of one man: 'O brave, victorious knight, and strong, valiant warrior, it is because of thy bravery and prowess, and thy wisdom and skill, that this peace has come to be made'. The news of this peace was heard by the hosts that were outside around the city. Then came Otun, the Duke of Lombardy, angrily and wrathfully to the emperor and said: 'My lord', said he, 'it is wrongly that thou hast made peace with the two traitors, the most false and envious who are in the whole world, the Duke of Louvain and Sir Guy of Warwick'. When Sir Guy heard this, he clenched his fist right boldly, and struck the duke on his nose, and [p. 50] his blood spurted out quickly, and he threw him to the ground. He would fain have struck him again, but the emperor asked him as a favor not to strike him the blow. 'I will grant thee that favor, not to strike him or any other man to-day', said he. Sir Guy said: 'He has betrayed me twice without cause', said he; 'and with God's permission I will not leave that without vengeance yet', said he. Then the two hosts kissed each other in the greatness of their joy because of this [peace]. And then ended the war between the emperor and the Duke of Louvain. Duke Rener of Sision said that he would take the daughter of the Duke of Louvain, and that he desired to have friendship with him, and this betrothal was made. And the emperor gave the daughter of his father's own brother's son to the Duke of Louvain for his wife, and promised him great wealth and sovereignty with her, and that alliance was made. Sir Guy said that he would depart. 'Do not go', said the Duke of Louvain, 'for I will give this city to thee, and half my realm; and do not leave me'. Sir Guy thanked him, but did not take it.

17. As for the emperor, then, after making that peace and that alliance with him, he took leave of the Duke of Louvain; and Sir Guy set out along with him. As for the Duke of Louvain, he was fifteen days without food or drink or sleep from grief at Sir Guy's departure from him; and little remained of him because of his love and strong affection [for Sir Guy]. Then the emperor came into Germany, and Sir Guy along with him; and the emperor offered Sir Guy cities and castles and parks and beautiful forests for hunting; and said that he would give him a dukedom, and that he would give him abundance of gold and treasure and of all kinds of riches. And Sir Guy refused to accept it, and then took leave of the emperor.

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18. As for Sir Guy, now, he went on his way and took with him for followers only a hundred tried, brave knights of the German noblemen; and he proceeded along the margins of the vast sea until he saw a great ship with an abundance of all kinds of goods, which had entered the harbor; and Sir Guy asked tidings of it. A brave, well-spoken man of them answered and said: 'We have come from the city of Constantinople, and this is the reason why [p. 51] we have come: because the Sultan [has won] the realm of the Grecian Emperor, and his followers have been killed in battles and conflicts; and there is none of the realm of the emperor left, which has not been taken from him by the Sultan, save only the city of Constantinople. And the Sultan with his hosts is coming to take it; and we came aboard the ship here to seek some place where we might find peace and quiet to dwell in, and we have brought some part of our possessions here with us, and those are our tidings', said the young man; 'and now do your pleasure with us'. And there was fear and terror on the [ship's] company. Sir Guy, however, went up ashore, and collected two hundred other knights in addition to those he had, and went to the same ship. And he told the company to make the ship ready, and that they must go back with him over the same course to Constantinople. Thus far Sir Guy's course in Germany.

19. As for Sir Guy, then, he went aboard the ship with his three hundred knights, and the ship's company along with him. And they took a swift course, eager and very bold, through the streams of the ancient sea, and through the perilous, awful waves of the blue sea; and they were fifteen days on the ocean because of a great storm, and they found a harbor, sheltered and secure, in the city of Constantinople. And they raised the lofty standard of the English, the banner of St. George, above the boat. The emperor was then on the battlements[1]) of the castle praying the Lord for help out of the difficulty he was in, and he saw the ship, full of men and very great, and the standard of St. George raised upon it. And he sent a messenger to get news, and to make the English welcome, and to bring them into his presence. The messenger went to the ship, and asked tidings of the ship's company. [Sir Guy][2]) arose and answered: 'An English knight is here', said he, 'and Sir Guy of Warwick is his name; and there are three hundred fierce, courageous, high-spirited knights in his company, who have come to the support of the emperor'. Moreover Sir Guy gave

[1]) *taidhlib*, to be emended to *taibhlib*. For this form see CZ. I, 437; 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 168; 'Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell' pp. 146, 162. The spelling *taidhbli* is noted by Stokes, CZ. I, 398.

[2]) Name erased, but no other substituted.

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a scarlet gown to the messenger, and he proceeded to the emperor, and reported this news to him. When the emperor had heard it, he looked up to God, and gave him thanks for it. And he said: 'If it is Sir Guy [p. 52] of Warwick that is there', said he, 'there is not a knight in the world that is stronger of hand'. And the emperor bade the people of the city go in procession to meet Sir Guy. Then came the men of every church in the city with tapers and with * * * * * [1]), and with bright lamps, with bells and with staves and with relics; and the people of the city with splendid garments of silk and of gold thread, and the king with his crown on his head, tightly bound,[2]) set with jewels and adorned, and the musicians of the city playing the organ, and the guitar (?),[3]) and the trumpet, and the tabor and the pipes and the fiddle and the harp, and all the other instruments besides. And they all went out thus to meet Sir Guy, and a great welcome was given him; and the emperor kissed him three times fondly, fervently and faithfully, and took him by the hand, and put his other hand about his neck, and it is thus that the emperor took Guy with him into the royal palace, and the emperor placed Sir Guy at his own side to eat his food. Then the emperor ordered a high chamber to be made ready for Guy and his followers, [and] everything to be given to them that they might ask for. Then the emperor went to the chamber with Sir Guy. After this the emperor said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I look to thee for protection, for the Sultan has taken from me all my realm except only this city; and he is coming to capture this from me, and twice twenty thousand of my followers have fallen in a single day at their hands; and I have no children besides one daughter, and she is my heir; and I will give her to thee as wife, and do thou win my land and my sovereignty for thyself'. Sir Guy said: 'It is not to get a wife that I have come, but to fight in thy support; and I will do my best for thee, and I take it upon myself to protect thee'. And it was not long like this with Guy, after the emperor left him, when he heard a cry and a shout of terror and complaint throughout the length of the city; and Guy sent a messenger to get news, and this is what someone told him: 'An Amiral[4]) whose name was Coscras, the son of the Sultan's uncle, and king of the Turks, has come with a thousand Turks to capture this city; and they have laid siege around it'. When Sir Guy heard this, he told his followers to put on their armor, and to fight bravely; and Sir Guy went out of the city [with] the three

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[1]) I cannot translate *priceduibh*.

[2]) For the various uses of *cengailte* in these texts see the Glossary.

[3]) *gitart*. I have not found this word in other texts. Perhaps *organ* should be translated rather 'pipes'. Cf. Irische Texte II, 2, 27.

[4]) In the Irish *Ambrail* seems sometimes to be mistaken for a proper name.

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hundred knights, [and] was himself in the face of the enemy,[1]) and he fought a fierce, bold, destructive fight in the midst of the brave warriors. And Sir Guy and Coscran[2]) fought with each other, and Sir Guy drove a spear through Coscran's shield powerfully [p. 53] and valiantly, and through his heart mightily, and leaped down upon him, and struck off his head. And he sent a messenger with the head to King[3]) Heirrneis, which was the name of the emperor; and he never received, before or after, a gift he was more glad to get than that. The king of the Turks and Sir Heront met each other in the battle, and they fought boldly and valiantly, and the king of the Turks fell at the end of the fight from the warlike, mighty blows of Heront. And six hundred of the Saracens fell at Guy's hands before morn of that day came, and two thousand seven hundred after mid-day. Three days and three nights was Guy fighting that battle. As for Escladata, a strong knight of the Sultan's army, he left the battle with a spear through his body, and half of his head missing, and he went to the Sultan and said: 'I have bad news for thee, my lord', said he, 'for thy brother [has been slain (?)], and I saw his head struck off him. And the king of the Turks has been killed, and there has not come out alive any of thy company but myself alone, and I shall die in this hour'. The Sultan said: 'They have rallied some strong army', said he. The knight said: 'They have', said he; 'namely, a Christian knight whose name is Sir Guy of Warwick, with three hundred knights in his company'. The Sultan said: 'I swear by the gods', said he, 'that I will capture that noisy city within fifteen days, and I will hang the emperor and Sir Guy on a single cross'. Then the knight who brought the news fell down and died. As for Sir Guy of Warwick, now, he came into the city, after winning victory and triumph, with plenty of spoils in his possession, and he and his followers were weary from the fighting after that battle, having been three days and three nights making the fight without food or drink or sleep. And after this the people of the city gave him three shouts of blessing.

20. As for the emperor, moreover, he said that there was not in the world any pursuit that was dearer to him than the hunt and the chase —, 'and I have not dared for a long time and a great while to go out beyond the gate of this city for fear and for terror of the Sultan and of the [p. 54] Turks, until Sir Guy came to my help. And to-morrow I will go into the forest to the hunt and the chase, and I will stay fifteen days in the

[1]) I have supplied words to complete the construction.
[2]) The inconsistency in the name (*Coscras*, *Coscran*) is in the Irish.
[3]) On *cing* cf. p. 11, above.



forest, and we will have sport and diversion there for that time'. When the next day came they went into the forest; and some of them set to hunting on the sea with nets to catch fish, and others with hawks to catch birds, and others with dogs and nets to catch stags and tusked boars and swift hares and all the other wild creatures besides. Then the pangs of jealousy came upon the steward of the emperor, — Sir Morgad[ur] the steward's name; for hateful envy towards Sir Guy seized him, because the emperor had offered him his daughter in marriage, for the steward [felt] great and enduring love for the emperor's daughter. As for Sir Morgadur, he was considering how he could harm Sir Guy, and he came where Sir Guy was in the forest, and said to him: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I cannot bear[1] in my body and my flesh the strength of my love for thee; and I have courts and castles and land and property and gold and silver and all kinds of wealth besides; and it is to thee that I wish to give them all to control and to enjoy. And come with me to the emperor's daughter, and let us play chess in her presence; and we will return to the emperor, for he will not leave the forest this week'. Thereupon Sir Guy went with the steward into the city to the emperor's daughter; and Sir Guy won three games from the steward at first. The steward said to Sir Guy: 'Wait a while here', said he, 'until I go on some business'. The steward went to the emperor in the forest, and the emperor asked him for news, and the steward said: 'It is bad news I have', said he, 'namely that the false, treacherous knight that is with thee, Sir Guy of Warwick, has forced thy daughter in her own chamber; and let him be put to death at once. And I will go at my own cost to the German Emperor to obtain a force and an army to aid thee'. The emperor said: 'I do not believe wrong of him', said he, 'for I am full of love and great affection for him'. And since the emperor did not believe that evil report, the steward went to the city to Sir Guy and said to him: 'So great is my love for thee, Sir Guy', [p. 55] said he, 'that I cannot make a secret of the thing that might come to harm thee. Leave this city quickly, for if the emperor find thee in it, he will put thee to death'. Sir Guy said: 'It is hard to put trust in a lord after the emperor', said he, 'for great is the good I have done him, even though he is on the point of killing me; and still more good would I have been glad to do him until now; and now I will go to the Sultan to get revenge upon the emperor'. Then Sir Guy went to his followers, and told them to put on their armor of battle and to leave the city of Constantinople; and they put on their armor quickly, and raised their standards on staffs, and proceeded out of the

[1]) ***tuillinn.*** Literally, 'the strength of my love fits not (hence, is too great for) my body'.

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city. The emperor was then on the summit of a hill in the forest, and he saw a brave and terrible host[1]) leaving the city, and he asked who they were. Someone told him: 'It is Sir Guy of Warwick yonder', said he, 'going away with his followers, since trouble has been made between him and thee'. The emperor said: 'Do ye all remain here', said he, 'and I will go to Sir Guy'. And the emperor went eagerly and full swiftly, and asked Sir Guy the cause of his departure. Sir Guy said: 'I heard', said he, 'that thou didst not desire to have me with thee, and that thou didst wish me to leave thy land and thy fair realm, and that I am of no more use to thee'. The emperor said: 'I swear', said he, 'by the God who endured the passion for my sake, that I did not say that, and that there is no man in the world who is dearer to me than thou art'. And thus he was reconciled to him. Thus far the injury which the steward did to Sir Guy, *et reliqua.*

21. As for Sir Guy, then, [his] messengers were getting news in the land of the Sultan; and they came to him and told him that the Sultan would come in full force on the next day to rase and destroy the city; and Sir Guy told this to the emperor, and then they took counsel. The constable of the city said (and he was a noble duke, and had a long white beard down to his breast, and he himself a venerable old man): 'Do as I shall tell you', said he; 'for there is a high mountain between us and the Sultan, and they can not vary their course, and let us take up our position against them in the open space on the mountain, and let us keep the [p. 56] Sultan and his followers below us in the steep places, and there will be narrow forest passes between us and them. And we will send missiles among them from every kind of engine for projectiles, and neither a wound nor a scratch from them will reach us against the ascent'. And Sir Guy and everybody praised this plan, and they carried it out. Then the emperor with his troops came upon the mountain; and they did not see a single bit of the land vacant, but all full of battle-equipped horses and armed men. Then Sir Guy went to the road that leads up the mountain, and he determined that he would not let any man pass him on that road; and the army of the city of Constantinople from this time forth was to defend the narrow passes that led up the mountain. The Sultan bade Eliman of Tyre lead the attack, — 'for there is no man in the world who has overcome thee in battle or in conflict or in combat';[2]) and he was a noble, brave king. So Eliman of Tyre came to the entrance of the road, and a thousand fierce, valiant knights along with him, and they fought a bloody,

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[1]) Reading uncertain.
[2]) For parallels to this clause of direct quotation see p. 303a, foot-note.

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violent and venomous battle with each other, until the thousand brave, fierce knights fell by Guy's fearful, perilous blows. Anger and true rage seized Eliman of Tyre, and he said that he would not desist until Sir Guy and his company should fall at his hands in payment for his own company. Then Sir Guy and Eliman of Tyre fought with each other courageously and spiritedly, savagely, fiercely and implacably, and Sir Guy gave Eliman of Tyre a strong, bold blow with his spear, and drove it out through his body backwards so that he fell dead, without life. The Sultan said to the king of Nubia: 'Dost thou see my men being slain at the hands of a single knight, and that we are a hundred gallant and noble knights put down by the knight of those who are against us? And do thou take my followers with thee, and surround the enemy there, and bring death and destruction upon them, for I shall have no happiness or rest until mischief is wrought for them there. And after this they went together against Sir Guy, and he withstood them alone, and began to kill and destroy them without cessation; and the horse was killed that was under Sir Guy, and his shield was broken. And then he bared his sword, and the sword was of this sort: it is among the Nubians that it was made, and it is in Germany [p. 57] that Sir Guy got it, and quaking and terror came upon him who saw it naked before him, and he whom it wounded tasted not of life. As for Sir Guy, then, he was killing and injuring the Saracens with that victorious, hard sword, and he was collecting and arranging the wounded bodies around him to defend himself against the missiles of his enemies. As for Sir Guy, then, he ordered a great number of slings to be made and missiles to be thrown from them all in every direction; and in this way very many of the Saracens were mercilessly slain. And it was hard for Guy at this time, and he sent a messenger to ask Sir Heront to help him out of that danger. Then came Mirabala[1]), who had been newly made a knight on that day, and fought bravely, manfully and heroically against Sir Guy, and at the end of the fight Sir Guy dealt Mirabala a strong, savage blow, and inflicted a dangerous wound upon him, and Mirabala got away then by virtue[2]) of his spear-swift running. As for Mirabala, then, he went on to meet the Sultan, and told him to take a strong, swift horse, and to flee quickly from the battle, — 'and I shall not live myself', said he, 'with my limb cut off, and it is little that remains of thy army'. Then the Sultan saw the loss of his army: twenty-eight score of thousands. His dark and devilish gods were watching over him on that day, Termagant and Mahoun, and he said to them: 'O false and lying gods', said he, 'much have I ever done in your honor and

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[1]) On the origin of the name Mirabala see p. IX, above.
[2]) Literally 'by fruit of'.

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worship, and it is ill that ye have treated me to-day'. Then he seized a great, stout club and set upon them madly; and the Sultan left the battle at that time, and all that survived of his followers along with him. Sir Guy, moreover, came back to Constantinople with his company after winning the victory and the triumph. Sir Guy said: 'Noble and adventurous knights, honor and magnify the one God who formed heaven and earth, and made the creatures out of nothing, for it is He who brings you victory in the battles and the many conflicts in which ye are, and it is good help He has given [p. 58] you to-day', said he. Thus far the second battle which Sir Guy fought with the Sultan.

22. The treacherous, envious and horrible steward said to the emperor: 'My lord', said he, 'though many of the hosts of the Sultan have fallen before thee, they are but few in comparison with those whom he has still alive; and he is angry and bitter against thee; and thou hast the one knight whose deeds and whose rank are the greatest in the whole world; and do thou stake thy right and thy claim upon a single combat with the Sultan; and if it goes against thee, give the Sultan satisfaction and show him honor; and if it goes against him, let the same be given you by him'. And the emperor praised that plan. And this is the reason why the steward gave this counsel to the emperor, because it would be Sir Guy who would go out there and who would be killed there. The emperor collected and gathered together his followers from every direction, and he explained this plan to them. The duke, namely the head of the army and the constable of the city, said: 'I am a hundred years of age', said he, 'and if I were able to fight, I would go on that business and that errand. But I should not come out alive; and the curse of the weak and the strong[1]) be upon him who gave thee that counsel, for it is bad counsel'. Yet the emperor still sought a knight to go to the emperor of the Turks with that message, and every one there refused to go. [As for] Sir Guy, now, his eyes flamed brightly and angrily in his head; and Sir Heront understood the reason, and came to Sir Guy, and said to him: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I know what is in thy thought; and do thou cease considering that, for thou wilt not come back alive from the land of the Sultan if thou goest into it, since his enmity against thee is great. And send me', said Heront, 'for my death is a small matter in comparison with thine.' Sir Guy said: 'God forbid that I should send my knight to his death to get honor for myself.' Then Sir Guy rose to his feet, and put on strong armor of battle, and went into the presence of the emperor, and took leave of him. The

[1]) That is to say, the curse of all. *Truagh 7 trén* is a recurring formula; cf. '*Passions and Homilies*' l. 4291, and '*Dánta Seathrúin Ceitín*', l. 615.

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emperor said: 'The true God, most glorious, who made heaven and earth, forbid that thou shouldst go into so great danger as that!' 'I will surely go there', said Guy. 'We will go with thee', said Sir Heront and the three knights. 'We are of thy retinue'. 'No man shall go with me', said Sir Guy. And after this he set out alone; and he was not long journeying on the [p. 59] road when he saw the Emperor's host in camp; and fifteen miles was the length of that camp, and the same distance its breadth, and they were ranged in a circle like sphere or compass, and the stakes of the tents standing side by side[1] (?). Now the Sultan's tent was in the very middle, and a great spear-shaft rising out of it, and the figure of an eagle, of beautiful, red, refined gold, on the top of the shaft; and a carbuncle — that is, a precious stone — high above the tent; and a fair summer's day was not brighter for them, and the sun with bright face at hand, than were the long winter nights with the virtues [of that stone]. And thus were the Sultan's tents, covered magnificently with cloths of silk and gold thread from the top to the ground. Sir Guy, now, rode into the tent on his horse; and it is thus that the Sultan was at that time, eating and drinking at many-colored tables with the nobles of his retinue. Sir Guy said: 'God almighty suffered the passion for the sake of the righteous, and separated day and night from each other; and it is He who made cold and heat, and brings full-tide and ebb-tide upon the seas, and made the world and all things besides, and made every good for thy profit, O Sultan, sinful, false and recreant, — for evil are the devilish gods in whom thou believest, and thy bed is flaming in lower hell. And my lord emperor sends [word] to thee to choose a day for combat, and one knight from thy side and another knight from the emperor's to be there; and whichever of them survives the fight to receive money and tribute for his lord, without resistance or strife, from the lord of him who is overthrown in the combat. And if it please thee, here am I ready for the battle, and I would come on behalf of the emperor and the right, to prove upon thy champion that the wrong is with thee'. 'What is thy name?' said the Sultan. 'Sir Guy of Warwick is my name', said he. 'It is thou who killed my brother', said the Sultan, 'and thou shalt die for it[2]) thyself'. And the Sultan gave orders to seize Guy full quickly, and to put him in prison as a bound captive while they were eating their feast. Guy said: 'If it is killing me without reason that pleases thee', said he, 'I will give thee cause for killing me'. And he spoke thus, and stuck two spurs [p. 60] at once into the horse that was beneath him, and made a great, strong leap away, and drew out his bright, hard sword, and struck the Sultan a death-blow,

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[1]) Idiom uncertain.
[2]) *ann*. Literally, 'in it'.

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strong and savage, so that he separated his head from his body; and after that he picked up his head, and placed it in the ....[1]) of his shield. As for Sir Guy, then, he set out after this exploit, and a cry was raised after him on the east and the west, and on the north and the south, and Sir Guy was cutting down and slaying the warriors around him. Then they seized him by the bridle, after they had surrounded him, and they killed the steed that was beneath him, and it was the driving of a flock of birds[2]) that he wrought upon them, cutting off their heads and their feet. As for Sir Guy, moreover, he advanced toward a round-topped, rocky hill, and in spite of them he got to the top and summit of the hill; and he began to throw down the huge rocks upon the warriors full mightily; and whoever reached the place, Guy killed him with one stroke of his sword, and he made a great cairn of the bodies of the soldiers and warriors round about him for his defence. And there fell before him thirteen hundred of them at that time. Then two thousand very brave knights of the army surrounded him, and they discharged a swift shower of arrows upon him at that time, and they pierced the body of the valiant fighter with sharp-tipped, easily hurled lances, and with sharp, terrible, dangerous javelins, and with every other missile besides. And Sir Guy at that time was like the fierce wild boar of the wilderness torn to pieces among the hounds, — wounded by every keen, bold thrust that was given him without restraint; [and] not one of the enemy escaped without heavy injury from Guy's perilous, terrible strokes. And yet he did not have strength to guard and protect himself at that time against the heavy fighting that was prostrating him and overwhelming him. Sir Heront was in deep sleep in the city of Constantinople, and he saw a terrible vision, as it were a field full of lions around Sir Guy, and Guy being slain in the midst of them. At this Sir Heront sprang up from his sleep, and summoned his followers to him, and said that Sir Guy was in difficulty and overpowered by numbers; and he set out full quickly, and the three hundred knights along with him, and they found Sir Guy in the midst of the hosts [p. **61**] being beaten and lacerated. As for Sir Heront, now, he burst upon the hosts strongly and valiantly, and seven hundred strong, brave warriors fell before them in that charge. And from the sea of sand in the south to the fiery sea in the north[3]) there was not a Saracen

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[1]) *gail a sceith*. Apparently in the hollow, or on the spike, of his shield, but I have no other cases of *gail* in either sense. Is it an error for *gaile*, 'stomach'? For various terms for the hollow of the shield cf. Dr. Hyde's 'Giolla an Fhiugha', I. T. S. I, 202.

[2]) A recurring comparison. See, for example, *Oided mac n-Uisnig*, 'Irische Texte' II, 2, 138.

[3]) These geographical indications are not in the Middle English versions. I am uncertain about the identification of the 'fiery sea'. One thinks naturally

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capable of fighting who was not in that one army. And they all fled at that time before Sir Guy and his followers, and [Guy's men] wrought great slaughter upon them at that time. Sir Guy came, moreover, with the meed of victory and triumph, with plenty of booty, and laid the head upon the ground in the presence of the emperor.[1] Such was the end of the war between the Sultan and Sir Guy.

23. As for the emperor, on the next day he went to the hunt with his retinue, and he was sitting on the top of a hill, and Sir Guy in his company there; and they were not there long before they saw a lion, sharp-toothed and full brave, and a dragon, bold, dark and unconquerable, in struggle and conflict with each other; and the lion was weak and lame, and the tail of the dragon coiled around the lion, and the horrible, dark-yawning[2] jaw of the dragon opened so that a knight with his armor on could enter its mouth. Sir Guy said that he himself would go quickly to the help of the lion, for it was weak in the fight, and he said that no one should dare to go with him into that fight. When the emperor heard this he fled with his followers for fear of the dragon. Sir Guy mounted his steed, and spurred the horse against the dragon, and gave the dragon a strong, bold blow of the spear in its mouth, and drove the spear out through the back of its head, and jumped down upon it, and struck off its head. The lion came to Guy, and was licking his feet and his fair body, and Sir Guy stroked the lion's back with his hand, and the lion followed him thereafter everywhere that he went. One day when Sir Guy was eating his meal at the emperor's table, the lion was asleep in the arbor that day at the foot of a tree, and its tail up towards the sun, and the emperor's steward saw it lying thus, and gave the lion a mighty thrust with his spear, and pierced it, and let out its vitals and its entrails at its feet. The lion howled and roared loudly, and went to Sir Guy and crouched [p. 62] at his feet, and its vitals outside of it, and it fell down thereupon, and dropped dead, without life. As for Sir Guy, then, he took his steed, and

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of Mandeville's Sandy Sea and of Marco Polo's account of the desert of Lop, and both of these writers were translated into Irish. For evidence that the Sandy Sea was regarded by the mediaeval Europeans as one of the outer limits of the world see the article on 'The Dry Sea and the Carrenare' by Dr. J L. Lowes in *Modern Philology* III, 1 ff.

[1]) This is the Sultan's head, as appears from the English versions.

[2]) *gnus-ghorm.* This epithet is used three times in these texts to describe the jaw of a dragon, cf. pp. 352 a and 356 b. I do not know whether to translate it 'dark-yawning' (*gnúis*, 'fissure', &c.) or 'dark-visaged' (*gnúis*, 'visage, countenance'). The latter is supported by such compounds as *gnuis-lethan*, 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 184; *gnuis-liath*, ibid. p. 182; *gnuis-dergi*, ibid. p. 118; *gnus-dordha*, 'Life of Hugh Roe', p. 194; *gnuis-sholais*, I. T. S. I, 140.

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mounted it, and seized his sword, and went [to] the emperor; and he asked everyone who had killed his lion, and he did not find out from anyone. As for Sir Guy, he said that if anyone would tell him who killed the lion he would give him his reward, a thousand pounds of beautiful, refined gold; and he did not find it out then. Then a female slave, one of the attendants of the emperor's daughter, came to Sir Guy and told him that it was the emperor's steward who had killed the lion, and told him how it was killed. When Guy heard this, he proceeded to the chamber where the steward was, — and his brother at that time in the chamber with him. Sir Guy said: 'Steward', said he, 'I never yet have done thee harm or injury; why didst thou kill my lion without cause?' 'I did not kill it', said the steward. 'Thou surely didst', said Guy. 'And thou hast deceived me twice before, and thou shalt not do it the fourth time to me or to anyone else'. And he spoke thus, and gave the steward a fierce, strong, evil, deadly blow, so that he made two pieces of him, just equal in weight and size. Now the steward's brother drew out a keen-edged sword, and gave Sir Guy a mighty stroke; and Sir Guy struck a strong, bold blow, and cut off his right hand at the shoulder, and let him go thus disfigured. When the emperor heard this news, he said that Guy had killed the steward justly, and that he had deserved death before this at Sir Guy's hands.

24. As for the emperor, then, he said to Sir Guy: 'Great is the benefit thou hast done me, and I do not know how to describe it for its greatness; and be ready to-morrow morning to marry my daughter; and thou shalt have half my kingdom during my life, and the whole of it after my death'. *Dixit* Guy: 'I will do thy will, my lord', said he. When the morrow came, Sir Guy went and his three hundred knights with gowns of silk and fur (?) [1] about them; and they went to the church, and there came the bishop of the city and his clergy, and they asked Sir Guy whether he had a wedding-ring. Sir Guy opened his pouch, and this is the ring that came to his hand, the ring that had been as a token of remembrance between him and the daughter of the Earl of Warwick; and he meditated upon it then, and a swoon and a fainting-fit came upon him. And when Sir Guy arose from his swoon, he said: [p. 63] 'My lord', said he, 'I am not now able to be married, for the pressure of heavy illness has attacked me; and do thou give me time to regain my health'. Sir Guy was fifteen days in bed, and he allowed no one to approach him during that time but Sir Heront alone. Sir Guy

[1]) The translation of *co fer* (*cofer*?) is conjectural. I have taken *fer* to be a loan-word from the Middle English *feir, veir,* familiar in the combination *feir and gris* (Old French *vair et gris*). Of course the English word 'fur' is etymologically different.


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said to Sir Heront: 'Heront', said he, 'what shall I do with regard to the emperor's daughter? For I have a great, unendurable love for the daughter of the Earl of Warwick; and thou knowest that this is true'. Sir Heront said: 'I know', said he, 'that the emperor's daughter is the woman of fairest form and figure in the whole world, and that thou wilt get the empire along with her; and if it were the daughter of the earl that thou shouldst marry, the wealth thou wouldst have would [1]) be no more than the earldom'. Sir Guy said: 'I understand from this, Sir Heront, that thou art displeased with me for not taking the emperor's daughter. And dost thou know, Sir Heront', said he, 'that it was from love and affection for the daughter of the Earl of Warwick that I did what I have done of bold and brave deeds, and was once at the point of death besides?' *Dixit* Sir Heront: 'I did not know that; and since now I know, [2]) I hold her to be better for thee'. Sir Guy got up after fifteen days, and went thereupon to the emperor; and the emperor was glad that day to see Sir Guy well. And Sir Guy passed that day in the emperor's company. And Sir Guy said to the emperor: 'My lord', said he, 'I cannot take thy daughter to wife, for there is a pledge between me and the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and I would not change it till the time of my death; and I have been with thee seven years, and now I would fain have leave to depart'. Greatly did this grieve the emperor and all the hosts of the city. Then the earl [3]) gave Guy three great measures of beautiful, refined gold, since he did not take any other lordship from him. And Sir Guy refused to take that, and said that he had plenty of gold and riches, and that it was not to seek anything else that he had come, but only to help the emperor. When Sir Guy did not take the gold, the emperor distributed it to Sir Guy's company. Then the emperor said: 'Sir Heront', said he, 'thou art the other knight who is strongest of hand of all I have seen, — Sir Guy of Warwick and thou. And since Sir Guy has refused the damsel for his wife, [p. **64**] I would give thee lordship and riches and treasure, O Sir Heront', said he. Heront said: 'If thou wouldst give me the whole empire', said he, 'I would not take it from thee and desert Sir Guy'. Then Sir Guy took leave of the emperor, and thereafter he departed. Thus far the adventure of Sir Guy with the Emperor of Constantinople.

25. As for Sir Guy and his followers, they proceeded on their way, and they made no stop or delay until they came to the city of Cologne in Germany. The emperor with his retinue

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[1]) The tenses are inconsequent in the Irish.
[2]) Read *os anois ata, isi is ferr lium agud.*
[3]) Read 'emperor'.


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bade Guy welcome, and showed them great honor, and offered Sir Guy treasure and lordship, and Guy refused it, and said that he would not delay until he should come to England. And after this he went onward, and he saw an impregnable city before him at the hour of evening prayer. And Sir Guy said: 'Sir Heront', said he, 'take the knights with thee, and enter the city, and find a hostelry for us; and I will remain here a while to say my prayers and to listen to the song of the birds'. And they did so. As for Sir Guy, then, he was not long walking in the forest when he fell asleep from the song of the birds; and this is what woke him out of his sleep, a fearful cry of distress that he heard. And he went where be heard the cry, and found a wounded knight, complaining and in peril, and his blood flowing down the steep places of the forest. Sir Guy asked him his story. The wounded knight said: 'It will not profit thee to have my story', said he, 'for it is not likely thou hast the courage to hear my story[1]), and my expectation does not turn to thee for help' (?).[2]) *Dixit* Guy: 'For the sake of the one God almighty, tell me thy own story', said he, 'and I will give thee aid, if I can'. *Dixit* the wounded knight: 'Pledge thy troth', said he, 'that thou wilt help me'. 'I do', said Sir Guy. The knight looked up and said: 'Great thanks to thee for any help', said he, 'for thou art a strong, brave knight; and before God who made heaven and earth, it is a pity that thou art not Guy of Warwick'. 'Tell me now thy story', said Guy. 'I will', said the knight. 'I am Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri; and the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine felt a strong, unendurable love for me, and I felt the same for her; and Otun, the Duke of Lombardy, came to take her; and a day was set for their wedding, namely the seventh day from to-day; and she sent to me to come for her [p. 65] in that time. And I came', said he, 'secretly with ten very brave knights to the city of the Duke of Louvain; and I sent messengers to the damsel, and she came out to them in the bright, early morning. And I set her behind me, and left the city; and the people of the city saw me setting off, and raised a cry after me, and the two dukes pursued me with their hosts, and my ten knights fell before them at that time. And there fell at my hands a bold, destructive band of this army; and there happened to be a great-waved arm of the sea in front of me, and I made an eager, light leap on my horse out into the sea, for I chose to be drowned in the sea rather than to fall at the hands of the Lombards. And the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine chose rather to be drowned than to be the wife of the Duke of Lombardy. And the steed

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[1]) Or, 'thy spirit will not be the better for hearing it'? I am doubtful about the sentence.

[2]) For the idiom cf. *ni th'ari-siu teit ria* (Eriu 1, 134)?

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brought us to land, and they could not pursue us in the water, and we came to this wood; and I was weary and heavily wounded, and I put my head on the woman's bosom, and told her to keep watch, and that it was necessary for me to have sleep and long slumber. And a fit of sleep and long slumber fell upon me, and fifteen knights came against me, and drove their five [fifteen?] spears through my body, and took my wife away from me, and they are in a small tent in the midst of the forest'. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'I am in bad plight to go against them', said he, 'for I have no arms'. Tirri said: 'My sword is in the shadow of the oak yonder at thy disposal'[1]), said he. Then Sir Guy seized the sword, and went into the tent, and said: 'Noble knights, why did you slay the son of Earl Aimbri?' said he. One of them said: 'Thy honor will not be better', said he, 'for the same shall be done to thee'. Then Sir Guy bared the sword, fierce and warlike, and the fifteen men fell before him except a single knight from whom he struck off one hand, and who made his escape. And Sir Guy brought the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine and Sir Tirri's horse with him to the place where he had left the wounded knight, and he found nothing there but the place where the knight had been. As for Sir Guy, then, he left the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine there, and went in search of Sir Tirri; and he had not gone far [p. 66] when he saw four very brave knights carrying Sir Tirri on a long, firm bier, and Sir Guy asked them for an account of themselves. One of the men said that it was Sir Uighi, the Duke of Lombardy's brother, that was there, and three knights along with him. 'And Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri, is in our hands, to be taken to the Duke of Lombardy for his execution'. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'Give him up at once', said he, 'for he is a dear friend to me, and I will not leave him with you any longer'. One of them said, turning to him: 'We will take thee and Tirri with us, so that ye shall both have one cruel death'. As for the two knights who had turned to meet him, he struck off both their heads. *Dixit* Sir Uighi, the own brother of the Duke of Lombardy: 'Foolish and ignorant young man', said he, 'thou art a poor compensation for the deed thou hast done, but thou shalt die for it'.[2]) And he fought quickly with Sir Guy, and Sir Guy struck off his head with one blow, and struck off one hand of the fourth knight, and that was his appearance as he went to meet the Duke of Lombardy. After this Sir Guy set Tirri on a horse, and brought him back to the spot where he had left the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, and he found

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[1]) Perhaps *ar h-inchaibh* should here be rendered simply 'near thee, beside thee'. For a similar use of it cf. 'Battle of Ventry', p. 35; *tuc urchur don chraisigh ... bai for a inchaibh* ('the spear that was in his possession').

[2]) The same formula occurs again on p. 330a.

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nothing but her place there. As for Sir Guy, then, he brought Earl Tirri with him into the city, and put him in a hostelry, which Sir Tirri had taken for him.[1]) At that time Sir Guy heard a cry and lamentation, sorrowful and wretched, and Sir Guy asked the cause of that complaint. Sir Heront said: 'Since it seemed long to me not to see thee till night, I came into the same wood to seek thee, and I found a damsel, fair and resplendent, complaining pitifully; and I brought her with me, and it is she who is uttering the cry that thou hearest now; and it is she who was there, namely the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine'. And Sir Tirri's heart was cheered when he heard this, although he was weak. And after this he was treated and became well. Then Sir Tirri remained with Sir Guy, and they became sworn brothers one with the other. And that was the first bond between Sir Guy and Sir Tirri.

26. One day Sir Guy, with his breast against the chamber-window, was observing the city about him, and he saw a knight approaching, and a swift horse under him, and Guy asked news of him. The knight said: 'I am of Earl Aimbri's company', said he, 'and I am searching for his son, Sir Tirri; and I do not get a word of news about him, and I do not know if he is alive. In revenge for the way he carried off with him the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Lombardy and the Duke of Louvain [p. 67] are pillaging and destroying the possessions of Earl Aimbri; and he[2]) has destroyed it all except Aimbri's city alone, and those two haughty dukes are going to the city of Gormisi[3]) to capture it; and that is [my news]', said the knight. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'Dismount', said he, 'and thou shalt stay with us to-night, for it is with us that thou art more likely to get news of Sir Tirri'. After that the knight came in, and he found Sir Tirri before him, brave and joyful, and he paid him homage and respect. Then Sir Tirri said: 'Guy', said he, 'though thou hast given me much help and great honor hitherto, I have more need of thee now than ever before, for [ ][4]) to plunder and pillage my father, and to rob and insult [him] on my account. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'I will bring the strength of my hand to thy aid', said he. After that Sir Guy went into the city and collected ten hundred bold knights. And they advanced thereupon to the city of Gormisi. And Earl Aimbri and his followers paid homage and honor to Sir Tirri. Sir Tirri said: 'It is better to pay honor and respect to Sir Guy of Warwick than to me', said he, 'for it is he who saved my life for me, and it is in his retinue that I am'. When the earl and his company heard that, they

[1]) Or, 'had taken for the purpose'.
[2]) Inconsequent change of subject.
[3]) 'Gormoise' in Fr. and Engl. versions.
[4]) Something omitted.

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paid honor to Sir Guy. Then they heard a shout and a clamor and cries of distress and helplessness throughout the whole length of the city. And Sir Guy asked the cause of those shouts, and somebody told him that it was the crafty, bold hosts of Louvain, and the numerous, brave warriors of Lombardy, who had come to capture the city of Gormisi. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'Sir Tirri', said he, 'take with thee two hundred knights of thy company, and give them brave, victorious battle there, and let us have good knowledge[1]) of thy bravery and prowess in the day's fighting to-day. As for Sir Tirri, then, he went boldly and valiantly to meet those battle-brave warriors, and ten hundred soldiers, fierce and bold and proud-hearted, were set against him, and they fought each other madly, eagerly and savagely. Ten bold warriors fell at Sir Tirri's hands in the first onslaught, and not long afterwards [p. 68] two hundred, discomfited and wounded, fell round about him. After this a thousand fierce, proud knights were set to fight against him, and Sir Tirri fought the battle anew at that time, and six hundred of them fell quickly before him. Then two thousand knights, heroic and hardy, were set to fight against Sir Tirri, and Sir Tirri was in the battle-field from bright, early dawn until mid-day without having help from anyone but himself and his two hundred knights, and it was hard for him then because of the number of the Lombard warriors about him. Sir Heront said: 'Guy', said he, 'let us bear[2]) aid and assistance now to Sir Tirri'. 'We will', said Guy. Then Sir Guy with his two hundred knights went to Tirri's aid, and Guy said to him: 'Tirri', said he, 'give up the fight now, and go into the city, and leave the battle to me for the rest of the time'.[3]) Thereupon Tirri went into the city, wounded and victorious in battle, and Sir Guy went into the fight, fiercely and resolutely,[4]) and burst upon them like a lion, eagerly and bravely. Sir Guy, moreover, was fighting that battle fiercely and valiantly from mid-day until night, and the length of the night without cessation, cutting down the warriors, until sunrise of the next day, and the length of the second day until noon; so that at that time there did not remain alive any of them except sixty of them as prisoners, bound and fast fettered, and twenty more maimed and injured, cross-wounded and deadly pale (?),[5]) to go to the two dukes with the news. One of them

[1]) I take *findum* from *findaim, finnaim*, 'I learn, know'.
[2]) Or perhaps, 'shall we bear'? Can *da m-beram*, 'if we bear', have an interrogative force? Cf. *iarraim ort-sa da cathaighter ris*, RC. XIX, 286.
[3]) Literally, 'leave it between me and the fight'.
[4]) On *cetfadach* see p. 303 b, above.
[5]) With *cros-ledartha* cf. *cros-guinech* in Meyer's 'Contributions', p. 530. *crobhainech* is not clear to me. *cro-bhdinech* might be compared with *cro-bán*, 'deadly pale'; *cro-bhainnech* would apparently mean 'dropping gore' (cf. *cro-bhainne*, 'Irische Texte' IV, 392).

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said: 'It is an evil place in which ye put us', said he, 'for not a fugitive of our number escaped alive except only twenty of us, wounded and scarred and mutilated, with the loss of limbs and of strength'. Anger and great rage seized the Duke of Lorraine on hearing this news, and he asked who did these great deeds. The messengers said that there were three columns of defence and pillars of valor who had done it, namely Guy of Warwick, terrible and valiant, from the noble, fair land of the English, and Sir Tirri, strong, powerful and contentious, the son of Earl Aimbri, and Sir Heront, brave and high-spirited, the bold and resolute warrior. The Duke of Lombardy said: 'I had rather [p. 69] come upon those three in the city of Gormisi than have a great part of the wealth of the whole world; and I will surround them', said he, 'to-morrow in the bright, early dawn of the morning'. As for Sir Guy, after the triumph and victory in that battle, he came back to the city of Gormisi with the honors of the adventure and with booty. And this was the end of that battle.

27. As for Sir Guy, on the next morning he went to hear mass, and left the church afterwards, and saw the companies and detachments of a good army approaching the city. Sir Guy said to Tirri: 'The strong, brave hosts are coming against us, and let us go out on the smooth plains and into the open country to fight and give them hard battle'. They went at once, and they fought a long, brave battle with each other. Then came the strong, brave Duke of Lombardy and Sir Heront together in the battle-field, and Sir Heront said: 'Envious and fratricidal duke', said he, 'thou hast unjustly deceived me and my lord'. And he spoke thus, and gave the duke a hard, bold blow, so that he knocked half of the helmet, set with jewels and tight-bound,[1]) from the duke's head; and he made a wide, deep wound in his shoulder, and threw him violently to the ground, and leaped down upon him to cut off his head. And then came a hundred brave Lombards between them, and took the duke away from Sir Heront, and Sir Heront pursued him through the troop. Then numerous warriors of Lombardy collected about Sir Heront, and killed his horse, and his sword was broken. And then a manly, valiant French knight, who was in the retinue of the Duke of Lombardy, came up and said: 'Sir Heront', said he, 'give thyself up to me now, for thou hast no strength to defend thyself'. 'What is thy name?' said Heront. 'Sir Gailiard is my name', said he. Sir Heront said: 'I would give myself up to thee, if thou wouldst give me thy pledge to save me'. 'I give it', said Gailiard. Then Heront gave himself up, and he was taken in captivity to the duke. Then Sir Guy

[1]) Cf. the use of *cengailte* as applied to a crown, p. 317 a, above.

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asked for news of Sir Heront, and someone told him that he saw him taken captive. Sir Guy said: 'Tirri', said he, 'let us follow Sir Heront, for I shall not find a better time to release him than now'. And they followed him quickly, and they did not overtake him till he had been brought into the city. Then Sir Gailiard turned·upon Guy, and they fought a fierce, terrible battle with each other, and Sir Guy gave Sir Gailiard a keen thrust with his spear. [p. 70] Sir Gailiard said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'give me my life, and let me be thy man; and it is I who saved Sir Heront from his death', said he; 'and if I can, I will bring him back with me'. And he pledged his word to that, and obtained his life. As for Sir Gailiard, after this he proceeded to the Duke of Lombardy, and asked him for Sir Heront, to give him back to Sir Guy, and the duke refused him this. Gailiard said that he would go to fight and make war with Sir Guy against the duke because he would not give up Sir Heront to be sent back to Guy of Warwick, — 'and I will grant thee no delay but to-night only before I go to accomplish thy destruction'. Then came another knight of the duke's followers to fight with Guy, and they waged a battle, fierce, angry and heroic, with each other, and Sir Guy gave the knight a very keen thrust with the spear, and threw him to the ground, and leaped down upon him to behead him. The knight *dixit*: 'Guy', said he, 'grant me my life, and I will bring thee a good hostage for myself, namely Sir Heront'. 'If thou wouldst pledge thy word to that', said Guy, 'I would give thee thy life'. Then he gave [the pledge], and obtained his life, and proceeded to the Duke of Lombardy, and asked for Sir Heront to give him back to Sir Guy, and he obtained this at once; and Sir Guy rejoiced at Sir Heront's coming. Then the Duke of Lombardy with his company pursued Sir Guy, when he saw him alone without a host, for there was no one with Sir Guy at that time but Sir Tirri and Sir Heront. Sir Guy spurred his steed through the very midst of the Lombard host, and neither Tirri nor Sir Heront expected ever to see him; and the Duke of Lombardy met Sir Guy on that battle-field, and he gave the duke a strong, hard, violent blow, and the duke bent before that blow, and the back part of his helmet was struck off him, and Guy pierced the armor on his back, and through it he cut his fair golden garment and the strong-limbed gelding[1]) with a single blow; and [Guy] escaped from them in spite of him, and put the banner of St. George on a staff, and he would fain have attacked the army. The Duke of Lombardy said: 'The men yonder have done us much harm to-day', said he, 'and they have now attacked

[1]) I am not sure that *caillte*, 'gelded', is appropriate to the context; *cailltech*, 'destructive', would seem more natural. Cf. also *in cursuin calma cnamremur*, p. 332 b.


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us long and bravely, and let us avoid them, and go to the city of Pani, for we are not able to defend ourselves to-day (?)',[1]) said he. Sir Guy came back to the city of Aimbri with abundance of all kinds of possessions [p. 71] after having won the victory of the enemy. After the Duke of Lombardy got up from his illness, he came to the Duke of Lorraine, and said to him: 'Duke of Lorraine', said he, 'Sir Guy of Warwick and Sir Tirri will take thy realm from thee; and they will do the same to me, if they can; and do thou follow my advice', said he: 'send messengers to Sir Tirri and Guy of Warwick, and promise to make an alliance with Tirri and peace with Earl Aimbri and Sir Guy; and say that thou hast a wedding-feast for them. And I will be with my followers in our strong battle-armor in concealment near you; and we will capture Tirri and Sir Guy and Sir Heront; and Sir Tirri and Sir Guy and Sir Heront shall be bound prisoners in my hands, and Earl Aimbri with his followers in thy hands; and do what thou wilt with them'. The Duke of Lorraine said that he would never betray Sir Guy, 'for I am under great obligation to him', said the duke. *Dixit* the Duke of Lombardy: 'It was not in earnest that I said that then', said he. 'Howbeit, take them to thee and make peace with them'. Thus the Duke of Lombardy planned treachery against Guy.

28. As for the Duke of Lorraine, then, he sent a bishop of high rank to Earl Aimbri with his followers, and promised them peace and an alliance, and [said that] a banquet, long and bountiful, was prepared for them. Earl Aimbri rejoiced at these words. *Dixit* Sir Guy: 'Earl Aimbri', said he, 'believe not those sweetly-false, pleasant words. Duke Otun has betrayed me twice before, and it is he who is counsellor to the Duke of Lorraine, and I would believe that he would do it the third time if he could'. *Dixit* Earl Aimbri: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'have no fear or terror, for we do not desire peace with the two dukes there more than they desire it with us, and they will not betray us'. Sir Guy said: 'If you go there', said he, 'take strong battle-armor with you'. *Dixit* Earl Aimbri: 'We will not take it', said he; 'if we go to make peace, there should not be a challenge to battle upon us'. Then Earl Aimbri went with his followers to the castle of the Duke of Lorraine, without weapon or armor, but with splendid gowns of silk and fur[2]) about them. Then they saw the Duke of Lombardy coming toward them with an army, armed and equipped, which took captive Tirri and Heront and the rest of the company besides. As for Sir Guy, he was strong and bold in the midst of the enemy, smiting them

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[1]) Reading and translation both uncertain.
[2]) See p. 322 b, above.


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bravely with his fists and his elbows. And he seized a stout, strong club out of the hands of one of the knights, and dealt him a blow with it so that [p. 72] he fell before him. Sir Guy saw a knight coming against him, and a very fine steed beneath him, and Sir Guy said to him: 'If thou wouldst give me that horse under thee', said he, 'I would help thee yet, if I should live'. 'I swear by my God that thou shalt have it', said the knight leaping down; and Guy mounted it instantly and sped bravely away among the hosts, and two knights fell full quickly at his hands, and he gave their horses to the knight who had given him the steed before. As for Sir Guy, then, many brave knights of Lombardy collected around him, and he made for himself a path through them, crowded and clamorous;[1]) and the Lombards pursued him, and there chanced to be a deep stream before him, and he took an eager, bold leap on his horse into the river, and passed over the stream; and there escaped of his company, without being captured or killed, only Sir Guy and Sir Gailiard. Thus far the account of the treachery. The Duke of Lombardy took Sir Tirri with him in bonds, and the Duke of Lorraine took Sir Heront and the other prisoners away.

29. As for Sir Guy, then, he went to Earl Aimistir Amunndae,[2]) and the earl made Sir Guy welcome. *Dixit* the earl: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I am thine, and all my possessions'. Then Sir Guy told how he had been betrayed, and how Earl Aimbri and his son Sir Heront had been taken, and all the hosts besides. Earl Aimistir made complaint and heavy lamentation at this news. Sir Guy was in the city three days, sad and melancholy, and he said: 'Earl Munndae', said he, 'it is sad for us to be like this'. Earl Munndae said: 'There is a great,[3]) rich city near us here, and it is said that the third part of the world is in its possession. And the Turk, mighty and powerful, is lord and chief there; and no man ever went against him who came back afterwards alive; and single combat or double is held there, or the number that anyone desires'. Sir Guy said that he would go himself into that city. 'Do not go', said Earl Aimistir, 'for thou wilt not come back from there alive over the same road'. Sir Guy said: 'I would not fail to go there for an abundance of wealth, and I will not take any man with me'. 'Indeed I will go with thee', said Gailiard, 'for I will not leave thee till the day of my death'. They went on their way then into the forest, and Sir Guy blew a strong, powerful blast on

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[1]) The sense of *coitchenn* 7 *congairech* seems to be 'public and noisy', i. e. like a street.

[2]) This is a corruption of Amis de la Mounteyne. See above, p. 13.

[3]) *catharrdha*. I am not sure what this means when applied to a city.

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the end of the bugle that hung at his neck. When the Turk heard this, he said in anger and in great wrath: 'Who would dare to make this havoc[1]) in my forest?' said he. [p. 73] A knight of the Turk's company went to Guy, and told him to come into the Turk's presence. Sir Guy came to the Turk. The Turk said to him: 'Knight', said he, 'it will prove to be no time of luck or fortune [for thee] that thou didst blow the blast there on the end of the bugle', said he. Sir Guy said: 'I did not know', said he, 'that there was harm in blowing the blast there, for I was not hunting deer or game, but only myself astray and seeking information'. There was a very strong steed under the Turk, and Sir Guy said: 'Rich and prosperous lord, give me that steed under thee', said he. The Turk said he would not give it, but that he would give him instant death. Sir Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'it is not warlike of you to kill without mercy two knights who have come into your power; and if it seems best to thee to make trial of us in our armor, send thy choice of two knights from thy company to fight against us'. 'Who art thou thyself?' said the Turk. Sir Guy said: 'I am a well-known English knight', said he, 'and Guy of Warwick is my name'. As to the Turk, he gave Guy a good welcome and said to him: 'Thou hast done a good thing for me before this', said he, 'for Duke Otun's brother fell at thy hands, who has done me injury before now. And the good horse shall be thine, Guy', said he, 'and there is not in the world altogether a horse equal to it; and if I had three like it, thou shouldst get them'. The Turk gave another fine horse to Gailiard in Guy's honor. Guy thanked the [Turkish] lord for that present, and they went on to meet Earl Munndae. Thus far Sir Guy's adventure in the land of the Turks.

30. As for Sir Guy, after he had been nine days in the company of the earl, he said: 'It is a long time', said he, 'that I have been without going to get news of Sir Tirri and Sir Heront; and I am afraid they are slain, and I will go now to find out'. Earl Munndae said: 'I will send ten hundred knights of my company with thee'. Guy said that it would delay him long to wait for them, and that he would not take anyone with him. 'I will go with thee', said Sir Gailiard. And they went on their way then, and Guy said to Gailiard: 'Mount thy horse', said he, 'and take this good horse beside thee'; and Gailiard did so. As for Guy, now, he rubbed black [stain] [p. 74] on them both, and put a black, dingy, unrecognisable color on them, and in that shape they went to meet the Duke of Lombardy. Guy said: 'It is a long way, I have come to thee out of the land of

[1]) Cf. *fian-choscar*, as applied to a hunt.

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the blue men',[1]) said he; 'and I have heard that there is not in the world a stronger hand than thine, or a duke who is richer than thou art. And I have brought thee the one best horse in the whole world to sell him to thee; and he has no fault but one, namely, that he will not suffer a driver to manage him except the one driver who has known him well'. 'What is thy name?' said the duke. 'Gebun Marcel[2]) is my name', said he, 'and George the gillie'. 'Welcome is your coming to me', said the duke; 'and I had rather have had that horse than many riches when I captured the prisoner that is with me; for if I had, Sir Guy of Warwick would not have escaped by the speed of his horse.' 'Who is the prisoner that thou hast?' said Guy. 'Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri', said he. 'Is he with thee?' said Guy. 'He is indeed', said the duke. 'It is a pity I was not with thee at that time', said Guy, 'for I would kill that son mercilessly', said he, 'and I would not make a prisoner of him; for Sir Tirri killed my own brother', said he. 'And give me charge of those prisoners, for it is I that will have no mercy upon him'. Then the Duke of Lombardy gave the keys of the prison to Guy. As for Guy, after this he went into the cruel prison where Sir Tirri was, and asked news of him how he was. 'Who art thou?' said Tirri. 'I am Guy of Warwick', said he. 'That is ill for me', said Tirri, 'for I had hope until now of getting help from thee; and yet it is worse for me that thou shouldst be in the danger thou art in than that I myself should be', said he. There was a Lombard near by, listening to that conversation. The Lombard said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'thou shalt not leave this prison till the time of thy[3]) death'. Guy said: 'Keep it secret about me', said he, 'and thou shalt have plenty of gold and treasure from me'. The Lombard refused to accept that from Guy, and set out to tell the news to the duke; and Guy followed him, and gave him a strong, bold blow with the great iron key that was in his hand, and he dropped dead, without life, and he fell in the presence of the duke. The duke said: 'Thou shalt fall thyself for that act, false traitor', said he. Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'I do not know why it was wrong to kill him, for he was on the point of letting Tirri out of prison, [p. 75] and gave him his choice of the food and drink of the city'. The duke said: 'Thou hast killed him justly', said he; 'and now we will give thee assurance of

[1]) Simply 'men of dark color'. The Middle English says from 'ferre contree'. For *fir gorma* (= Norse *Blámenn*) cf. O'Donovan's 'Fragments of Irish Annals', p. 162, und A. Bugge, 'Caithreim Cellachain Caisil', p. 141.

[2]) *Yon* in the Fr. and Engl. versions, where George the Gillie is not mentioned. The source of *Gebun Marcel*, which strangely resembles *Giboin le Mancell* in 'Raoul de Cambrai', is unknown to me. *Marcyll* is the name of a Saracen in the 'Foure Sonnes of Aymon'.

[3]) The Irish has *fur m-bais*, plural.

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peace'. Sir Guy went into the prison, and broke the gray-iron fetters that were on Tirri, and gave him a full supply of food and drink, and said to him: 'Tirri', said he, 'go out to Earl Aimistir in the early part of the night, and wait for me there; and if it be God's will, it is shortly that I will be with thee there, and Uisin, the daughter of the Duke of Louvain'. Thus went the night with Guy. And the Duke of Lombardy said to the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine: 'Make thyself ready, lady', said he, 'for our marriage mass shall be celebrated to-morrow; for thou didst not ask for more than twelve days, delay before marrying, and they have passed'. Uisin said: 'My lord', said she, 'I will do thy will in this matter'. As for the duke, he went forth into the beautiful, wild forest to kill boars and deer and [other] creatures in preparation for the wedding on the morrow. Guy went at that time to the lady, and said to her cheerfully and joyously: 'Lady', said he, 'dost thou recognize me?' 'I do not', said she. 'I am Guy of Warwick', said he. The lady said: 'That was not the color that I saw upon Guy', said she, 'for he was fairer than the mass of men'. Then Sir Guy showed the lady a mark that was upon him, and thereupon she recognised him. Sir Guy said: 'Lady', said he, 'get me good armor and weapons to-night, and by God's will I will carry thee with me away from the Lombards'. And she gave Guy armor and weapons secretly. As for the duke, the next morning he put Uisin on a clear white mule to go to the temple. And Sir Guy followed them on his steed, and strong, indestructible armor upon him, and a warrior's weapons in his hand; and he overtook them, and said: 'Duke Otun', said he, 'I am Sir Guy of Warwick; and now be on thy guard, for thou hast deceived me three times, and hast slain my knights in the wilderness of this land'. Then Sir Guy drove a spear eagerly and boldly through the duke's body, and afterwards gave him a blow with his sword, and struck off his head, and split him as far as the navel. And he took the duke's head with him, and put the daughter of the Duke of Louvain behind Gailiard, and in this way they left the city. Bold warriors of the Lombards bore down upon them, and the brother of the duke said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'treacherously hast thou killed the Duke of Lombardy, and thou thyself art a poor compensation for him'. Guy said: 'There is nothing better for thee than to let him go his way (?),[1]) for the duke deserved to be killed by me many times over'. [p. 76] Guy turned to the duke's brother, and struck off his head with one blow, and killed ten more of the Lombards along with him, and they left the Lombards thus. When the daughter of the Duke of Louvain had put away her fear, she said: 'It is a sad deed the Lombards will do now, namely, to kill Tirri without mercy'. Guy said:

[1]) Read *na a ligen*, or perhaps *na mo ligen*?

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'He has nothing to fear', said he, 'for I told the jailer to be kind to him, and by God's will thou shalt see him soon'. Then they went on their way to the city of Munntani, where Earl Aimistir was, and they found Sir Tirri awaiting them there, having been bathed clean and healed from the wounds of the fetters and the hard irons. As for the Lombards, after they turned from Guy, they went to the prison to kill Tirri, and they found nothing there but the place where he had been. Then they brought the Duke of Lombardy into the church, and he was buried by them there. Thus did Sir Guy put an end to his war with the Duke of Lombardy and his knights.

31. As for Sir Guy, then, he said that he would go to find Sir Heront. 'I will go with thee, [and] five hundred knights', said Earl Aimistir. Thereupon they set out, and they pillaged and laid waste every city and castle that they came upon in the possession of the Duke of Louvain, until they came to the city of Gormisi where Earl Aimbri was; and great joy seized Earl Aimbri when he saw his son and Sir Guy approaching, and a swoon and a fainting-fit came upon him through the excess of his joy. Then Sir Guy put the head of the Duke of Lombardy on the top of a stake at a cross-road in the city of Gormisi, and he called Sir Gailiard to him and said to him: 'Noble and honorable knight', said he, 'I will give thee command and leadership of my army, and do thou take six hundred bold knights with thee, and bring me prisoners as a pledge for Heront'. As for Sir Gailiard, then, he went on to Louvain, and he was destroying it without mercy, and he captured fifteen castles there, and seven earls and ten barons. [p. 77] This news came to the Duke of Lorraine, and fear and terror seized him, and he went to his own steward, and took counsel with him. The duke said: 'My realm has been laid waste and pillaged', said he, 'and the armies and great troop of Guy of Warwick are coming to capture from me this city in which I am; and which is better for me, to mount a swift horse and take flight, or to stay and be captured or re-captured?'[1]) The steward said: 'Take my advice', said he, 'if thou desirest to act for thine own profit; for Guy of Warwick struck off the head of the Duke of Lombardy and put that head on a stake at the cross-road of the market in the city of Gormisi; and he took Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri, with him, and Uisin, thy own daughter. Battle or combat against him is not possible, and he will take the world if he wishes to; and furthermore, thou hast in thy hands a brave, victorious knight of his company, Sir Heront; and do thou let him out in honor of Sir Guy, and all the other prisoners along with him, and give them their own possessions,

[1]) I take *agabail* to be *athgabail*, 'reprisal, re-capture'.



and much besides along with them. And send those prisoners in an embassy to Guy to ask favor of him, and to get assurance of peace, for Heront is one of the two advisers who have the strongest influence with him in the world, — namely Sir Tirri and Sir Heront; and Guy himself is merciful'. The Duke of Lorraine said: 'My blessing straightway upon thee', said he, 'for it is good counsel thou hast given me'. As for the Duke of Lorraine, then, he broke the bonds and fetters of all the prisoners, and gave them every possession that had been taken from them, whether great or small, and an abundance of his wealth besides. And he sent them to Guy, and charged them to procure his advantage and to establish peace for him with Guy for the love of God. Then the Duke of Lorraine told Sir Heront how Sir Guy had killed the Duke of Lombardy, and how he had taken Sir Tirri and Uisin with him, and every other deed that he had done. This news was sweet to Sir Heront, because he had not had a single word of news about Guy from the time he himself was captured until that hour. As for Sir Gailiard, he advanced with his six hundred knights to the city of Gormisi, and Sir Guy was in consultation that day on the top of a hill over against the city of Gormisi; and there was no one with him but Sir Tirri and Earl Aimistir. Aimistir said: 'I do not know who the hosts are yonder', said he; 'for if they are an army bent on war and battle, they are too near us; and I will go myself on my horse to meet them'. And he went then, and recognised Sir Heront, and they bade each other a friendly welcome. [p. 78] Sir Heront said: 'Aimistir', said he, 'I beg thee, ask Sir Guy for me to give promise of peace to the Duke of Lorraine, for I am indebted to him, and I partook of food and drink at his table, and he did not put bond or fetter on me; and not a bit of harm has come to me or to any of the other prisoners, and great is our gain from what he has given us'. They went on then to meet Guy and Tirri, and all together they begged for peace for the Duke of Lorraine; and Guy refused to give them that. Sir Heront went upon his knees in Guy's presence, and the eight hundred knights along with him, and they all together begged Guy to give assurance of peace to the Duke of Lorraine. Guy said: 'I will grant you that request, though it is hard for me'. As for Gailiard, now, he and his hosts were at that time laying waste and devastating Louvain, and a messenger was sent to him, and he was brought back to the city of Gormisi. And another messenger was sent to the Duke of Lorraine to ask him to prepare a [wedding-feast for his] daughter, to give her to Sir Tirri, the son of Earl Aimbri. After this they went together to the city of the Duke of Lorraine, and they made peace and an alliance, and celebrated the wedding. And thus was waged the war of the two dukes with Sir Guy of Warwick.

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32. Once when Sir Guy went to the hunt in Lorraine, a wild boar started up before him, and he set his dogs upon it, and followed it on his horse; and Guy parted from his company at that time, and pursued the boar through many well-defended and prosperous lands. And he overtook it at last, as it was killing his dogs; and he dealt the boar a strong, bold blow, and killed it, and gave its heart to his dogs, and blew a loud blast upon the end of the horn that was hanging at his neck, to proclaim the slaughter[1]) of the boar that had fallen before him. And the blast of that horn was heard in the city which was called Florentine, and Duke Florentine bade that the man who blew that horn in his forest be brought to him in dishonor. The son of Duke Florentine went to Sir Guy, and struck him boldly with his fist. Sir Guy said: 'Thou hast struck me unjustly for killing the boar that I have pursued through many lands'. The duke's son said: 'I will inflict death upon thee for that', said he. When Guy heard this, he struck the son of Duke Florentine on the head with the end of the horn, swinging it by his girdle, [p. 79] and he died. As for Sir Guy then, he proceeded through the forest, and saw the city of Florentine before him, and went into it, and asked food of Duke Florence[2]) for the love of God, because he had been three days and three nights without food, or drink, or sleep, in pursuit of that boar. The duke ordered food to be given to Guy, and plenty was given him and he was eating it. Then Guy heard a cry of sorrow and lamentation in the city, and he saw a body laid on the floor in the royal hall, and the duke was asking what body they had. 'Thy son', they said, 'who has been killed'. 'Who killed him?' said the duke. 'It seems likely to us', said they, 'that the knight who is eating at the table yonder killed him'. When the duke heard this, he seized a broad-trenched, warlike sword, and drew it out, and struck at Guy with it; and Guy dropped behind the shelter of the table and let the blow go by. As for Sir Guy then, he seized a sharp-edged dagger that was at his side, and was defending himself bravely; and all the people of the city collected around him, and six of them fell at his hands. Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'it is nothing but treachery on your part to kill in your house a single knight or a single man to whom you have given food; and if thou[3]) art a true nobleman, give me leave to go out through the gate of the city on my horse, and give me my sword and my shield, and thou shalt have leave to follow me, and it will be less digrace for you[3]) to kill me like that than to kill me like this'.

[1]) Perhaps *comartha* should be supplied before *cosgurtha*.
[2]) The names are confused. The Middle English versions have *Earl* (or *King*) *Florentine*.
[3]) The shift of number is in the Irish.

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The duke said: 'I give thee leave to depart thus', said he; 'and take thy horse and thy arms'. Guy seized his arms, and mounted his horse, and set out; and the people of the city were lying in wait for him, and attached him on every side, and he killed three of them in that onslaught. And the duke struck him a savage blow, and drove a spear through his shield. Sir Guy gave the duke a keen thrust of the spear, and overthrew him, and took his horse from him; and after that he looked upon him. And Guy said: 'Old man, aged and infirm', said he, 'it were more fitting for thee to be alone in church praying fervently to God than to be fighting now'. The duke said: 'It is seventy years now since I have taken arms before, and it would be a delight to me to have thee fall at my hands in compensation for my son'. Guy said: 'I will not kill an old man like thee', said he, 'and I will give thee thy horse'. As for Guy, he went on his way, and the assembled people of the city and of the whole land pursued him, and he killed sixty of them, [p. **80**] and got away afterwards in spite of them. And he was travelling on horseback a day and a night, and came to Lorraine, and the people of the city were all glad to see him, for they did not know what had become of him from the day of the hunt until that time; and Sir Guy related his adventure to them from beginning to end. Sir Guy said: 'Tirri', said he, 'I have been seven years without seeing my father or my mother, and now I am going to England'. 'Do not go', said Tirri, 'for there are many hosts in Lombardy, and they will make war upon me after thy departure, if they hear that thou art gone. And I will give thee the city of Gormisi, and I will stay myself in the city of Lorraine'. Sir Guy said: 'I will not accept that', said he; 'for it is known to thee, Tirri, that I am in love with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and I am going to see her now'. As for Sir Guy, he proceeded to England, and went to Winchester where the king was, and the English nobles about him; and they made Guy welcome, and heard of every deed of bravery he had done on his wanderings. It was not long thus with them when they saw a knight approaching on a steed. The king asked news of him. The knight said: 'I have bad news', said he, 'for a black, devilish dragon has come to this country, and greater than a well-filled tun is the shaggy, deep-dark neck that is on him. And he kills every animal that he comes upon, whether small or big, and the men of the land are not able to combat him, and it will be necessary to give up the land and the country to him'. Fear and terror seized the king at this news, and for a time he was silent. Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'have no fear of this, for by God's will I will win the battle of the dragon yonder for you', said he. And thereupon Guy rose, and put on his battle-armor, and took three knights with him, Sir Heront and two other knights besides,

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and went against the dragon. And he left the three knights half a mile behind him, and upon pain of death he forbade them to follow him to give him help. As for Sir Guy then, he was three hours in battle and fierce conflict with that bold dragon, and he could not injure him in that time. Then the dragon made a strong, firm knot of his stout, strong-ended tail about Sir Guy and his steed, so that he broke and crushed together the bones and the heart of the brave, strong courser, and Sir Guy was thrown to the ground in peril. As for Sir Guy then, he rose in strength and courage and struck him a powerful blow, and broke his tail off with great might. The dragon struck Guy a powerful blow with the butt of the tail, and gave [p. 81] him a dangerous wound. And when Sir Guy could not wound[1]) him in front, he began to cut and wound him from behind; and he struck him a strong, brave blow in the side, and broke three broad, great ribs in him, and the dragon fell, before him, and let out a horrible howl. And he raised his tail high in the air then, and Guy gave him a swift, sudden blow in the breast, and made two pieces of him, just equal in size and weight, and there issued from him a black, malodorous vapor. And Guy struck off his head, and measured him, and he was thirty feet long; and he went to the king of the Saxons, and showed him the dragon's head, and everyone praised that fight.

33. After Guy had accomplished this feat, the king of the English said: 'Sir Guy', said he, 'I will give thee thy choice of the dukedoms in England, besides gold and silver and an abundance of all riches in addition'. Sir Guy said: 'If I had desired it, my lord', said he, 'I might have taken the empire of Constantinople, besides every other possession that was offered to me, and I might have taken a dukedom in Germany, and I might have taken an earldom in France, and I might have taken an earldom in Britanny, and I did not take any one of them, and I will not take this from you, my lord', said he; 'and much honor be thine.[2]) And my father has died', said he, 'and I will go to see my own domain now'. Guy took leave of the king, and went to his own home, and he found an abundance of gold and silver and precious stones besides sent from the king because he had not taken any other domain from him. Guy said: 'Sir Heront', said he, 'it is long that thou hast followed me, and much of my evil fortune that thou hast had, and thou hast no lordship of thy own; and I give thee this manor, and to thy heirs after thee, and a thousand pounds besides every year'. And in this way he gave away his whole domain to his knights, and said that the earldom of Warwick

[1]) MS. *deriud* (?); doubtless for *dergudh*, as a few lines before.
[2]) This formula recurs on p. 353 b, below.

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did not seem to him too small for himself. Then Sir Guy went to the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Warwick paid him great honor, and thanked God that he had come out of the great perils in which he had been. Then Sir Guy went to Felice, the earl's daughter. Sir Guy said: 'Felice', said he, 'it would have been easy for me to get for a wife a lady whose wealth and patrimony was greater than thine, and I refused them all for love of thee'. Felice said: 'Sir Guy', said she, 'it would have been easy for me to marry a king, or a prince, or an emir, [p. 82] or a duke, or an earl, if my love had not been kept for thee.[1]) And I should never have had a man or a husband, if thou hadst not returned alive'. Sweet was that speech to Guy, for the lady had not laid bare her love to Sir Guy up to this time. Thereupon Guy went to the earl. And the earl asked Guy what kept him without a wife. Guy said: 'I have felt unendurable love for a woman since my youth, and if I do not obtain that woman, I will never take a wife', said he. The earl said: 'Wilt thou be pleased with my daughter, together with all my possessions? For I have no son or daughter but her, and if it should seem fitting to thee to take her there is no son-in-law in the world that we would rather have than thee'. Guy said: 'It is thy daughter who is the one woman I choose to marry in all the world'. That saying gave the Earl great joy. The earl went to Felice and asked her what kept her unmarried, and plenty of noblemen wooing her; or whether she chose to be always without a husband. Felice said: 'I have loved a man since my youth, and I will take no husband till the time of my death unless I get him'. The earl said: 'Does Sir Guy of Warwick please thee?' said he. 'He does indeed', said the lady, 'for he is my choice for a husband'. Sweet was this answer to the earl. The earl went to Guy, and set the time for the marriage on the seventh day from that day. And the earl and Sir Guy went to the hunt every day during that time in preparation for the wedding. Then messengers were sent from him to the English nobles, both laity and clergy; and the king of the English, and the queen, and the prince came to that wedding; and there came bishops and archbishops and abbots and herenachs, and friars of the orders, and canons, and monks; and that wedding was nobly celebrated. And after this they enjoyed the wedding-feast, and Sir Guy distributed gold and silver and garments of silk and gold-thread and gems of crystal and carbuncle and all kinds of treasures besides. And to all who desired a gift or a reward Guy gave it ...[2]) to the door of the house that day of gold and silver and virtuous stones. And there were a multitude of knights, gracious and

[1]) Literally: 'in hoarding in thee'.
[2]) I cannot translate *do bo maith*. Apparently something is omitted.

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splendid, attending upon that wedding; and there was much music and minstrelsy at that wedding; and there was not a man of them all whom Guy did not repay with worthy rewards at his own pleasure. [p. 83] They were three days celebrating that wedding, and then they went to their own places and abodes. Thus far the marriage of the Earl of Warwick's daughter with Sir Guy.

34. As for Sir Guy, after this he was forty days and nights with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick. At the end of that time Guy went one day to hunt, and many wild creatures were killed by him that day. And though that was pleasant, it was not there that his mind was, but upon his own sins, for the fear of the Lord was upon him. And it was his desire to make amends for his youth. Sir Guy sent messengers at that time to Johannes de Alcino, a holy father, and he came to him at once. Guy said: 'Holy father', said he, 'I put the charge of my soul upon thee; and hear thou my confession quickly in honor of three Persons, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. For many are my sins; for until the sands of the sea are counted, and the grass of the field, and the leaves of the forest, and the stars of the sky, there will not be made a count or an estimate [1]) of the men and the innocent lives that fell at my hands because of my love for this world, to get myself honor and high repute, [and] to put my fame above everyone; and yet I never killed a man from love of God'. *Dixit* Johannes de Alcino: 'If thou hadst done a third of that for the love of God, God would be satisfied with thee and would forgive thee thy sin'. Johannes de Alcino said: [2]) 'Sir Guy', said he, 'do thou now take my advice: keep the ten commandments which Christ left on earth with Moses in the tablets; love God beyond every love in heaven and earth, *et cetera*; avoid the mortal sins, pride, anger, sloth, envy, lust, gluttony, avarice and backbiting; and be merciful, humble, prayerful, pitiful, compassionate, grateful and full of benediction. Johannes said: 'Observe, Guy', said he, 'how the saints who are in heaven attained the kingdom: part of them by fasting and prayer, by pilgrimages and vigils, by frequent confession and many alms; others by suffering, by pain, by purgatory in this life, (?) [3]) by burning, by crucifixion, by the distress of every disease and every pain, for the love of Jesus'. And Johannes said: 'Guy', said he, 'make thy confession clean, and be humble before God, [p. 84] and be ashamed of thyself, and know that our parents were without sin in Paradise only three hours because of the deception of the adversary. And they were driven out

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[1]) *rocumdach*, literally 'covering', might mean here 'defence, excuse'.
[2]) On the source of this whole passage cf. p. 15, above.
[3]) Or simply 'purification from the world'?


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of Paradise, and found much evil in the lands everywhere, and afterwards went to hell — and not they alone but everyone who was descended from them — until Christ suffered passion and punishment for our salvation. O Guy', said he, 'believe what the apostles say in the creed: namely, believe in one God Almighty who made heaven and earth; and believe also in Jesus Christ, who was born of Mary without loss of her virginity, without the knowledge of a man; and believe that he redeemed the seed of Adam in the midst of the tree of suffering; and believe that he rose from the dead on the third day after the harrowing of hell; and that he went thereafter to the right hand of his Father; and that he shall come to pass judgment upon both the quick and the dead; and believe in the Holy Spirit, the third part of the Deity, and understand further that there is one God in Trinity, namely the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and believe in the resurrection of the men of the world, and the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting, and the communion of the saints and the angels, where there is life without death and health without disease'.

35. When Guy had completed forty days in his wife's company, he was [there] one night, and the daughter of the earl, with their breasts against the chamber window, and Sir Guy said: 'Felice', said he, 'thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and name him Roighnebron, and he shall be a good son; and give him to Sir Heront to be brought up. And Felice', said he, 'not more numerous are the stars thou seest in the firmament than the men who have fallen at my hands because of my love for thee; and if it had been for the love of God that I had done it, He would be satisfied with me; and now I will do service unto God'. Felice said: 'Guy', said she, 'build monasteries and temples and chapels and bridges and other spiritual works, and make a house of hospitality for the Lord's poor, and still abide [here]'. 'I will not do it', said Guy: 'but I will go to traverse the land that my Lord Jesus traversed'. Guy gave Felice his sword, and told her to keep it for his son; and he said that there was not in the world a sword that was better than this; and he cut short his spear and made a staff of it. Felice said: 'There is a woman in another land who is dearer to thee than I am, and it is to her thou art going'. 'There is none', said Guy, 'and yet we will surely not stay and abandon this journey'. And then they kissed each other, [p. 85] and thereupon they fell in a swoon; and Guy got up after this, and set out on his way. 'Art thou surely pleased to go?' said she. 'I am in truth', said he. 'Take half of this ring with thee', said she; and Guy took the ring, and broke it, and left half of the ring wth her and took the other half himself. And Guy said: 'Do not believe that I have met death until thou get

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my half of the ring'. Thus did Guy put away from himself the world.

36. As for the earl's daughter, after Sir Guy had left her, she was three days and three nights in her chamber without food or sleep; and she took Sir Guy's sword and she would gladly have driven it through herself. And she said: 'I would kill myself', said she, 'but that I fear it would be said that Sir Guy killed me'. And she went to her father after that, and told him that Guy had departed. The earl said: 'It is to test thee he has done that'. 'Not so indeed', said Felice, 'and I shall never see him again'. As for the earl, after he had heard this news, he fell down in a swoon. And afterwards he sent to Sir Heront and related the news to him. Sir Heront said that he would explore the world until he found Sir Guy. He set out again, and he did not leave unexplored a land of those he had traversed before with Guy; and he searched in Rome for him, and got no news of him, and they came together in another city, and Sir Heront did not recognise Sir Guy after his change of name (Poor John, namely, he was calling himself), and his body emaciated[1]) with fasting and his hair grown long; and Guy did not betray his identity to Heront. Sir Heront returned to England, and reported that he had not found a word of news about Guy, and great were the lamentations the English made in mourning him. Thus far the sorrow of the English for Guy, and Sir Heront's search.

37. As for Sir Guy, he made a praiseworthy pilgrimage of the world to the city of Jerusalem, and from there to Alexandria, and he was three [years?] travelling in those cities. And outside of the city he came upon an old man, advanced in years, weeping sorrowfully. And Guy asked him the cause of his grief, and he did not tell him. Guy said: [p. 86] 'I beg thee for the sake of Christ's passion to tell me thy story'. 'I will do so now', said the old man. 'Earl Jonutas is my name', said the old man, 'and I am a Christian; and Craidhamar,[2]) the King of Alexandria came with his followers to lay waste my land and my city, and I fought a battle with them, and defeated them, and we were slaying them mercilessly as far as this city. And they made an ambush for us in the woods yonder, and we were deceived, and I was captured, and my fifteen sons, and my followers were slain; and we have been [here] seven years, and we have not had our half portion of food or drink in that time. And it is a fixed custom with the Sultan every year to celebrate a feast

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[1]) *truailleadh* means usually 'defile, corrupt', and perhaps the reference here is to the bodily neglect that accompanied religious asperities rather than to the emaciation of abstinence.

[2]) *Triamour* in the English and French romancers. See p. 13, above.

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on the anniversary of the day on which he was born; and all his followers are with him at that feast. And Craidhamar, the lord of this city, and his son Faber went to that feast, and Sodoni, the Sultan's son, asked Faber to play a game with him, and they played the game. The Sultan's son became angry, and struck Faber with his fist, and Faber said: 'If there were any witness of it, I would not let thee dishonor me', said he. When Sodoni heard this, he struck him again, so that his blood ran. Faber was angry, and struck him on the head with the chess-board, and he fell dead, without life. Faber went to his father, and told him about it, and they fled to this city; and they had been only three days with the Sultan, and that feast lasted six days. As to the Sultan, after he learned of his son's death, he sent a messenger to Craidhamar to charge him with the deed. And the King of Alexandria and his son went to meet the Sultan. The Sultan said: 'Faber', said he, 'it is an evil deed thou hast done, to kill my son without cause'. 'Not without cause did I kill him', said Faber, and he told him how he had done the deed. The Sultan said: 'I will give thee a year and forty days, time to find a champion; and if thy champion is the stronger, I will relieve thee from thy accusation,[1]) and if thy champion is the weaker, I will put thee and thy father to death, and will take away your dominion'. Then they came to this city', said Earl Jonutas, 'and they told me that they would give me and my children our lives, if I would find a champion who would win the battle of the Sultan for them; and if I did not find them one, that they would put me and my children to death. And I travelled through the land of the English and a great part of the islands of the sea besides, and I did not find him whom I was seeking, Sir Guy of Warwick, my lord and chief; and I did not find Sir Heront, a brave knight of the company of Guy of Warwick. And now I am going back, and I shall have to suffer death now, [p. 87] myself and my children; and there is left of the time before that combat only forty days that have not elapsed; and that is the cause of my grief', said he. Sir Guy said: 'I will go with thee to that combat', said he. Earl Jonutas said: 'Pilgrim', said he, 'do not make mockery of me'; and he rose to his feet then, and fell down immediately; and Sir Guy lifted him to a sitting posture, and told him to have good courage, and that he would remove the cause of his grief. Earl Jonutas said, looking at Guy: 'It would seem likely that thou wert once such an one that thou couldst do a manful, valiant deed;[2]) and it is a pity before Him who made heaven and earth

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[1]) Or perhaps, 'make amends to thee for the accusation'? This is supported by *luach h'easonora*, p. 338a, below.

[2]) The idiom is not quite literally rendered. Cf. p. 343b, below, for a similar construction.

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that thou art not Guy of Warwick'. After that they went into the city, and Craidhamar came upon them, and he asked news of Earl Jonutas, whether he had found a man whom he could ask to undertake the battle. Earl Jonutas said: 'There is a pilgrim with me who promised to win[1]) it'. The king looked at Guy, and made but little [of him], and asked him what his country was. Guy said: 'I am John the Englishman', said he. The king said: 'I like it the worse that thou art an Englishman', said he, 'for from that land were the two knights that I liked least of all that ever came, Sir Guy of Warwick and Sir Heront; for it is Sir Guy who killed the Sultan, my brother, and Eiliman of Tyre,[2]) my father; and I was near the place myself when he struck off the Sultan's head. And [yet] if Sir Guy should come to me now, and settle the combat yonder for me,[3]) I would give him assurance of peace'. And the king said: 'Old man', said he, 'how wilt thou expect to fight the battle yonder? For if thou shouldst fight with the champion of the Sultan, thou wouldst be killed instantly by terror before him; for such is the warrior, — black, horrible, huge, bold and unconquerable'. Guy said: 'I have never felt fear yet', said he, 'of anything I have seen'. As for Guy then, service and attendance was given him, frequent baths and food and drink, to the end of forty days and forty nights. When the time had passed the King of Alexandria said: [p. 88] 'Old man', said he, 'on what terms dost thou wish to fight the battle yonder?' He said: 'I wish thee', said he, 'to release Earl Jonutas and his children, if I am the stronger; and if I am defeated in the battle, do thy will with Earl Jonutas'. The king said: 'I will do that with a good heart', said the king; 'and all the Christian prisoners that I hold bound I will let out, if thou art the stronger; and I will not make war upon a Christian till the time of my death, if the victory in the battle there is with thee'. Guy said: 'Get me strong weapons and armor of the same kind'. The king said: 'I have them, if a strong, brave man were found who could carry them, and no such man has been found since the men who owned them came to their death, — the breast-plate of Hector, the son of Priam, and his sword, and the helmet of Alexander, the son of Philip the Blind'.[4]) 'Give them to me', said Guy. The armor was

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[1]) *cosc* is literally 'stop, check, restrain'.

[2]) See p. 13, above.

[3]) *do cosc.* The verbal noun practically takes the place of a clause in the protasis. I have not tried to keep the construction in the translation.

[4]) *caech* might mean either 'blind' or 'squint-eyed'. Cf. Henebry, RC. XXI, 134. Stokes (KZ. XXXVII, 254) argues that two different words are involved. Here the reference is doubtless to Philip's loss of an eye from being hit by an arrow. Cf. Orosius, Lib. III, Cap. XII. A number of other classical references are given in the notes to the Havercampus edition (1738), p. 169. Strictly speaking, then, Philip was only *lethcaech.*

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given to Guy, and he put it on, and it was well that that armor suited Guy. Then he went to the Sultan. The King of Alexandria said: 'My lord', said he, 'the champion is prepared'. 'Thou shalt have the battle then', said he. And they were put on an island to fight the battle. Craidhamar prayed the gods, Mahoun and Termagant, to give Guy strength. 'I deny them', said Guy, 'and I pray for aid from the Son whom the immaculate Virgin bore, and who endured the passion for the race of men'. Amoront, the champion, came against Guy. Guy said, when he saw him: 'The man yonder is more like a devil than like a man', said he. Then the two rode against each other, and they fought with each other a manful, heroic, and valiant fight, and Amoront struck Guy a savage blow, and made [two pieces of] the steed that was under him, and Guy came to his feet. And the Sultan laughed when he saw that. Guy fought fiercely, and gave Amoront a blow, and shattered his warrior's helmet and his old, strange armor, and cut his clothing, and made two pieces of his horse, and Amoront came to the ground, and the King of Alexandria laughed. Amoront got up quickly, and they smote each other again. And there was fiery heat on that day, the next after the day of John the Baptist in the summer. [p. 89] Amoront said: 'Warrior', said he, 'for God's own sake[1]) give me leave to go to the water and bathe'. 'I would give it', said Guy, 'if thou wouldst give me the same in turn, if I should ask it'. 'I will', said Amoront. The champion went into the water, and bathed himself there, and drank some of it; and then he was strong and valiant, and they fought bravely thereafter. After that the heat overcame Guy, and he asked leave to go into the water. 'I would give it', said Amoront, 'if thou wouldst let me know who thou art'. 'I would', said Guy, 'for I am Guy of Warwick'. Amoront said: 'I thank the gods for that, — for sending thee against me, since it is thou who killed my two brothers and my lord, the Sultan; and for all the gold in the world I would not give thee leave now'. Amoront dealt Guy a fierce blow then, and brought him to his knees. Guy said: 'The Trinity and Mary protect me', said he, 'for I was never before on my knees against my will'. Guy sprang up fiercely and savagely, and he drove his sword strongly and boldly into Amoront's breast, and gave him a broad, deep wound, and his blood flowed terribly, and he fell to the ground. And at that time Sir Guy went into the water, and bathed himself there, and drank enough of it, and came out. Guy said: 'There was never a time when my strength was greater than now', (?) said he. And this is the length of time that he was fighting that battle, namely, ten hours before mid-day and six hours after it; and Amoront fell before Guy at the end of the fight,

[1]) Literally, 'in honor of God himself'.

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and he struck off his head. Craidhamar said: 'Sultan', said he, 'now thou seest that thou hast made an unjust charge against my son; if it were not so, the victory in the battle yonder would not have been on his side'. The Sultan said: 'Thou shalt have assurance of peace on that account, and reparation for thy dishonor'. Thus far the battle between Guy of Warwick and Amoront.

38. After this they returned to the city of Alexandria, the King and Earl Jonutas and Sir Guy, and Earl Jonutas was given his children and all his followers with all their possessions, and they went then to the city of the earl. And Sir Guy was with the earl fifteen days, and Earl Jonutas offered Sir Guy an abundance of possessions; and Guy refused [p. **90**] this, and set out to depart, and the earl went to a place apart with him. The earl said: 'For the love of Christ', said he, 'tell me who thou art'. 'I will', said he, 'and do not tell of me to anyone else, for I am Guy of Warwick'. And thereupon he left his blessing with him. As for Guy, he fasted and prayed and made a pilgrimage in every land in which Christ had journeyed, and the story does not speak of him for another while.

39. As for Felice, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, after Sir Guy left her she bore a son at the end of her pregnancy, and he was baptised, and was named Roighnebron, and was brought to Sir Heront for his education. As for Felice then, she built monasteries and chapels and other good works for the soul of Guy of Warwick. As for Roighnebron, at the end of his twelfth year there was not a lad of eighteen in England who was larger than he. Then there came a rich vessel to trade in that land, and they went to the king, and gave him great treasures in return for the privilege of trading. Now Sir Heront had charge of the harbors on the south shore of England at that time, and those merchants brought him many gifts in return for helping them. And they went to Sir Heront's castle, and saw the fierce-spirited lad, soldierly and proud, among the household, and asked information as to who he was. Sir Heront said: 'That is the son of the best knight that ever walked the earth, Sir Guy of Warwick'. And not long after that he left the castle, and part of the merchant-ship's company stayed behind him in the city. The ship's people stole Roighnebron, after promising him a great treasure if he would go out with them, and he went with them in this way, and they gave another reward to the gate-keepers for letting him out with them. They went aboard their boat, and set forth, and came to a harbor in Africa, and they gave Roighnebron to the King of Africa, and told him that he was the son of Guy of Warwick. When Heront discovered the loss of his ward, he

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traversed a great part of the world in search for him, and he did not get news of him, and afterwards he returned. At that time the Norsemen came to capture England, and the King of England summoned the leaders of his army to go to meet them; and among all who came there Sir Heront in particular came with his followers, and the king bade him welcome, and took counsel with him, for there was no better counsellor in war than he, nor a knight stronger of hand, nor one who had been oftener proved. [p. 91] Rage and envy seized Moduiant, the Duke of Cornwall, on this account. And he said: 'My lord', said he, 'bad is the judgment thou hast passed upon us, to abandon us for the false, treacherous traitor who sold his lord's son and his own word to merchants for a petty reward'. Sir Heront said: 'It is a lie thou has spoken, and I would undertake to prove that it is'. The king said: 'Settle that between you',[1]) said he. Sir Heront said: 'Duke of Cornwall', said he, 'I will explore the whole world in the search for my ward, unless I find him sooner, until I make everyone understand that it was a false reproach thou didst put upon me; and Duke of Cornwall', said he, 'if I can, I will make thee repent of that yet'. Sir Heront said to the King of England: 'My lord', said he, 'send me and my followers, and young English knights along with me, those who receive from thee reward and payment, to fight a battle against the Norsemen'. And it was not long after that Sir Heront went to fight that battle against the Norsemen; and the battle was fought by him, and the Norsemen were defeated and slaughtered. Sir Heront went after that to look for his ward, and there were not many lands in the world where he did not search for him, and he did not get one word of news of him. And he went into Africa, and was exploring that land, or the great city of the King of Africa, and the whole land was devastated and the city half-devastated; and Heront asked the cause why the city was half-devastated and the entire land devastated. Somebody told him: 'An Emir, mighty and merciless, has captured all this land except only this city, and he will now soon take the city unless there should be a young knight, not aged, in it to defend it bravely'. As for Sir Heront, now, he was going from the ship, and the Turk who was attacking the city came upon him, and captured him with his followers, and he was seven years a prisoner, bound and fast-fettered, and there was not a word of news about Roighnebron in that time. Thus far the imprisonment of Sir Heront in Africa.

40. As for Sir Guy of Warwick, after he had made a praiseworthy pilgrimage of the world, he thought of returning

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[1]) Literally, 'check, oppose each other'.

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to his own country; and one day when he was travelling in Lombardy, he came upon a poor man complaining at the foot of a cross. And Guy asked the poor man the cause of his complaining. The poor man said: 'Thou wilt find no profit in my story', [p. 92] said he. 'Tell me in God's honor', said Guy, 'and I will give thee freely[1]) of my counsel', said he. 'I will tell thee in truth', said Tirri, 'for I am Sir Tirri, the son of the Earl of Gormisi', said he, 'and I and Berard, the Duke of Lombardy, fought a battle with each other, and the battle went against me, and my followers were slain, and I myself was captured; and I have been seven years in captivity', said he, 'in the city of the emperor, and everyone said that it was unjust of the emperor to hold me captive in his city. When the emperor heard this, he ordered me to be released on a special condition, namely, that a champion should be found on my part within a year and two months; and if that champion should fall, I should be put to death and my domain should be at the disposal of the Duke of Lombardy; and if my champion should be the stronger, my life should be granted me, and my domain given me. And there is not a man in the world who is stronger of hand than the Duke of Lombardy, and he is most powerful with the emperor, and is his steward, and I am not able to fight against him. And I had a dear friend who saved me twice from death, namely, Sir Guy of Warwick; and I have been a year and two months looking for him in England, and in many other islands of the world, and I have not found a word of news about him in that time. And the one son that Guy of Warwick had has been stolen, and Sir Heront is searching for him throughout the world, and no news has been got of either of them; and that is my story', said Tirri. Guy said: 'I will go to the emperor with thee', said he, 'and perhaps he will take my counsel with regard to thee'. And after that they set out on their way. And Tirri said that he longed for sleep, and Sir Guy said: 'Sleep and put thy head on my bosom', said he. And Tirri put his head on Guy's bosom, and sleep fell upon him; and Sir Guy saw the likeness of a dove or a pure white weasel coming out of Tirri's mouth and going into a hole in the ground in a strong rocky crag on the side of a great hill; and the creature came back again, and went into Sir Tirri's mouth, and wakened Tirri from his sleep. And he said: 'It is a pity before Him who made heaven and earth that the vision I saw is not true'. 'What is that?' said Guy. 'I saw', said he, 'how I should go, and Guy of Warwick, into the hill thou seest[2]) yonder before thee, and

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[1]) I take *digeann* to be the same word as *digainn*, *digoinn*, 'plentiful, unscanty'.

[2]) *doctid*, really 2 pl. These texts show this mixture of number not infrequently.


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that [p. 93] we should find a deep, dark cave there, and a dragon sleeping in it with his tail in his mouth in the form of a circle, and a decorated sword in the ground within, and an abundance of gold around it'. Guy said: 'We will go to see that', said he; and Guy had observed how the white creature went into the hill, and he entered there, and saw the dragon asleep and the sword on the floor. And Guy sprang quickly on the dragon's floor, and took away the sword, and said to Tirri: 'We are both in want of food', said he; 'and take some of the gold with thee'. And then they went out of the cave; and [Guy] drew the sword from its beautiful gold sheath, and said: 'There is not a sword in the world that is better than this'. Tirri said: 'The city of the emperor is only three miles away from us', said he, 'and let us go there'. Then they went to the gate of the city, and Tirri said: 'Fear will not permit me to go into the city to-night', said he, 'and let us wait in this little hostelry outside the city'; and they did so. The next morning Guy said: 'I will go to mass', said he, 'and do thou stay here, Tirri, until I come to thee', said he. And Guy went to the temple, and heard mass, and went on his way to meet the emperor, and paid him homage, and asked alms of the emperor. And he said: 'Follow me to the palace', said he, 'and take thy share there, and thou shalt receive alms'. As for Guy then, he went to the emperor's palace, and the emperor asked him: 'Hast thou made a great pilgrimage?' said he. 'I have', said Guy, 'for there is no praiseworthy pilgrimage in the world that I have not made', said he. The emperor said: 'Hast thou heard talk of me in those lands?' said he. Guy said: 'I have heard good and ill spoken of thee', said he. 'What is the reason for speaking ill of me?' said he, 'for it is fitting to speak well of me'. Guy said: 'That thy proud steward, the Duke of Lombardy, captured Earl Tirri, and took away his domain, and that thou hast suffered that and hast given him more besides'. Duke Berard said: 'I swear by the one God', said he, 'that I came near seizing thee by the beard and breaking thy teeth in thy throat'. Guy said: 'I give my word that if thou shouldst do that, I would strike my scrip and my staff together on the top of thy head, till I drove thy brains through thy skull'. The duke said: 'I had rather [p. 94] than a great part of the wealth of the world that the man who would say that of me should come and prove it against me!' Guy said: 'I would come to prove it against thee!' said he, 'and here I am in the power of the emperor as a pledge that I will fight that battle to-morrow morning', said he. Then the Duke of Lombardy gave a pledge and sureties for himself that he would come to combat with the pilgrim on the next morning. Thus passed the night with them. Guy rose in the bright, early dawn of the morning, and asked the emperor for armor, and got his supply of weapons and

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armor, and took the sword that he found in the cave under the dragon. And they were from nine strokes of the bell until the black, dark, indistinguishable time of the night cutting and smiting each other. And the emperor made a truce of the battle between them; and the emperor sent Sir Guy to his daughter's chamber to be guarded, and ordered care and treatment to be given him. The Duke of Lombardy said to his followers: 'I never had a fight that was harder for me than the fight of to-day', said he, 'and I have fear of the morrow, and it is a pity for me', said he, 'that I have no kinsman who would kill the pilgrim there to-night so that he would not be found for the fight to-morrow'. A number of the duke's kinsmen said that they would do that. As for Sir Guy, after he had washed and partaken of his food, then he slept; and he was stolen with his bed, and there was an high tide of the sea under the sunny chamber at that time, and a swift, tidal current beneath it running out into the ocean, and a strong pillar supporting the sunny chamber high above the sea; and they cast Sir Guy into that stream. As for Sir Guy then, he was carried away into the ocean, and awoke from his sleep, and sat up on his bed, and looked above him, and prayed God fervently for help. And he said: 'O Lord', said he, 'thou knowest that it was not for the sake of reward nor to achieve fame that I went to battle, but to save my friend from the injustice that had been done him; and O Lord, forgive me', said he. Then Sir Guy saw a little fishing boat approaching him, and he asked tidings of it. Guy said: 'Have you heard any mention of the poor man who fought a battle to-day in the city of emperor?' 'We have', said they, 'and that was well done of him'. 'It was I who did it', said Guy, 'and I was betrayed in my sleep, and I do not know how I was put here, and in God's honor give me help!' [p. 95] The fisherman took Sir Guy into the boat with him, and took him to his own house in the city, and gave him a bath and food and drink, and put him to sleep and long slumber on a high, stately bed. As for the duke then, he rose the next morning, and went to the combat, and the pilgrim was not found anywhere, and the steward said: 'The pilgrim has taken flight', said he. The emperor sent a messenger to his daughter to look for the pilgrim, and he got no news of him from her. The emperor said: 'It is the Duke of Lombardy who has ordered the poor man to be killed', said he, 'and I pledge my word that if he is not found I will put my daughter and the duke to death'. And the duke said that it was not he who had ordered him put to death, and that he would undertake to prove that he had no share in it; and that after that he would go and join the Sultan to take vengeance on the emperor for lying about him. It was then that Guy said to the fisherman: 'Go to the emperor', said he, 'and get from him

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thy reward for telling him my story'. The fisherman went thereupon to the emperor, and told him the story, and he was glad to get that news. And after that Guy was taken to the emperor, and his battle-armor was given him, and he fought with the duke, and the duke fell before Guy at the end of the combat. A messenger went to Earl Tirri and said to him: 'It is a pity for thee that the bravest combat that was ever fought in the world should take place in the same town with thee, and thou not be seeing it!' Tirri went with all the rest to see that fight, and after the duke had been killed by Guy, he went to him and said: 'Unless thou shouldst have the wrong side', said he, 'there is not a man in the world who would come out alive from a battle with thee'. He said: 'My lord the emperor', said he, 'give Earl Tirri his rights now'; and Tirri was brought to the place, and his domain was given him, and the office of steward of the emperor, and assurance of peace; and Guy stayed for a while with Earl Tirri. Guy took Tirri with him a thousand paces from the city, and said: 'Tirri', said he, 'dost thou recognise me? Dost thou not recognise me?' 'I do not', said Tirri. 'I am Sir Guy of Warwick; and it is I who killed Duke Otun for thy sake; and it is I who killed the fifteen knights when I found thee as if dead in the forest; and it is I who [killed] the four knights who were carrying thee to Duke Otun to thy execution'. Tirri said: 'It is thou', said he, 'and I saw a resemblance to thy horsemanship when thou wert fighting with the Duke of Lombardy'; and they kissed each other, [p. 96] and then the earl fell in a swoon, and after that Guy departed. As for the earl, moreover, he was a fortnight in his chamber without food or drink or sleep, and his wife asked him the cause of his sorrow. The earl said: 'Sir Guy of Warwick', said he, 'was with me in the disguise of a pilgrim, and it is [he] who killed the Duke of Lombardy for my sake, and got me my domain; and the day he left me he gave me certain knowledge of his story, and my life will not be long after him'. 'It was a pity for thee that thou didst not keep him with thee', said the queen. Thus far Sir Guy's adventure with Earl Tirri.

41. As for Guy, after that he went on his way to England, and he asked information where King Caulog,[1]) the King of England, was. Someone told him that the king was at Winchester, — 'and the king of the Norsemen is coming to capture England and sixty thousand knights along with him; and there is a fierce, ill-boding champion with him; and the Norsemen and the English have staked their cause and their rights on a

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[1]) On this name see p. 13, above.


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combat of two, and it is that black, swarthy, devilish creature who has come to the combat on the part of the Norsemen; and there is not found among the English a man equal to him, for there is not in the world a man who can conquer him. And it is on that account that the English are compelled to pay homage and to give fixed tribute to the Norsemen. And the king of the English, and the bishops, and dukes, and earls, and the people of every order besides, have been fasting three days on bread and water, and praying the one God who made heaven and earth to find them a man to overcome Colobron; and that is the news of this land', said the young man. Sir Guy came to Winchester. Then in the night an angel came to the king and said to him: 'My lord', said he, 'arise early to-morrow [and go] to the temple, and a poor religious man whom thou shalt find there, him shalt thou ask in honor of Christ's passion to fight the battle for thee against Colobron'. Now the king arose early in the morning [and went] to the temple, and found Sir Guy praying with crossed hands before the altar (?) of the temple imploring the Creator. The king gave Guy a blessing, and Guy answered humbly and looked at the king, and when he recognised him he paid him homage and asked alms of him. The king said: 'Thou shalt have it', said he, 'and do thou grant me a request'. 'If it is in my power', said Guy. 'Win the battle of Colobron for me', said he. 'That is no suitable request to make of me', said Guy, 'for I am an old man, infirm and timid', said he. [p. 97] Then the king fell on his knees, and the English nobles with him, both clergy and laity, and they all besought Sir Guy to conquer Colobron for them. The noble man was overcome with confusion because of the urgent pressure the English put upon him. Then Guy said that he would go to the combat in honor of Jesus, — 'and get me armor for the fight'; and many suits of armor were brought him, and every one of them he broke apart by shaking it. And Guy said: 'Bring me the armor of Guy of Warwick', said he, 'for he was a comrade of mine, and his armor would fit me, and [it] is in keeping in his wife's possession; and do not on any account leave the sword'. Sir Guy's battle-armor was brought to the place, and the old man put it on, and mounted easily into the saddle of the steed without anyone else to hold it for him. And there was great wonder among the English at the strength of the leap which the old man took into the saddle, and at the weight of the armor that was on him. And he proceeded to the place of battle, and dismounted there, and fell upon his knees, and prayed God fervently, and said: 'O Lord', said he, 'if the right is on my side, save me from this danger with thy great miracles, as thou didst save Enoch from death, and Isaac from the sword, and Joseph from prison, and the people of Moses from Egypt, and David from Golias, and

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Susanna from the false blame, and Daniel from the lions' den, and Habakkuk [1]) from hunger, and Lazarus from death, and Jonah from the belly of the big fish, save me, O Lord, in the same way by thy great mercy, *et cetera*'. And Sir Guy mounted his steed again, and went to meet Colobron, and they fought a bloody, angry, venomous fight for a space and a while. Sir Guy gave Colobron a keen, bold thrust of the spear, and broke the two-fold armor that was on him, and gave him himself a bloody, unsightly wound. Colobron dealt Guy a powerful blow, and struck him to the ground; and Sir Guy arose quickly, and gave Colobron a hard, strong sword-blow on the shoulder, and made a deep wound in him after cutting his armor. Colobron gave [him] a powerful blow in the head, and cut the precious talismanic stones that were in his helmet, and that stroke glanced to the ground and did not harm him; and Guy's sword was broken in that fearful onslaught. Colobron said: 'Give thyself up now', said he, 'for thou hast no power to defend thyself since thy sword is broken; and let the English give tax and tribute to the [p. 98] Norsemen forever'. Guy said: 'Colobron', said he, 'dost thou see the brave knight coming with arms to me?' Colobron looked around to prevent the arms from being given to Guy. It was then that Guy rushed to the cart in which Colobron's arms were, for he had a cart full of arms, and Sir Guy snatched a broad-headed axe out of it, and struck Colobron a mighty blow with it, and struck him a second time, and at last beheaded him, and took his head away from him, and brought it into the king's presence. The king came, and the nobles of his retinue, and the clergy of the city, in a procession to meet Guy; and the king took him by the hand, and bade him welcome, and led him thus by the hand into the city. And the king offered Guy his choice of the dukedoms in England, and Guy refused to take it, and he remained three days with the king, and then he asked leave to depart; and thereupon he set out, and the king went a little way apart with him. The king said: 'O servant of God', said he, 'tell me who thou art and what is thy land'. Guy said: 'My lord', said he, 'if thou wouldst give me thy pledge not to tell my story for forty days, I would tell thee my story'. The king gave him that assurance. The old man said: 'I am Sir Guy of Warwick', said he; and thereafter he parted from the king. Thus far the battle of Colobron and Sir Guy.

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[1]) The list of Biblical instances is considerably longer here than in the Middle English versions, which refer only to Lazarus, Susanna and Daniel (or Samson). I do not understand the mention of Habakkuk unless it is a confused reference to the apocryphal story that he was carried by an angel from Judaea to Babylon to give food to Daniel in the lions' den. On this legend cf. Delitzsch, *De Habacuci Prophetae Vita atque Aetate* (1844) pp. 45—47.


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42. As for Sir Guy then, he proceeded to Warwick, and found Felice in the door of the hall, and twelve beggars supported by her for the love of God and the soul of Sir Guy of Warwick. And Sir Guy asked an alms of the lady like all the other beggars; and Felice looked at him, and felt love and strong, irresistible affection for the old man, and she did not recognise him. And she said to him: 'Come with me into the hall', said she, 'and thou shalt have thy sustenance there to-day with me'. Sir Guy went to the hall, and he received honor at the lady's hands and a pittance from her own table. Felice said: 'Servant of God', said she, 'thou art infirm, and now thou art not strong enough to travel; and do thou stay with me to be supported for the love of God and for the sake of Sir Guy of Warwick'. Sir Guy said: 'May the true God, the glorious, reward thee for that honor, lady', said he, 'and I will accept that alms from thee; and I will go into this forest beside us', said he, 'to pray and implore my God and my Creator, for there is no place for religion in the midst of a great company; and I will sent my servant to the city every day for my food'. 'Thou shalt have that [p. **99**] with all my heart', said the countess. As for Sir Guy then, he went into the forest, and found a hermit there in an oratory praying to the Creator, and Sir Guy greeted him and begged him for part of the oratory till the end of his life. The hermit looked at him and said: 'It seems to me', said he, 'that there was once a time when thou wert worthy of honor,[1]) and thou shalt have a share of it with me so long as thou shalt live'. Guy thanked the hermit for that. After this Guy quickly bowed his knees. The angel spoke above his head, and said: 'O Guy, prepare thyself to meet thy Lord, thy heavenly Father, on the eighth day from to-day'. *'Deo gracias'*, said Guy. It was thus with him till the end of the eighth day, and at that time he sent his lad to Felice, and said to him: 'Bear my nine blessings to the lady, and give her this half-ring as a token, and tell her that I shall meet death in this hour; and ask her to pray to God for me, and let her come if she would visit me alive'.[2]) The lad went quickly to Felice, and told her the Guy's message, and gave her the half-ring; and she recognised it and knew that it was Guy who was in the oratory in the guise of a [poor] man. As for the countess then, she set out swiftly on her way[3]) to the oratory, and she found Guy stretched on the floor of the oratory, and his face to the east, and he yielding up his life; and the lady cried out bitterly and lamented when she recognised

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[1]) Literally, 'thou wert one time and thou wert worthy'. For the idiom cf. 336 b, above.

[2]) Literally, 'to overtake me in my life'.

[3]) With the construction *ina reim roretha* cf. *ina ruamannaibh roretha*, Silva Gadelica II, 123.

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Sir Guy. Guy looked at the lady, and then he drew his legs up toward him, and he struck them out from him quickly and knocked a rock to the ground as he yielded up his life; and it took the strength of seven men to put [the rock] on a barrow. And Felice saw the semblance of a pure white dove coming out of Sir Guy's mouth and going upward to the kingdom of God. So that it is thus that Felice obtained her prayer from the Lord, for she besought God that she might have a look at Guy with her eyes and with her sight before his soul should depart from him. And the oratory was filled with an angelic fragrance, so that it surpassed all herbs and spices and gums in fragrance. Sir Guy was placed on a bier, and they wished to carry him to the city to bury him, and all the men in England could not raise him from that place. And he was buried with regular rites in the oratory [p. **100**] at that time. Then a chapel, peaceful and lovely, was built around him, and a great, beautiful monastery around the chapel, and an order of religious canons was established in it; and Felice supported that monastery till the end of her life, and commanded thirty priests to be constantly at service in that monastery. As for Felice, after that she made herself ready, and she died at the end of thirty days from the completion of the monastery; and she was buried alone beside Sir Guy, after they had won the victory of the world and the devil; and their bodies are still resting in the land of the monastery[1]) and their souls are in heaven with the angels. Thus ended the life of the one knight who was least evil of all who lived in his time.

43. As for Sir Heront, he went to search throughout the world for his ward, namely, Roighnebon, the son of Sir Guy of Warwick; and he was captured in Africa, and he was seven years in prison there. And one day he said: 'My lord', said he, 'it is a pity thou didst not put me to death before I was in this prison. Many are the brave deeds I have done in the past, though I have fallen into this prison'. The jailer was listening to these words, and he went to Ambrail,[2]) and told him that news, and said that it seemed to him likely that [the prisoner] could overcome the young knight who was pillaging and laying waste the country. 'Bring him to us quickly', said Ambrail. He was quickly brought up, and Ambrail asked information about him, and what his country was. Sir Heront said: 'I am an Englishman', said he. Ambrail said: 'Didst thou

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[1]) I am doubtful about the meaning of *coitcenna* in this place. Dr. Meyer cites in his 'Contributions' some cases where it appears to mean 'convent' or 'coenobium'.

[2]) Apparently regarded as a proper name in the Irish, though it is a translation of 'Amiral', as usual.


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not know Sir Guy of Warwick?' said he. 'I did', said Heront, 'for I was the first knight that he ever established on his domain'.[1]) 'Happy is the man with whom that knight now is',[2]) said Ambrail. And Ambrail said: 'A young knight has been smiting and wounding my followers for six years; and if thou couldst conquer him for me, I would let thee out with thy followers'. Sir Heront said: 'If any man in the world can overcome him, since Guy is no longer living, I am he', said he. Then a spirited, swift steed was given to Sir Heront and strong armor of battle, and good, doughty weapons; and after that he answered the challenge to battle, [p. **101**] and ten knights quickly fell before him. Roighnebron came to the place of combat, and said: 'Old man', said he, 'terrible is the issue thou art bringing upon the army; and thou thyself shalt die for it'. Then Sir Heront and Roighnebron fought with each other, and they made an angry, mighty, bloody and valiant struggle, and it was not known in that time which of them would yield in the combat. And Sir Heront said: 'Young knight', said he, 'neither young man nor old ever held out against me so long before without falling at my hands, except only thee'. Roighnebron said: 'Foolish old man', said he, 'shortly shalt thou fall before me'. Sir Heront said: 'Tell me thy story, who thou art, and what thy country is'. 'I will not', said he, 'until I have struck off thy hideous head'. Heront said: 'I am older than thou', said he: 'and tell me thy story in honor of God and of my age, for my heart has rejoiced much in thee, and I have no desire to kill thee'. Roighnebron said: 'I will tell thee my story', said he, 'and Roighnebron is my name, and I am the son of Sir Guy of Warwick'. When Sir Heront heard that, he dismounted at once, and kissed Roighnebron fondly, fervently, and faithfully. Heront said: 'Roighnebron', said he, 'dost thou recognise me?' 'I do not', said Roighnebron. 'I am Sir Heront, thy foster-father', said he, 'and the charge was made against me in England that I had sold thee to a merchant-ship. And I have travelled over a great part of the world in search of thee; and I have been held seven years in captivity by Ambrail in this city beside thee, and it is he who sent me to-day to fight on his behalf'. As for Roighnebron, when he had heard this story, his joy was immeasurable. And those two made peace between Argus, the King of Africa, and Ambrail, who was of lower rank than a king and was greater than a duke; and those two gracious and noble kings released all whom they held as prisoners on both sides in honor of those two knights. And Sir Heront said that it was from him that Roighnebron had been

[1]) Referring to Guy's gift to Heront, page 333b?

[2]) i. e., by implication, 'happy would I be, if that knight were with me now'.

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stolen, and that he was in search of him. And then they parted from the kings, and thanked them afterwards for the honor, and Sir Heront sent his ship and his followers before him to England. Thus did those two knights leave the land of Africa.

44. [p. 102] As for Roighnebron and Heront, they proceeded for a while on their way through wildernesses broad and vast, [and] they did not see either man or animal, and both they themselves and their horses were tired and hungry at the end of the day. And they saw before them a strong tower of stone, and a firm, impregnable palisade about it, and a broad forest beside this castle; and they asked to have the door opened before them, and the keeper inquired who was there. And they replied: 'Only two knights alone'; and their request was granted, and they were let in, and their horses were taken from them and their feet were washed, and a supply of food and drink was given them, and they partook of what they needed. Roighnebron inquired what made that whole land a wilderness. [The lady] replied: 'A haughty, fiendish, wicked king made war upon us', said she, 'and our followers were slain by him, and he took away from us all our possessions, and captured or killed the lord of this land. And that lord was my husband, Earl Aimistir Amundae, and Sir Guy of Warwick has always defended him hitherto, for he was a young follower of Guy'. Roighnebron said: 'I will go in search of husband for thee', said he, 'for he was a follower of my father'. Roighnebron arose the next morning, and set out, and he did not let Sir Heront go with him, but went alone; and he was a long time travelling on his way, and he came upon the mouth of a cave, and he went into it, and proceeded three miles under the earth; and as he left the cave a brilliant light rose before him, and he found a swift, strong stream, and thirty feet of depth in it; and Roighnebron found no way across it. And he committed himself to the protection of the Trinity, and made a bold leap upon his horse into the stream, and it bore him across; and he saw a broad, strong city, and went into it, and explored the whole city, and he found no man in it; and after that he went into the great royal hall, and found a single large man, wretched and weak, sitting in the hall, and many irons on him. And he greeted him, and the young warrior answered the greeting. And he said: 'Young knight', said he, 'it is a pity for thee to go into this city to thy death', said he. 'Who art thou?' said Roighnebron. 'I am Earl Aimistir [p. 103] Amundae', said he, 'and I have been here six years in captivity; and Sir Guy of Warwick made a knight of me, and it was his retainer that I was'. Roighnebron said: 'Mount behind', said Roighnebron, 'and I will take thee with me', said he. 'If thou wilt go', said the earl, 'take with thee

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the king's sword that is by the side of the window yonder, for it is not possible to wound him with other weapons, and perhaps it is not even in the power of his own sword to kill him'. And they advanced on their way then, and they saw the King of the Sidh [1]) [approaching them], and the king cursed Roighnebron. Roighnebron said to Earl Aimistir: 'Dismount', and he did so thereupon; and Roighnebron and the King of the Sidh fought a hard, bitter battle with each other from the very beginning of the bright, early morning until midday; and it was not known in that time which of them would win the victory in the battle. Then Roighnebron gave the king of the Sidh a violent, venomous blow, and struck him to the ground, and leapt down upon him to behead him. And the king said: 'My lord', said he, 'take me as a retainer, and grant me my life, and I will yield myself and my possessions to thee; and I thought there was no man in the world who would conquer me, except Guy of Warwick or some one of his kin'. Roighnebron granted the king his life, and the King of the Sidh released Earl Aimistir his prisoner to Roighnebron and returned to the earl all his possessions, and conveyed them across the stream. And they went to Sir Heront, and to Earl Aimistir's wife, and the lady rejoiced to see her husband with his followers after they had been seven years where she could not see them, and she gave Roighnebron a kind and friendly welcome. Thus far how Roighnebron overcame the King of the Sidh.

45. After achieving this great feat, Roighnebron then proceeded on his way, and Sir Heront along with him, and they made no stop until they came to the land of Burgundy; and they found it deserted and without cultivation, and its cities in broken and dismantled ruins. And Roighnebron asked what brought the land to that state. [Some one] [2]) told him: 'Earl Salua', said he, 'has destroyed the dominion of the Duke of Burgundy; and there has been with him for some time a single knight, young, brave and famous, [p. **104**] and there has not come a knight equal to him since the beginning of the world; and it is he who has plundered and laid waste this land. And he is on the summit of the hill yonder before you, keeping the road, and he does not let a living creature pass him without killing it, and there are two thousand dead knights around him who have fallen at his hands'. 'I will go myself to fight with him', said Roighnebron. 'I will go with thee', said Sir Heront; and then they went to the top of the hill, and they were not long there before they saw the knight, brave and resolute, approaching them, and

[1]) I have kept the Irish term for the knight described in the Middle English as one who came 'owte of elves londe'.

[2]) There is no subject expressed in the Irish.


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he [was] advancing indirectly against[1] (?) Roighnebron. Sir Heront said: 'Roighnebron', said he, 'be on thy guard now, for the strong, brave knight is coming toward us'. And Roighnebron went to meet him, and they fought with each other a perilous and terrible battle, and they were in the battle until midday, and it was not known which of them would win. Roighnebron said: 'Since I took a warrior's weapons in my hand, no man of thy age has fought with me without falling at my hands', said he. 'Thou shalt find me like this always', said he, 'until thou fallest before me'. And they were fighting each other long after that. Sir Heront said: 'Cease a while from our fighting', said he, 'and let us give account of ourselves to each other'. The knight said: 'I will give no account of myself to you', said he, 'until I strike off the head from one of you'. 'Tell us thy story for the sake of thine honor and thy renown, for our hearts are rejoicing in thee, and we do not desire to do thee harm'. The knight said: 'I will tell you my story', said he, 'for I am an English knight', said he; 'and I am Sir Heront's son, and a knight of the retinue of Sir Guy of Warwick, and Sir Aslog is my name', said he. 'And Sir Heront, my father, went in search of Roighnebron, his ward, the son of Guy of Warwick, and the men on a trading ship had stolen him away to Africa; and it is seven years since he went on that search, and we have got no word of news about either of the two in that time. And when I came to fighting age, I took the order of chivalry and the weapons of a knight, and I came to travel through the world in search of my father and of my foster-brother. And Earl Salua engaged me to make war upon the Duke of Burgundy, and I have plundered and devastated Burgundy this year. And I have guarded this road for a year, because it is the common road of all who travel through the world eastward or westward, and not a single knight [p. 105] has travelled this road for a year of whom I have not asked news concerning my father and my foster-brother, and I have got no word of news about them in that time; and when I got no news, I allowed no living man of them to pass me without killing him; and this is my story for you. And now I will do the same by you; I will strike off your two heads[2]) before I part from you'. Sir Heront said: 'It is not fitting for thee to kill us', said he, 'for I am thy father, and he is Roighnebron with whom thou art fighting'. When Sir Aslocc heard this, he quickly dismounted, and he gave Roighnebron three kisses fondly, fervently, and faithfully, and likewise Sir Heront. And they entered upon sweet speech and fair conversation with each other, and after-

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[1]) *faenais.* I take this to be a compound of *faen* 'prone, sloping'.
[2]) I have no parallel to this use of *adhar*. Dr. Meyer cites both *adam* 'my two' and *adar* 'our two', in his 'Contributions'.

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wards went to Earl Salua and made peace between him and the Duke of Burgundy. And after that they came to England, and Roighnebron did not find his mother alive there, and he took possession of the heritage of his ancestors, namely the earldom of Warwick and the earldom of Buckingham; and he gave Sir Heront a barony, and great riches besides.

F. N. Robinson.

To be followed
by the text and translation of the 'Bevis' fragment and by a Glossary.

Additions and corrections.

Attention is called to the fact that the English translation and the accompanying foot-notes embody occasional corrections of the Irish text.

p. 11, l. 99. I should have noted that in the Irish the form *Turont* (= *Torauld*?) occurs as well as *Uront.*
„ 12, l. 24. For *suceeded* read *succeded.*
„ 13, l. 17. For *Guy's father* read *Felice's father.*
l. 19. For *Anchinlech* read *Auchinleck.*
„ 14, l. 16. For *three days,* read *three days'.*
„ 50, l. 26. Supply [*sin*] after *Sir Gyi.*
„ 53, l. 26. For *catrach* read *cathrach.*
„ 60, l. 12. For *ar in* read *ar inn.*
l. 5. For *ró-innosudh* read *ro-innosudh.*
„ 72, last line. For *forais* read *furais.*
„ 78, l. 7. For *rodiúlt* read *rodiult.*
„ 83, note 3. For *dochaithemh* read *tochaithemh.*
„ 87, l. 30. For *athachdubh* read *athach dubh.*
„ 88, l. 23. For *a narrthaisc* read *a n-arrthaisc.*
„ 89, l. 20. After *anosa* put a mark of quotation in place of the dash.
„ 93, l. 35. For *hincinn* read *h'incinn* and for *c'oicinn* read *cloicinn.*
„ 97, l. 32. Dele [3]) after *derg.*
„ 98, l. 17. For *di' nnsin* read *d' innsin.*
„ 105, l. 17. The reference should be to 'Irish text, p. 24'.
„ 124, note 1. The name *Sdragborn,* which I have not found in any other version of the Guy romance, appears to be a corruption of *Strassburg.* Cf. the forms *Estrabort, Straneborc,* and *Tracborc,* all in the Old French 'Garin le Loherain'.
„ 124, note 2, last line. For *dual* read *anál.*

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LA 'CRAPAUDINE' DANS LE ROMAN DE PÉRÉDUR.

Pérédur est sur les terres de l'imperatrice de Cristinople-la-Grande — déformation évidente, par étymologie populaire, du nom de Constantinople —; il s'est logé chez un meunier, et il va au tournoi où il renverse tous les adversaires qui se présentent. L'impératrice, désireuse de sa visite, le fait inviter une première fois, puis une seconde, mais en vain. La troisième fois elle envoie cent chevaliers pour lui amener Pérédur, de gré ou de force. Et le texte gallois continue:

Ynteu a wharya6d ac wynt yn da. ef a bara6d eu r6yma6 6ynt r6ymat i6rch. ac eu b6r6 ygkla6d y velin — Edition Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 230, l. 22—24. Ed. Kuno Meyer, § 63 l. 10.

Lady Guest avait traduit ainsi le passage:

And Peredur fought well with them, and caused them to be bound like stags, and thrown into the mill-dyke. *Mabinogion*, T. I, 1899, p. 352 (Ré-impression de M. Nutt, Londres, 1902 et 1904, p. 280.) — *Fought* est un contre-sens, comme on va voir; et au lieu de *stags* 'cerfs', il eût été plus exact d'écrire *roebucks* 'chevreuils'; mais à cela près, la traduction est correcte.

Il n'y a pas lieu de citer la traduction des *Mabinogion* en gallois moderne publiée en 1880 chez Foulkes à Liverpool, car elle suit partout d'une façon si servile la traduction de Lady Guest qu'elle parait avoir été faite sur l'anglais, non sur le gallois ancien. Et on peut en juger pas ce passage:

Yna efe a ymornestodd â hwynt yn dda, ac a barodd eu rhwymo fel y rhwymid iwrch (*stag*) a'u bwrw i lyn y felin. — *Y Mabinogion Cymreig*, Liverpool 1880, 2e Partie, p. 45.

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Mais la traduction des *Mabinogion* en gallois moderne, publiée il y a quelques années par J. M. Edwards (de Rhyl) est une oeuvre sérieuse et faite sur l'original. Voici sa version ici:

A Pheredur a ymladdodd yn dda â hwy, ac a barodd eu rhwymo hwy fel rhwymo iwrch, a'u bwrw i ffos y felin. — *Mabinogion*, golygwyd gan J. M. Edwards, T. II, Wrexham, 1901, p. 45. — Ici *ymladdodd* est un contre-sens comme le *fought* de Lady Guest; pourtant le reste du passage est exactement traduit.

Mais, en 1889, M. Loth avait publié sa traduction française, accompagnée d'un commentaire critique sur le texte, traduction à laquelle M. Alfred Nutt décernait récemment le compliment d'être *admirably accurate*:[1]) citons-la pour ce passage:

Il joua bon jeu avec eux, les fit enchaîner avec des cordes de nerfs de chevreuils[2]) et jeter dans le clos du moulin. — *Les Mabinogion etc.*, par J. Loth, Paris 1889, T. II, p. 94.

'Il joua bon jeu avec eux ...'; la traduction serait acceptable malgré son équivoque, si dans une note sur ce passage (infra, p. 189) M. Loth n'expliquait le verbe 'jouer' du gallois comme un équivalent de 'jouter'. Lady Guest et M. Loth ont été amenés ici à une interprétation erronée parce que dans tout le récit précédent il est question de combats et de chevaliers renversés par Pérédur. Ici rien n'indique un combat ni une joute; et ce bout de phrase prépare et annonce le jeu injurieux auquel Pérédur va se livrer avec ces messagers, de même que, par exemple, un chat se joue d'une souris.

'... les fit enchaîner avec des cordes de nerfs de chevreuils [recté: chevreuil] ...' a-t-on jamais vu des cordes ou liens faits avec des nerfs de chevreuil? Et il en faudrait beaucoup, ce me semble, pour attacher un seul homme. On connait les 'nerfs de boeuf', mais non des 'nerfs de chevreuil'. Le texte ne dit pas ce que M. Loth y a vu, et ce serait en gallois *rwymaw o ieu iwrch*; mais M. Loth a été suggestionné par le souvenir d'un passage où il est question d'arcs dont les cordes sont faites

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1) Dans sa ré-impression de la traduction de Lady Guest, Londres 1902 (et 1904), p. x.

2) Remarquons au passage qu'ici *chevreuils* (au pluriel), pour *chevreuil* (au singulier), n'est pas conforme à la tradition littéraire de la langue française.

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de nerfs de cerf,[1]) chose vraisemblable dans un cas particulier. — Le procédé se comprendrait déjà aisément par lui-même comme usage de chasse. Lorsqu'on a tué un chevreuil, comment le transporter? On réunit les quatre pieds de la bête par un lien quelconque, on y passe un bâton et on porte le tout sur l'épaule. Si le gibier est plus gros et s'il s'agit d'un cerf ou d'un sanglier, deux hommes prennent chacun un bout du bâton sur l'épaule.

'... et jeter dans le clos du moulin'. Si l'écrivain gallois avait voulu dire 'clos', il aurait écrit *cae*: mais il a écrit *clawd* (= irl. *clad*) signifiant 'fossé'. Il s'agit ici du ruisseau ou canal qui amène l'eau au moulin, et qui s'appelle en français du nom technique de 'bief' ou, plus anciennement, 'biez'.[2])

Mais il y a plus. Le procédé dédaigneux et injurieux de Pérédur à l'égard des messagers de l'impératrice s'explique par de vieilles pratiques connues dans la tradition des Gaels d'Irlande et d'Ecosse et même conservées jusqu'à nos jours. Ici, plutôt que de démarquer un parallèle heureux fait par M. Nutt, nous citerons intégralement une note publiée par lui en 1888 sous le titre 'Ancient Irish expressions of social contempt'.

Mr. Whitley Stokes in his new edition of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, p. CLXXII, mentions 'that the solitary mention of the way in which social contempt was expressed is p. 138, when Patrick prophesied that a certain tribe who had stoned him, would be under spittles and wisps and mockery in every assembly (Irish: *ocus bethi fo selib ocus sopaib ocus cuitbiud hi cach airecht imbed*)'; and he adds 'what these wisps were is not clear'. It seems legitimate to compare this expression with a common incident in the Celtic folk-tales still current in the Highlands. A personage of the tale falling into the hands of enemies has the 'bindings of the three smalls' (*i. e.* wrists, and ankles, and waist) laid upon him and is cast under the table, 'under the drippings of the lamps and the feet of the big dogs' as one tale (Campbell II, p. 453) has it: 'under the cats, and dogs, and men's spittles, and with shame and insult on themselves', according to another one (Campbell III, p. 270, to quote but two out of many instances. The incident is peculiar, so far as I know, to the Celtic folk-tales, and it is interesting to trace it back to the 9th if not to the 4th century. The 'wisps' which puzzle Mr. Stokes may be conjectured to be either the cords or withies with which the tortured ones are bound, or the rushes which covered the floors.[3])

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[1]) Edition de M. Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 163, l. 29—30. Cf. Lady Guest I, 105.

[2]) De là les patronymiques formant doublet comme les noms *Lebiez* et *Dubief*.

[3]) *Archæological Review*, T. I (1888, p. 79.

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Il convient de remarquer que l'expression irlandaise, étant allitérée (*fo selaib ocus sopaib*), doit indiquer une pratique assez fréquente pour être connue: l'auteur de la vie de St-Patrice n'avait donc pas lieu de s'arrêter à la décrire. — M. Zimmer, qui a étudié ce mot *sop*, le considère comme d'origine norroise;[1]) M. Stokes est du même avis sur l'origine, mais propose une autre étymologie.[2]) Nous ne saurions mieux traduire en français l'irlandais *sop* et l'anglais *wisp* que par notre vieux mot *hart*, comme on peut voir par les exemples anciens que donne le Dictionnaire de Littré, s. v. — Il s'agit ici, évidemment, de harts faites d'osier ou d'autre bois flexible, la façon la plus simple et la plus primitive de faire des liens. Mais ce n'est pas seulement chez les Gaels d'Ecosse que l'on trouve la tradition de cette pratique: on la trouve aussi chez ceux d'Irlande, et elle se rencontre plusieurs fois dans les contes que M. Jérémie Curtin a emeillis en 1887 dans l'ouest de l'Irlande. Un récit populaire sur Cucúlin raconte comment le héros traita successivement ses adversaires: 'he hurled him down on the flat of his back, bound him head and knees ...'[3]) Et un autre passage est plus expressif encore: 'he caught the Gruagach, fastened his two hands behind him, and his feet so that his little toes were wispering to his ears'.[4])

Les mœurs des Gaulois étaient trop brutales pour ignorer une semblable pratique; peut-être M. Jullian la découvrira-t-il dans quelque texte encore négligé de l'antiquité grecque. — Mais les Germains devaient la connaitre, si nous en jugeons par un passage des *Nibelungen*. Car si au point de vue de la forme ce poème se place vers l'an 1200, dès l'an 600 ses grandes lignes étaient définitivement arrêtées, nous dit M. Lichtenberger,[5]) et sans doute aussi ses traits de mœurs, comme la vieille légende de Sigfrid. Or, c'est la même façon de réduire un ennemi à une humiliante impuissance que nous trouvons dans les *Nibelungen*,

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[1]) *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, T. XXXII (1888), p. 274.

[2]) *On the linguistic value of the Irish Annals*, p. 61 du tirage à part des *Proc. of the Philol. Soc.* 1890.

[3]) J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland.* Boston 1890, p. 311.

[4]) *Ibid.* p. 121.

[5]) H. Lichtenberger, *Le poème et la légende des Nibelungen.* Paris 1891, p. 1 et 2.

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lorsque la farouche Brunhilde fait passer une triste nuit de noces à son époux Gunther:

'Il voulut la contraindre à l'amour; il lui froissa les vêtements; alors la superbe vierge saisit une ceinture, une forte écharpe de soie qu'elle portait sur elle. Elle causa au roi de bien grandes peines.

Elle lui lia les mains et les pieds, elle le porta jusqu'à un clou, et le pendit au mur ...'[1])

Nous n'avons jusqu'ici emprunté d'exemples qu'à la littérature; en voici maintenant un que nous fournit l'histoire, et justement en Ecosse. Un Français, Ian de Beaugué, racontant la guerre faite par les Anglais en 1548 et 1549 aux Ecossais et aux Français alliés, intitule le chapitre III du livre III: 'du payement que receurent quelques Anglois de leurs cruautez'.

Et ainsi que ces choses ce faisoyent, d'autres Escossois s'eprouvoyent, qui plus aisement couperoit un bras ou une jambe d'un Anglois; et quand ils ne trouverent plus que [c. a. d. qui] tuer, ils achetoyent ceux ausquels les François avoyent sauvé la vie: pour tel pris [prix] qu'on en demandait: et pour ce faire ils nous donnoyent jusques à leurs armes, puis les faisoyent morir cruellement. Et me souvient qu'ils en recouvrerent un de moy pour un cheval, *puis luy lierent les pieds, les mains, et la teste ensemble*; et l'ayant trainé en cet esquipage au milieu d'un grand pré, le coururent à coups de lance, ainsi armez et à cheval qu'ils etoyent, par tant de fois, qu'ils le feirent mourir, et puis feirent mille pieces de son corps, lesquelles ils se partirent [partagèrent] entre eux, et les portoyent au fer de leur boys [lances].[2])

Je passe sur l'exagération dans la cruauté que Beaugué raconte des Ecossais et dont il donne ailleurs encore d'autres exemples.[3])

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[1]) *Nibelungen* I, 587-588. — Lichtenberger, p. 16.

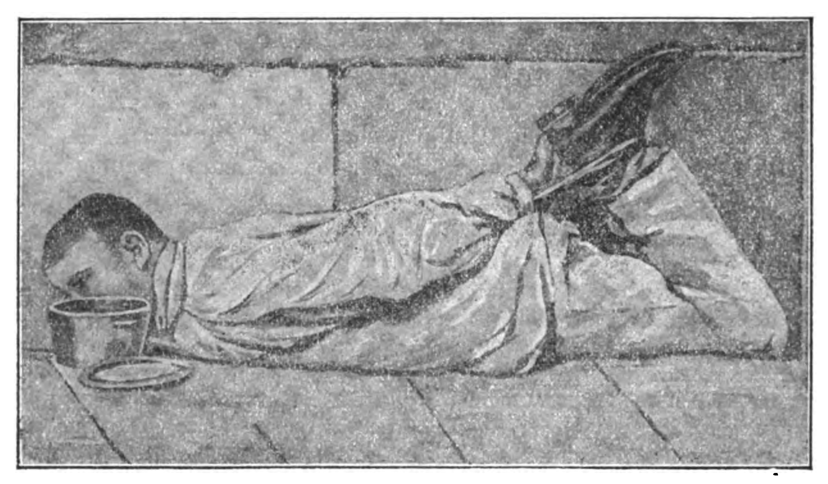
[2]) L'histoire de la guerre d'Escosse ... par Ian de Beaugué, gentilhomme François, Paris 1556, f° 88, v°. — Je dois l'indication de ce texte à une référence donnée dans les instructives *Notes and Queries*, n° du 9. Déc. 1905, p. 465.

[3]) Les Escossois venoyent lors en grosses troupes en nostre camp, contemplans les corps des Anglois, qui etoyent tous nuds estenduz par terre; et sembloit qu'ils leur portassent encore mauvaise volonté. Et s'en trouva de ceux (à mon avis) que les Anglois avoyent autrefois plus offensez, qui essayoient d'arracher les yeux aux morts. Aussi n'est-ce pas chose qui soit aisée que l'homme troublé par une haine extreme use de raison ..., Ibid. f° 45 (recté 35). — Au verso du même feuillet je note l'expression de 'soldat Albanois'

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Le lecteur français a déjà reconnu ici la 'crapaudine' terme qui ne parait être entré que nouvellement dans nos dictionnaires, car Littré ne le donne pas avec ce sens: mais le *Dictionnaire Général* de MM. Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas l'a donné récemment. C'est un châtiment, employé autrefois dans les compagnies disciplinaires de notre armée d'Afrique, et même dans d'autres corps de la même armée:

On attachait au coupable les mains derrière le dos, on lui relevait l'une des jambes ou les deux le long de la cuisse, et on reliait les extrémités au



Disciplinaire à la crapaudine [1])

cou du patient, au moyen d'une corde, ce qui l'empêchait de chercher à s'étendre, sous peine de s'étrangler. Ainsi réduit à l'immobilité et à l'impuissance, on le laissait étendu sur le dos et généralement au soleil pendant un temps plus ou moins long, suivant son caractère, sa conduite habituelle ou la faute commise.[2])

évidemment pour désigner un Ecossais des Hautes-Terres. C'est la translitération du gaelique *Albanach* et le mot s'est maintenu en français jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle, au moins dans les dictionnaires.

[1]) Nous reproduisons cette gravure d'après le journal *Le Matin* (n° du 31 Juillet 1906) où elle accompagne un chapitre des Mémoires du Général André. L'auteur dit que pendant son passage au Ministère de la Guerre il a constaté (autant qu'il le pouvait par ses enquêtes), que cette peine ancienne n'était plus appliquée: elle était, du reste, formellement interdite par un décrêt du 26 Février 1900, contresigné par le Général de Galliffet.

[2]) *La Grande Encyclopédie*, T. XIV, p. 660 a.

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Le nom de crapaudine est expressif, car il montrait l'homme rendu semblable à un crapaud par ses quatre membres ramenés et liés sous le corps. Mais si le mot est français, la chose n'était pas française ni nouvelle; c'était la survivance d'un châtiment employé aussi dans d'autres armées, au temps où les peines corporelles étaient en vigueur. L'armée anglaise, tout au moins, en fournit des exemples. Ils ont été relevés, à partir du XVIe siécle, dans un curieux article des *Notes and Queries*,[1]) et cela s'appelait 'être attaché par le cou et les talons' *to be tied neck and heels.* L'auteur anonyme de cet article expliquait même très justement par cette pratique une menace du Prospéro de Shakespeare à Ferdinand: *I'll manacle thy neck and heels together* (*Tempest*, Acte I, scène 2, vers la fin).

Un archéologue pourrait sans doute citer, dans l'antiquité classique, des monuments qui montrent des personnages ainsi liés. Pour nous, nous ne pouvons que signaler une poupée d'envoûtement, en plomb, trouvée dans une vieille tombe de l'Attique. On sait que les *defixionum tabellæ* se trouvent d'ordinaire dans les tombes pour assurer le succès de l'incantation. Cette poupée, haute de 6 cent. du cou aux genoux (la tête a été intentionnellement coupée) représente un adolescent dont les bras et les jambes sont repliés derrière le corps et liés par de fortes bandes de plomb: en outre deux clous de fer traversent la poitrine et l'abdomen. Ce n'est pas tout-à-fait la 'crapaudine' puisque les pieds ne sont pas rattachés aux bras et au cou; mais le supplice infligé à cette image s'en rapproche.[2])

Comme on voit, la légende, la littérature et l'histoire s'éclairent l'une par l'autre, et le passé a laissé sa trace juisque dans le présent. L'écrivain gallois faisait-il allusion à une pratique de son propre pays? On ne saurait le dire, car les *Mabinogion* sont pleins d'imitations et de réminiscenses irlandaises. Mais pour l'intelligence immédiate et directe de notre texte cela importe peu. Nous traduirons donc:

'Pérédur se joua d'eux de bonne façon: il les fit lier comme on lie des chevreuils et jeter dans le bief du moulin.'

Paris. H. Gaidoz.

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[1]) N° du 12 Mai 1900, p. 370.

[2]) Voir dans le *Philologus*, T. LXI (1902), p. 27, la gravure qui accompagne l'article de R. Wünsch: *Eine Rachepuppe.*

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CEANGAL NAN TRI CHAOL.

Durch den vorstehenden Aufsatz über die 'crapaudine' wird man auch an die grausame Fesselung des Ziegenhirten Melanthios in der Odyssee erinnert, die zu der Gunthers im Nibelungenliede ein Gegenstück bildet. Als der ungetreue Diener des Odysseus in die Rüstkammer ging um für die Freier Waffen zu holen, schlichen der Sauhirt Eumaios und der Kuhhirt Philoitios ihm nach, überwältigten ihn, banden ihm Hände und Füfse auf dem Rücken zusammen, zogen ihn mit einem Stricke an einer Säule empor und hingen ihn hoch unter das Gebälk der Decke des Gemaches, wo er bis zu seinem qualvollen Tode verharren mufste (Od. 22, 189 ff.).

Τὼ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπαΐξανθ᾽ ἑλέτην, ἔρυσάν τέ μιν εἴσω
κουρίξ, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χαμαὶ βάλον ἀχνύμενον κῆρ,
σὺν δὲ πόδας χεῖράς τε δέον θυμαλγέϊ δεσμῷ
εὖ μάλ᾽ ἀποστρέψαντε διαμπερές, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν
υἱὸς Λαέρταο, πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·
σειρὴν δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε
κίον᾽ ἀν᾽ ὑψηλὴν ἔρυσαν πέλασάν τε δοκοῖσιν.

Man darf wohl annehmen, dafs der Dichter hier die eigentümliche Fesselung der auf dem Rücken zusammengeschnürten Hände und Füfse gemeint hat: der Ausdruck *ἀποστέψαντε* des Textes scheint diese Deutung zu fordern. Die griechischen Künstler haben die Episode, die der ausgelassene Chor im aristophanischen Plutus derbe travestiert, wohl häufiger dargestellt, aber eine Darstellung auf einem antiken Tonbecher im hiesigen Museum, die 1890 C. Robert im 50. Programm zum Winkelmannfeste mit ihrer Inschrift veröffentlicht hat (E. Jacobs macht mich darauf aufmerksam), ist nicht recht anschaulich und zeigt den Melanthios zwar mit rückwärts gefesselten Händen, aber nur an den Füfsen aufgehängt.

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Es ist möglich, dafs die in Rede stehende Fesselung auch in der Geschichte Peredurs, von der H. Gaidoz ausgeht, vorgeschwebt hat, obschon die Weise, in der ein geschossener Rehbock gebunden wird, nicht genau entspricht; vielleicht handelt es sich, wie der Verfasser meint, um eine Contamination und Combination des Jagd- und des Kriegsbrauchs. Doch ich habe das Wort ergriffen um den Ausdruck in Erinnerung zu bringen, womit die barbarische Art der Fesselung im Gälischen bezeichnet wird — *ceangal nan tri chaol* 'die Fessel der drei dünnen' d. h. Weidenruten. So erklärt es das Dictionarium Scotocelticum richtig, und die Bedeutung 'Rute' für das irische *cael* ist schon aus der älteren Sprache nachgewiesen (K. Meyer, Contributions p. 1, 414); *caolach* heifst im Irischen 'ein Schöfsling' und *caoladóir* ist ein 'Korbflechter'.

In der alten Ballade vom Kampfe des Finn mac Cumaill mit dem König Magnus von Norwegen heifst es:

Leagaidh righ Lochlain gun àgh
Am fiadhnuis chàich air an fhraoch,
Dho-sa, 's cha b'onair righ,
Chuirt' air ceangal nan tri chaol.[1])

'Der König von Lochlan, der Glückgewohnte, wurde vor allen auf die Heide niedergeworfen und es wurde ihm angelegt (es war keine Ehre für einen König!) die Fessel der drei dünnen Ruten.' Weiter heifst es in einem Märchen über die Tuatha Dé Danann von dem Barden der Insel Mull John Maclean, der in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jhs. lebte: *Thigear agus cuireir ceangal nan tri chaol air na dorsairibh* 'Man kommt und legt den Pförtnern die Fessel der drei Ruten an', The Glenbard Collection of Gaelic poetry, Part I, Charlottetown 1888, p. 86 (in der Ausgabe von 1890 ist das Stück ausgelassen). In andern Märchen

[1]) Der Wortlaut ist nach J. Stones Text gegeben (Gael. Soc. Inv. 14, 325). Von den zahlreichen Varianten (Leabhar na Féinne p. 73 b, 76 a, 78 b, 82 b; Th. F. Hill im Gaidheal 6, 189; Reliquiae celticae 1, 220. 256. 401. 2, 383) seien nur erwähnt *an àigh* (statt *gun àgh* d. h. *go n-àgh*) und *Airsan, ged nach b'onair righ Chuireadh ceangal.* Diese Ballade gehört übrigens zu den von Macpherson benutzten und die einzige Strophe zeigt genügend, was er unter Übersetzen verstand; er sagt: 'At length the strength of Swaran fell: the King of the Groves is bound'.

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heifst es: *chuir e ceangal nan tri chaoil orra gu daor agus gu docair* 'Er legte ihnen die Fessel der drei Ruten an, erniedrigend und schmerzlich', Campbell, Tales 1, 137. 2, 485. Dafür findet sich auch eine Variante: *Chaidh beireachd air Conal 's a cheangal le tri chinn chaoil* 'Conal wurde ergriffen und mit den drei dünnen Enden gefesselt' (Campbell 1, 140) oder auch *le cinn nan tri chaoile* 'mit den Enden der drei Ruten' (1, 141). Das Verfahren ist aber so zu denken, dafs die Hand- und Fufsgelenke und die Mitte oder Taille des Leibes je mit einem *caol* 'einer dünnen Weidenrute' gefesselt und die drei Enden (*cinn*) über dem Rücken verbunden werden.

Nun versteht man unter *caol* auch das Schmale oder Dünne des Handgelenks (*caol an duirn*), des Enkels (*caol na coise*) und des Rückens (*caol an droma*); und die ersten beiden werden gelegentlich zusammengefafst: *Cheangail e le ròpa a cheithir chaoil is dh' fhàg e 'n sin e* 'Er band mit einem Stricke seine vier dünnen Gelenke (d. h. an Händen und Füfsen) und liefs ihn da liegen', D. Mac Innes, Folk and hero tales p. 48. Endlich wird auch die Mitte des Rückens zu den *caoil* gerechnet, und demnach heifst es in der vermutlich dem 18. Jh. angehörenden Ballade von Conn mac an Deirg:

B'iomad crap is bailc is meall
Ag att a suas air dhroch-ceann
Ar ceann Chonain Mhaoil gu reamhar,
'S na cuig chaoil 's an aon cheangal.[1])

'Viele Püffe, Knüffe, Schläge sausten zum Unglück herab derb auf den Kopf des kahlen Conan, und er hatte die fünf dünnen Körperteile unter Einer Fessel', d. h. die beiden Handgelenke, die beiden Enkel und die Mitte des Rückens.

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[1]) So nach Stone (Gael. Soc. Inv. 14, 328). Die Varianten berühren die Hauptsache nicht; vgl. Leabhar na Féinne p. 113b. 115a. 116a. 117b. 119a. 126a; Young in den Transactions of the R. I. Açademy I, 1789, Antiquities p. 71; Reliquiae celticae 1, 228. 272. 310. 391. 2, 372.

Berlin. L. CHR. STERN.



LE CUIR D'IRLANDE DANS LES 'MABINOGION'.

Au cours du 'Songe de Rhonabwy', dans la description de l'équipement des chevaliers imaginé pour étonner le lecteur et pour tenir sa mémoire en éveil, se trouve un mot qui ne me parait pas avoir été compris par les traducteurs. C'est dans l'édition de M. Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 156, l. 17:

G6regys y cledyf o gord6al *ewyrdonic* du ...

Lady Guest traduisait 'the belt of the sword was of dark *green* leather' — et 'dark' était déjà inexact ici pour *du*.[1])

Là-dessus M. Loth remarque (T. I, p. 355): 'Cette traduction suppose *gwyrddonic* "bleu-vert". *Ewyrdonic* qu'il faut peut-être lire *ewyrdnic,* me parait devoir être rapproché de *ewyrnic,* qu'on trouve dans les Lois avec le sens de "chèvre d'un an" (*Ancient Laws* I, p. 278).' Et M. Loth traduit en conséquence (I, p. 306): 'Le ceinturon de l'épée était en cuir de chevreau noir.' Du point de vue de la critique verbale, cette corrcetion est difficilement admissible, parce que la différence graphique entre les deux mots est trop grande, et aussi parce qu'un mot dépourvu de sens aurait pris la place d'un mot ayant un sens.

Le cas me parait pourtant simple, quand on remarque la négligence du scribe du Livre Rouge dans beaucoup d'endroits et surtout son emploi, assez fréquent, d'*e* pour *y*. Son *ewyrdonic* est pour *ywerdonic,* forme déjà moderne en place d'*iwerdonic,* c.-à.-d. l'adjectif connu, formé avec le suffixe *-ic,* sur *Iwerdon,* nom gallois de l'Irlande (d'un britanno-latin *Iberio*).

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[1]) Lady Guest II, 411; et ré-impression de M. Nutt, p. 159. — M. J. M. Edwards, dans sa traduction en gallois moderne, suit ici, comme souvent, la traduction anglaise de Lady Guest, et il dit (T. II, Wrexham, 1901, p. 75): gwregys y cleddyf oedd o ledr glas-ddu.

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L'orthographe ordinaire du Livre Rouge est *Iwerdon*; mais on sait que ce nom est devenu plus tard, par étymologie populaire, *Ywerddon*, John Walters, dans son dictionnaire anglais-gallois publié en 1794, disait (s. v. *Ireland*): '*Iwerddon*, or (as it is more properly written) *Ywerddon*, seems to signify *the green island*, being probably so called from its uncommon verdure; *q. d.* Y-werdd-on, i. e. y werdd yn or ynys [!].' — L'étymologie populaire ayant continué son oeuvre, on écrit aujourdhui en gallois *Y Werddon*. — En tout cas, ce passage du Livre Rouge est, par sa date, le premier témoignage de la transformation d'*Iwerdon* en *Ywerdon*. Je traduis donc le passage en question: 'le ceinturon de l'épée était en cuir d'Irlande noir.'

Il ne faut pas s'arrêter à l'apparente contradiction de cet adjectif avec le substantif *cordwal* 'cuir de Cordoue'. De bonne heure ce nom *cordouan* qui désignait à l'origine de la peau de chèvre ou de bouc tannée, importée de l'Andalousie, ne désigne plus que tout beau cuir de toute provenance, et même simplement 'cuir' en général[1]). Le mot gallois *cordwal* vient de notre français *cordouan* (par l'intermédiaire des Anglais), et le changement de la nasale finale (*n*) en liquide (*l*) s'explique par l'analogie de nombreux mots gallois terminés en *-wal*.

L'histoire, ici, confirme notre explication. L'Irlande, au moyen-âge, exportait trois sortes de matières premières: des cuirs, des laines (provenant des troupeaux, sa principale richesse) et une espèce particulière de bois.

Dans un recueil de dictons populaires français du XIII[e] siècle, il est question de 'cuir d'Irlande' (en même tempe que de 'cordouan de Provence'!). Dans une liste de 'Marchandises apportées en Flandre et dans le pays de Bruges au XIII[e] siècle', on lit: 'dou royaume d'Yllande viennent cuirs et laines'.[2]) — Dans un roman français du XII[e] siècle, *Parténopeus* (*ou Parthénopex*) *de Blois,* le héros porte 'une ceinture de cuir d'Irlande'.[3])

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[1]) Voir notamment V. Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique* T. I, p. 427. — On sait que le nom du cuir de Cordoue se continue, par survivance, dans le mot français *cordonnier*, pour un ancien *cordouanier*, par étymologie populaire et par fausse analogie avec le mot *cordon*.

[2]) Crapelet, *Remarques sur quelques locutions et proverbes du moyen-âge*, Paris 1831, p. 115 et 130. — Voir aussi V. Gay, *Gloss. Archéol.*, T. I, p. 517.

[3]) Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et Contes*, T. V. (Paris 1829), p. 251.

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Le 'bois d'Irlande' est fréquemment cité dans les inventaires français dès le XIVe siècle; V. Gay en a réuni un grand nombre d'exemples et il le définit ainsi [T. I, p. 165): 'Bois résineux de la famille des conifères dont le nom parait s'appliquer indistinctement au sapin, au mélèze, au cyprès et même au cèdre. Ces essences passaient jadis pour incorruptibles. Ce prétendu privilège était la conséquence d'une bonne hygiène et souvent des injections de sel marin résultant du flottage.' Il résulte de ce passage que le nom de 'bois d'Irlande' fut, par suite de la célébrité de ce bois, appliqué à divers bois, également de nature noire.[1]) Mais il me parait probable que le véritable 'bois d'Irlande' devait être, à l'origine, ce chêne de tourbière, *bog-oak* dont on fait aujourdhui en Irlande des bijoux et des articles de papeterie, et qui était moins rare au moyen-âge, avant qu'on eût exploité à fond les tourbières. C'était en effet un bois de luxe, comme on voit par de nombreux textes français, notamment par la description de la 'librairie du Louvre' sous Charles V; et M. L. de Laborde a résumé ainsi son usage: 'C'était un bois de choix, particulièrement employé pour les lambris, les revêtements intérieurs et pour les gros meubles: il semble avoir été reconnu bon pour en faire des panneaux de peinture et en même temps propre à la sculpture.'[2]) La réputation d'incorruptibilité lui venait de la réputation générale de l'Irlande comme terre indemne de serpents et de *varmint.* M. V. Guy a réuni plusieurs textes d'écrivains français du XVIIe siècle à cet effet. Ainsi un Français de ce temps, Monconys, racontant sa visite à White-hall, écrivait: 'Je vins me promener dans la grande sálle d'Ouital dont la charpente qui est très belle et très bien travaillée est d'un bois d'Irlande qui ne souffre aucune beste venimeuse. En effet, il n'y a pas une seule araignée dans ce lieu, et on adjouste que si l'on en portoit et qu'on la fit toucher le bois elle mourroit'.[3])

Je n'ai fait ces citations que pour mettre en circulation des textes français du moyen-âge relatifs à l'Irlande. Le sujet du commerce extérieur de l'Irlande a été traité par M. Joyce dans son érudit ouvrage *Social History of ancient Ireland,*

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[1]) Aug. Molinier, dans son petit livre *Les manuscrits*, assure même (p. 226) que ce terme 'bois d'Irlande' désignaït au moyen-âge, d'une façon générale, les essences résineuses du Nord.

[2]) L. de Laborde, *Glossaire français du moyen-âge,* Paris 1872, p. 167.

[3]) *Voyages de Monconys*, 1663, T. II, p. 28. — Cité dans V. Gay, I, 166a.

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Londres 1903, T. II, p. 429—433. Nous signalerons seulement ici quelques expressions des textes irlandais qui entrent dans cet ordre de faits:

fín aicneta (Fled Bricrend § 9) 'vin naturel' c.-à-d. authentique, par opposition aux mixtures qui se fabriquaient sans doute en Irlande sous le nom de 'vin', de même qu'aujourdhui en Angleterre on peut lire sur des enseignes 'Foreign and British Wines'. — Sur le vin, voir aussi Joyce, T. II, p. 115, 116 et 431;

salann saxanach 'sel anglais' (Kuno Meyer, *The vision of Mac Conglinne*, p. 61, l. 29; et cf. p. 142, pour une citation d'Higden), —

ech bretnach 'cheval breton' c.-à-d. gallois (Kuno Meyer, *Ibid.*, p. 111 et 140). — Voir aussi Joyce II, 412;

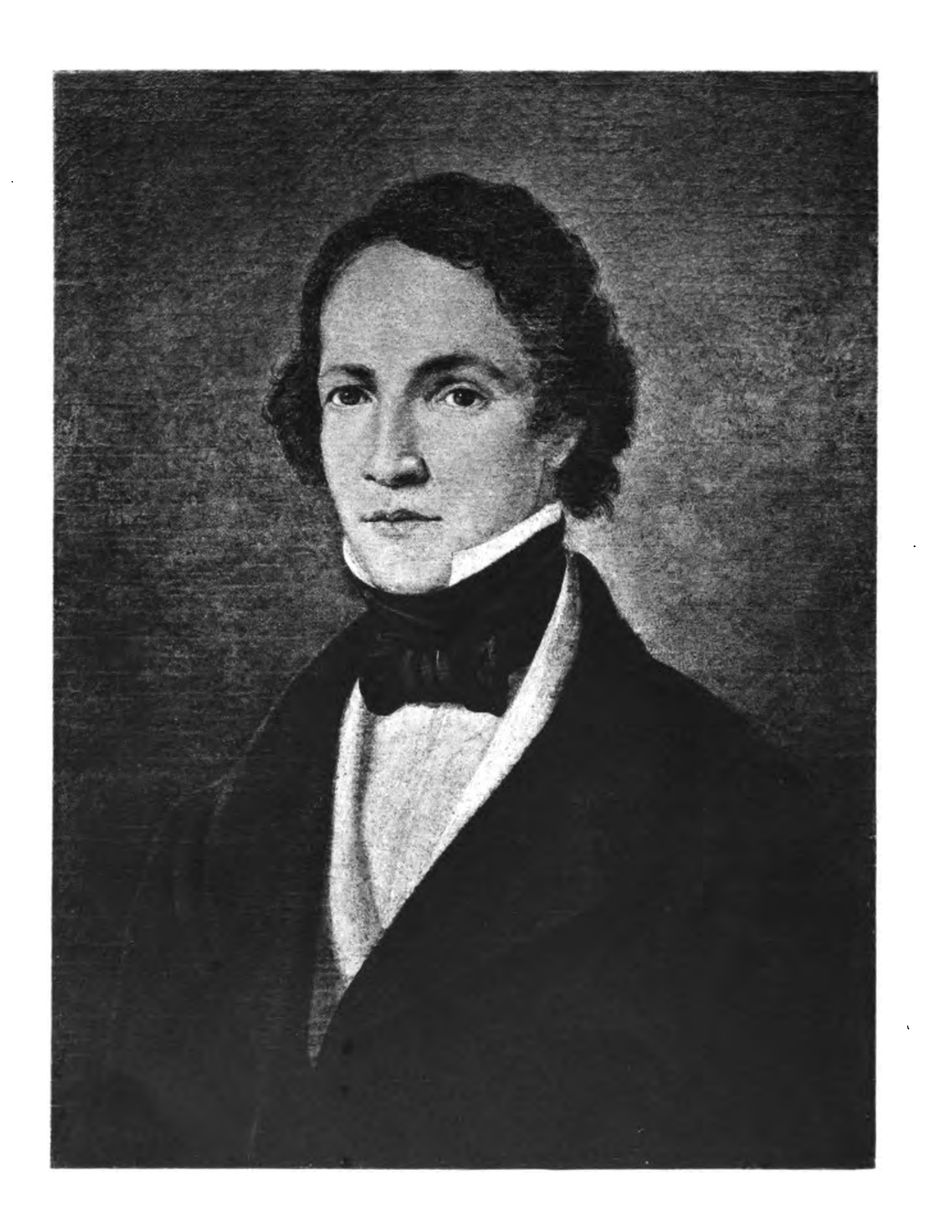
mugeime, espèce de bichon importée de Grande-Bretagne, et dont l'histoire a été plus d'une fois citée d'après le récit du Glossaire de Cormac, traduction par O'Donovan et Wh. Stokes, Calcutta 1868, p. 111.

Mais, quoiqu'il s'agisse de la fin du moyen-âge, cette histoire de la *Wechselseitigkeit* économique est dominée par l'*aqua vitæ*, traduit *usquebaugh* (= *uisge beatha*) en irlandais, et qui est revenue au monde de langue anglaise sous le nom, presque universel, de whisky.

Paris. H. GAIDOZ.

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Dr. Zunz.

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DIE BAMBERGER CENTENARFEIER ZUM GEDÄCHTNIS AN JOHANN KASPAR ZEUSS.

Der 22. Juli 1906 hat der wissenschaftlichen Welt das Gedächtnis des grofsen Gelehrten neu erweckt, und die Stadt und Hochschule, wo er zuletzt gewirkt, begingen den Erinnerungstag mit weihevollem Feste.

Am 21. Juli Vormittags fand ein akademischer Akt statt, eingeleitet von der stimmungsvollen Musik des Parsivalvorspieles. Mit dem Lehrkörper des kgl. Lyceums Bamberg waren erschienen der Kultusminister Dr. von Wehner, der Bamberger Erzbischof, Exzellenz Dr. von Abert; die Staatsregierung war vertreten durch Regierungsrat von Beckh-Bayreuth, und aus allen Provinzen ihres internationalen Staates hatten sich Männer der Wissenschaft zur Ehre des Unsterblichen eingefunden:

Dr. Oskar Brenner, Prof. der deutschen Philologie in Würzburg,
Dr. Harry Brefslau, Prof. der mittleren und neueren Geschichte in Strafsburg,
Dr. Christian Bartholomae, Prof. der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft in Giefsen,
Dr. Anton Chroust, Prof. der Geschichte und historischen Hilfswissenschaften in Würzburg (als Vertreter der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte),
Dr. Berthold Delbrück, Prof. der Sanskrit- und der vergleichenden Sprachforschung in Jena,
Dr. Richard Fester, Prof. der mittleren und neueren Geschichte in Erlangen,
Geheimrat Dr. Karl Theodor von Heigel, Präsident der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Prof. der Geschichte in München,

Geheimer Hofrat Dr. Ernst Kuhn, Mitglied der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Prof. der indischen Philologie und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft in München,
Dr. Kuno Meyer, Prof. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur in Liverpool,
Dr. Hans Oertel, Prof. der vergleichenden Philologie an der Yale Univ. New-Haven, Connecticut (Ver. Staaten Nordamerikas),
Herr Joseph O'Neill für die Gaelic League in Dublin,
Geheimer Hofrat Dr. Hermann Osthoff, Prof. der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft und des Sanskrit in Heidelberg,
Dr. Gustav Roethe, Prof. der deutschen Philologie in Berlin (zugleich als Vertreter der Königl. preufsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften),
Dr. Eduard Schröder, Prof. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur in Göttingen,
Dr. Rudolf Thurneysen, Prof. der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft in Freiburg i. B.,
Dr. Hermann Varnhagen, Prorektor der Universität und Prof. der englischen Philologie in Erlangen,
Geheimrat Dr. E. Windisch, Prof. der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft in Leipzig (als Vertreter der Königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften).

Dem Festakt wohnten weiter an die Deputationen, welche die bayerischen Lyceen Freising, Regensburg und Passau entsendet hatten, des erzbischöflichen Metropolitankapitels Bamberg, der Gymnasien Bamberg und Erlangen, des historischen Vereines der Pfalz.

Lycealrektor Dr. Hartung begrüfste die Festversammlung namens der Bamberger Hochschule und gedachte der Tätigkeit des zu ehrenden Gelehrten an derselben. Das 'Leben des Johann Kaspar Zeufs und seine Bedeutung als Historiker' entrollte Lycealprofessor Dr. Anton Dürrwächter-Bamberg:[1])

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[1]) Die nachfolgende Rede war ursprünglich nicht für den Druck bestimmt, weil ihr Thema gleichzeitig auch Gegenstand einer Abhandlung war, die unterdessen im Historischen Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft, 27. Jahrgang, erschienen ist, und weil trotz der anderen und breiteren Darstellungsweise der Abhandlung sich Ähnlichkeiten und Übereinstimmungen nicht ganz vermeiden liefsen. Da indessen dem Verfasser der Wunsch dringend nahegelegt wurde,

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Exzellenzen! Hochverehrte Anwesende!

Das Jahr, dessen hundertste Wiederkehr wir heute aus einem ganz bestimmten Anlaſs hier festlich feiern, 1806, ist wie wenige ein geschichtlich denkwürdiges Jahr.

Es ist das Todesjahr einer uralten Institution, eines tausendjährigen Reiches, das lautlos dahinstarb, als ob es nie aus der Jugendfreude werdender Nationen geboren worden wäre. Das Jahr ist es, in dem der Staat Friedrichs des Groſsen zusammenbrach und alles zu Ende schien, was einstens die Gewähr eines neuen groſsen nationalen Lebens werden sollte. In diesem Jahre begruben deutsche Patrioten alle ihre Hoffnungen und fast auch alle ihre Gefühle.

Aber auch ein Geburtsjahr, ein Jahr des Werdens war 1806. Als ein solches feierten wir Bayern es vor wenigen Monaten, weil es unserem engeren Vaterlande eine Krone schenkte, die es in redlicher hundertjähriger Kulturarbeit mit Edelsteinen geschmückt hat. Und das nämliche Jahr, welches dem deutschen Volke seine tiefste Erniedrigung brachte, gab ihm auch das Selbstbesinnen wieder, die Aufrichtung an dem starken Stamme seiner Vergangenheit, an der Jugendfreude seines ehemaligen Werdens. Damals schöpfte Clemens Brentano aus ihrem frischen Quell den ersten Liederschatz des Wunderhorns, und Joseph Görres saſs über den 'Deutschen Volksbüchern' mit dem Geiste sich zu erfüllen, der gewappnet dereinst aus dem 'Rheinischen Merkur' heraustreten sollte. Was die Brüder Grimm damals an unscheinbaren Märchen und Sagen aus dem Munde des Volkes zu sammeln begannen, das war nicht mehr und nicht weniger als der erste Schritt zur Begründung einer Wissenschaft von diesem Volke. 'Und es war eine Zeit', sagt Niebuhr,[1]) 'in der wir Unerhörtes und Unglaubliches erlebten: eine Zeit, welche die Aufmerksamkeit auf viele vergessene und abgelebte Ordnungen durch deren Zusammensturz hinzog; und unsere Seelen durch die Gefahren, mit deren Dräuen wir vertraut wurden, wie durch die leidenschaftlich erhöhte Anhänglichkeit an Landesherrn und Vaterland stark machte.'

Im Zusammensturz der damals gegenwärtigen und äuſseren deutschen Welt ward die innere und die alte neu geboren. In die geheimnisvolle Tiefe der Zusammenhänge zu steigen, weit weg von den Ruinen der Oberfläche lockte es die Söhne des deutschen Bodens so, daſs das Jahr 1806 das Geburtsjahr einer neuen tiefgehenden Geschichts- und Sprachwissenschaft werden sollte. Indes man Geschichte erlebte, wie selten einem Geschlechte zu erleben es vorbehalten war, sah man tiefer in das Herz der Geschichte, schärfte den Blick für den Unterschied des Er-

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im Verein mit Prof. Kuno Meyers Festrede auch die seinige der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen, sodaſs man ein Andenken an die Zeuſsfeier habe, so stellte er gerne sein Manuskript der liebenswürdig entgegenkommenden Redaktion der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie zur Verfügung und bittet nur um nachsichtige Beurteilung der angedeuteten etwaigen Ähnlichkeiten Den wissenschaftlichen Apparat für zahlreiche Sätze und Ausführungen der Rede findet man in der Abhandlung.

[1]) Römische Geschichte I², S. X.

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lebten und des Empfundenen, lernte in den Stürmen eines furchtbaren göttlichen Gewitters, das über einer sündhaft selbstgefälligen Welt niederging, andere, alte Zeiten wieder verstehen und erkannte, als man von der Welt, deren Bürger man hatte sein wollen, sich umtobt und überflutet sah, aufs neue den Wert der Nation. Volks- und Völkergeschichte erhielten gleichzeitig neuen Ansporn.

Das Jahr aber, das zu all dem den Samen in sich trug, zu Sprach- und Geschichtswissenschaft, Volks- und Völkergeschichte, gab ihnen auch einen ihrer gröfsten Jünger dazu.

Als in den sonst so stillen Tälern der Kronach und Rodach eine neue Attilafaust die Kraft zusammenballte zum endgültigen Gelingen einer neuen Völkermengung, als die Wälder des Frankenwaldes den Idiomen fast ganz Europas lauschen konnten, ward in dem hinter den Erlen der Rodach unscheinbar versteckten Dörfchen Vogtendorf am 22. Juli Joh. Kasp. Zeufs geboren, ein Kind, dem dieses Jahr 1806 gewissermafsen von seiner Art mit auf den Lebensweg gab. Denn in seiner Seele barg dieses vierte Kind der Maurerseheleute Michael und Margareta Zeufs Keime des in die Tiefe gehenden Geisteslebens, mit dem die deutsche Wissenschaft die Niederlagen auf den Schlachtfeldern wett machte, und auch er sollte wie das Jahr seiner Geburt aus unscheinbaren, kaum beachteten Anfängen heraus den Sprachen Europas und der Geschichte seiner Völker einer der gröfsten Pioniere werden.

Kaum, dafs an der Strafse, auf der seine Kindheit leise einherschritt, einige Denksteine für den Erforscher seines Lebens stehen, aus denen sich enträtseln läfst, wie der Schauplatz des Lebens und Lernens für ihn weiter und weiter wird.

Aus dem Vaterhause wandert er die Rodach entlang hinüber zu dem nahe liegenden Dorfe Höfles, dessen Schule ihm die ersten Bildungselemente vermittelt. Dann steigt er zu dem jenseits ragenden Kreuzberg empor und hier, wo das Talrund mit Kronach und seiner Veste in der Mitte sich gröfser aufschliefst, tut er mit Hilfe des Benefiziaten die ersten Blicke in eine fremde Sprache, in die Sprache der vergangenen grofsen Römerwelt. Indes die Welt mit Sehnen und Bangen dem Sturz eines neuen Imperators und Imperiums zusieht, steht der junge Zeufs ahnungsvoll an der Stelle, von der Napoleon in seinem Geburtsjahre hinuntergeschaut hatte auf die rastlos gen Jena ziehenden Völkerheere.

Die Welt der Geschichte schlofs sich dem Knaben auf und belebte sich mit immer reicheren Zügen, wenn er in den Jahren darauf als Lateinschüler durch die Strafsen Kronachs wanderte, mochte er nun auf der Ehrensäule am Marktplatze von den Ruhmestaten der Kronacher in der schweren Zeit des Schwedenkrieges lesen, oder des grofsen Meisters der Kunst gedenken, an dessen Geburtshaus er so oft vorüberging, oder unter den flatternden Fahnen der Juniprozession zur Festung emporziehen, für Kronachs Rettung aus Feindesnot in späten Tagen noch zu danken. Und wie konnte erst von den Basteien der Feste aus der Blick in die Weite schweifen, in den geheimnisvollen Hintergrund, aus dem Rodach, Kronach und Hafslach zusammenrauschten, in die dunkle Vorzeit, wo aus den Wäldern über ihren Quellen Hermunduren und Slaven hervorgebrochen waren, wo vor der Axt und dem Schwert der fränkischen Kolonisten sie zögernd wieder hinter den

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unwegsamen Forst zurückgewichen waren. Etwas wie ein Ahnen der Völkergeschichte konnte hier den Knaben überkommen, indes er zur grofsen Zeit des eigenen Volkes den Blick erheben lernte, als seit dem Jahre 1820 die Stadt mit dem Kaiserdome Heinrichs II., dem Denkmal grofser deutscher Vergangenheit, zu seinem Aufenthalte geworden war.

Schon jetzt begann er als Schüler des Bamberger Gymnasiums ein anderes ragendes Denkmal des eigenen Volkes, seine Sprache, mit aufmerksamerem Blicke zu betrachten, ihrer mannigfachen Gliederung nachzudenken und sie mit den Sprachen anderer Völker zu vergleichen. Wie viel die Schule auch seinen Gesichtskreis erweitern mochte, der junge Zeufs begnügte sich nicht, auf ihren alten Wegen sprachlicher und historischer Bildung in das klassische Altertum einzudringen, ihn zog es mächtig schon zur Vertiefung in dunklere Vergangenheit auf die Wege historischer Sprachwissenschaft.

Es ist ja gewifs ein Zufall, dafs unter seinen Compositiones, die er in der 1. Gymn.-Klasse anfertigte, sich auch Stücke finden, welche an seine spätere Geistesrichtung gemahnen. Aber man möchte den Zufall nicht bedeutungslos nennen, wenn er den späteren Historiker und Keltologen schon als Schüler Gedanken über das Studium der Geschichte in lateinische Form kleiden läfst oder seinen Geist mit dem kaledonischen Kelten Galgacus und dem Ruhm seiner Volksgenossen beschäftigt. Auch aus solchen kleinen Dingen saugen die feinsten Wurzeln geistiger Entwicklung ihre Nahrung, und es ist auch keine Verirrung in das Reich der Phantasie, wenn Edward Schröder den jungen Zeufs sich unter der Wirkung des 1821 erschienenen Buches Schmellers über Bayerns Mundarten denkt. Denn schon auf dem Gymnasium beginnt Zeufsens rastloses und allem Spiel und allem Vergnügen abholdes Forscherleben, und Leben und Lernen ward ihm schon damals zu einer höheren Einheit. Wie er, das Dorfkind aus Vogtendorf, schon in seinem ersten Bamberger Schuljahr unter 79 Kameraden der Primus wurde, so erhielt er, als er 1825 absolvierte, die erste silberne Medaille mit dem Diplom zur Auszeichnung, um, wie es da heifst, „mit Ehre und bestens empfohlen" an die Lyzealklasse überzugehen.

Doch nun begann auch der Kampf um sein Ideal des Lebens.

Seiner eigenen Befürchtung in einer praktischen Berufsübung aufgehen zu müssen, stand der Wunsch der Eltern entgegen, dafs er Theologie studieren solle, indes gleichzeitig die Sorge um das Brot sich wehrend vor das Paradies des Forscherlebens stellte. Da geschah es, dafs Würzburg ihn zum erstenmale enttäuschte. Denn um der vielköpfigen Familie Ersparungen zu machen, wollte er in Würzburg Theologie studieren, weil er glaubte, dort ein Jahr zu gewinnen und durch Stipendien und Privatunterricht sich leichter durchzuhelfen. Dafs er aber auch die Hoffnung gehegt hatte, in Würzburg für sein wissenschaftliches Streben einen weiteren Gesichtskreis zu finden, merkt man dem Berichte an, den er über diese erste Würzburger Irrfahrt an den Direktor des Bamberger Lyzeums sandte, um nachträglich hier inskribiert zu werden. Da er in allen Erwartungen sich betrogen sah, flüchtete er als Student nach Bamberg zurück, ahnungslos, dafs einstens für den Dozenten ähnliches sich wiederholen sollte. Aber nur ein Jahr litt es ihn noch in Bamberg, wo zwar ein Thomas Rudhart Geschichte dozierte, aber eine sprach-

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wissenschaftliche Vertiefung nicht zu gewinnen war. Im Herbste 1826 zog er nach München an die Hochschule, die erst vor wenigen Monaten aus ihrem unscheinbareren Landshuter Dasein dahin übersiedelt war und nun die reichste Fülle geistigen Lebens und die mannigfaltigsten und weitesten Gesichtskreise gelehrter Betätigung bot.

Wie hier dem Kandidaten der Theologie und Philologie, als welcher Zeufs noch im Wintersemester 1830/31 inskribiert war, der Horizont des Wissens und des Forschens in die Weite und in die Tiefe wuchs, das kann man, wenn auch nur oberflächlich, heute noch verfolgen.

Während er sich durch Schelling in die grofsen Natur und Geist umfassenden Gesichtspunkte einer philosophischen Gedankenwelt einführen liefs und gleichzeitig an dem Theosophen Schubert und Ast, dem Platoniker, nicht achtlos vorüberging, war er auch ein so eifriger Hörer der aufblühenden naturwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen, wie wenn er ihnen speziell sich hätte widmen wollen. Ich denke, dafs ihn das Exakte ihrer Methode angezogen haben wird, hielten ihn doch auch bei den theologischen Fächern nur die länger fest, bei denen kritische Schulung zu gewinnen war. Die Exegese war es, und sie diente ihm nun auch dazu, dem Studium, dem er schon immer angehört hatte, eine breitere und eine tiefere Grundlage zu geben. Nun eignete er sich als Schüler Alliolis in den Jahren 1826—1830 die umfassendere Kenntnis der semitischen Hauptsprachen an, vertiefte an der Hand Frdr. Thierschs das Studium der klassischen Sprachen zur textkritischen Behandlung derselben, und während er so zu philologischer Meisterschaft sich schulte, erwarb er als Schüler des Germanisten Schmeller wie des Sanskritisten Othmar Frank, noch mehr aber durch das Studium der Werke von Grimm, Franz Bopp und Jos. Dobrowsky die alles Germanische und Indogermanische umfassende sprachvergleichende und sprachhistorische Gesamtbildung.

Wo aber wie im damaligen München so vielseitiges und so frisch pulsierendes Leben auch das geschichtliche Studium erfüllte, da kann der Mann, der in der ersten Hälfte seiner Meisterjahre hauptsächlich Historiker war, nicht achtlos vorübergegangen sein. Nur dafs wir dafür mehr auf Vermutungen denn auf Gewifsheiten angewiesen sind. Zu dem Bamberger Rudhart, der sich einmal in einer allerdings spitzigen Weise als Lehrer Zeufsens bekennt, gesellen sich sicher noch der junge Döllinger und der alte Konrad Mannert, mit dessen geographisch-historischem Hauptwerk sich ja Zeufs später so oft berührte. Ob aber auch Jos. Görres zu seinen Lehrern gehört hat, ob Söltl, Delling, Buchner, Freyberg, bleibt eine offene Frage, die nur für den Diplomatiker Kiefhaber mit Wahrscheinlichkeit bejaht werden darf, wegen der gründlichen Schulung in der Diplomatik, die Zeufs später verrät.

Das aber ist die Summe all dieser Tatsachen seines Studienganges, dafs Zeufs doch mit allen Kräften sich dem Ziele genähert hatte, das ihm Leben war, und, da er nun auch als Hauslehrer beim Grafen Montgelas, dem Exminister, für einige Jahre finanziell sichergestellt war, so wählte er als brotgebenden Beruf den, der seinen Neigungen am nächsten lag, den des philologischen Lehrers. Im Herbste 1880 machte er das philologische Staatsexamen und zwei Jahre später trat er als Nachfolger seines Freundes, des

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Pehleviforschers Markus Müller die Stellung eines funktionierenden Lehrers der hebräischen Sprache am Alten Gymnasium in München an.

Und nun kommen fünf ganz stille, fast ganz dunkle Jahre im Leben des Gelehrten, fünf Jahre, während der er in der Askese eigener wissenschaftlicher Forschung sich die Weihe zu einem Meister derselben verdiente.

Denn dieser Forschung zuliebe harrte er, wie wir aus dem Curriculum vitae seines Erlanger Promotionsaktes erfahren, in der prekären Stellung des Hilfslehrers mit 200 fl. pro Jahr absichtlich aus, nur weil sie ihm Zeit zur Arbeit gewährte. Diese Arbeit aber war allein sein vertrauter Umgang, wiewohl auch freundschaftlicher Gedankenaustausch mit gleichgesinnten Männern, wie dem Philologen Karl Halm, dem Sprachforscher Markus Müller, Maſsmann, dem Turnvater und Germanisten, Vollmer, dem Goten, und anderen Zeuſs schon in dieser Münchener Zeit nicht gefehlt haben wird. Bei der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit suchte er auch Trost in schwerem Leid. Wie schwer es war, fühlt man noch heraus aus den einfach schönen Worten, mit denen er in der Vorrede zu seinem groſsen Geschichtswerk von den in ihrer Jugendkraft dahingerafften deutschen Stämmen spricht und sie so vermiſst, so aus dem Kreise der Freunde und Verwandten entrissen sieht, 'wie mir die Meinigen, der gute Vater, ein jugendlicher Bruder, eine liebe Schwester und noch ein Bruder, ein verständiger Jüngling, die eine harte Fügung in drei Jahren und einem Monate, während meiner Arbeiten für diese Schrift, so früh dahingenommen hat.' Ja, in der Askese wissenschaftlicher Forschung, das darf man wohl sagen, ist diese Schrift, das 1837 erschienene Meisterwerk Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme geschaffen worden.

Nun aber strebte Zeuſs mit allen Kräften heraus aus seinen armseligen kleinen Verhältnissen, und es geschah wiederum nur der Forschung zuliebe, um frei und ungehindert und weniger von Nahrungssorgen bedrängt arbeiten zu können, daſs er den Blick zu einem akademischen Lehramte erhob.

Aber so weitherzig die Erlanger philosophische Fakultät auch war, wenn sie, ohne sich auf Formalitäten zu steifen, lediglich auf Grund einer kritischen Studie zur Germania des Ptolemaeus, den Erforscher einer ganzen einmal gewesenen europäischen Völkerwelt am 16. August 1838 zum Doktor promovierte, so klammerte sie sich doch wenige Monate später an kleinliche Rücksichten, als sie Zeuſsens Gesuch um eine Professur der deutschen Philologie in Erlangen ausweichend beantwortete. In Würzburg aber, wo Zeuſs 1838 ein erstes und 1840 ein zweites Mal anklopfte, suchte ihm der Senat den Zugang mit der für ihn selbst wie für die Studenten sonderbaren Motivierung zu sperren, daſs Vorlesungen über germanische Philologie nicht notwendig seien und solche über indische Sprachwissenschaft, zu denen sich Zeuſs gleichfalls bereit erklärt hatte, ohne Anklang bleiben würden. Unwiderstehlich aber wirkte sein Argument von der Schonung der materiellen Mittel der Universität und der Verwertung ihrer psychischen Kräfte, und Zeuſs muſste hinter dem Manne zurückstehen, der nach einem Worte des Staatsrats v. Stichaner nur durch den Anfangsbuchstaben sich von ihm unterschied. Friedrich Andreas Reuſs unterschied sich freilich noch in manchem anderen von Zeuſs, aber er wurde Professor der deutschen Literatur in Würzburg, indes Zeuſs auch von dem Ministerium der Geistlichen-, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten in Berlin höflich abgewiesen wurde und Hoffnungen auf einen Platz in Freiburg i. B.,

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wo sich Franz Jos. Mone und Leopold August Warnkönig für ihn bemühten, in den Sturmjahren dieser Universität untergehen sah. Als ihn aber 1840 der Erziehungsrat der Republik Luzern an das dortige Lyzeum berufen wollte, hatte er einen ähnlichen Wirkungskreis als Professor der Geschichte bereits in Speyer an dem seit dem Herbste 1839 vollständig ausgebauten Lyzeum erhalten.

Die acht Speyerer Jahre waren seine glücklichste Zeit, für den Forscher wie für den Menschen.

Anfangs freilich fühlte sich der erstere bedrückt genug, als er infolge des Mangels ausreichender bibliothekarischer Hilfsmittel die bereits begonnenen Arbeiten zu einem oberdeutschen Namenbuch zurückstellen mufste. Aber bald siegte über widrige Verhältnisse auch hier die Kraft des Gelehrten. Wie wenn er sich ein neues Heim auf dem Gebiete rein historischer und lokalhistorischer Forschung schaffen wolle, sah es zuerst aus, als Zeufs das ehrwürdig alte Traditionsbuch der merowingischen Abtei Weifsenburg 1842 in musterhafter Weise herausgab und gleich danach an der Hand urkundlicher Quellen die Reichsstadt Speyer vor ihrer Zerstörung schilderte Aber mächtig zog es Zeufs doch wieder in die Bahn sprachhistorischen Forschens zurück und nun schuf er sich in den keltologischen Studien, zu denen er vielleicht durch den Verkehr mit Mone und mit den Irrtümern Mones angeregt, seit 1843 entschiedener überging, ein neues Entdeckungsgebiet, wo das, was er bei allsonntäglichen Besuchen in Karlsruhe, Darmstadt und Heidelberg und auf Ferienreisen in Würzburg, St. Gallen, London und Mailand gesammelt hatte, in der stillen Speyerer Gelehrtenklause immer mehr zur Wiedergestaltung einer untergegangenen alten Sprachenwelt sich ausreifte.

Wohltuend aber ward dies zur Vereinsamung neigende Geistesleben von der umgebenden Welt berührt. So klein die Stadt war und so zwitterhaft die Hochschule, an der Zeufs wirkte, reiches Leben umwehte ihn hier, wo sein unermüdlich schaffender Freund Halm, der grofse Physiker Schwerdt und Franz Xav. Dieringer, der geistvolle Theologe, neben ihm wirkten, und wo in dem frisch erblühten historischen Verein landesgeschichtliche Forschungen mit regstem Eifer betrieben wurden, wo von dem erinnerungsreichsten aller deutschen Dome und aus völkergeschichtlich bewegtesten Gauen die Stimme der Vergangenheit so laut und eindringlich sprach und wo die schwache Brust des Mannes in der lauen Luft der Rheinebene gesünder als jemals atmete.

Da kam, als Zeufs sein Streben mit dem Leben hier befreundet hatte, eine verspätete Erfüllung einstiger Wünsche, die tragisch für ihn werden sollte. König Ludwig I. berief ihn am 4. April 1847 als Geschichtsprofessor an die Münchener Universität, und Zeufs folgte, anfänglich selbst freudig bewegt, wie er dem Senate meldete, dem so ehrenvoll ausschauenden Rufe.

Aber als Nachfolger des gewaltsam quieszierten Const. Höfler fand er sich einer erregten und mifsvergnügten Studentenschaft gegenüber, ohne die Fähigkeit, sie wie sein Vorgänger durch Wort und Vortrag hinzureifsen, weil er stotterte und seine Stimme den Saal nicht erfüllte. Er fand sich in einer Fakultät, die in der sich immer mehr erregenden Zeit mit Gegensätzen geladen war, und sah zu all den Aufregungen und Herabstimmungen, die ihm das brachte, auch seine Gesundheit noch schwer bedroht. In den kühlen Tagen des Juni 1847 sandte ihm der Würgengel der Hektik, der unterdessen noch

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ein fünftes Glied seiner Familie gefordert hatte, die ernste Botschaft, dafs er auch ihn nicht verschonen wolle, und in tiefer Melancholie brach der Gelehrte auf der Bahn, die zum Höhepunkte seines Lebens hätte führen sollen, zusammen.

Fort von der Universität! lautete sein erster Wunsch, fort von München! sein zweiter, Zurückversetzung nach Speyer, war der Inhalt seiner Bitte an den König, oder Übertragung einer Lyzeallehrerstelle in einer milderen Gegend. Während aber in Speyer bereits Rupert Jäger seinen Posten eingenommen hatte, verstand sich der Verfasser der „Ältesten Geschichte Bayerns" Thomas Rudhart in Bamberg, dazu, den seinigen mit Zeufs zu tauschen, und so kehrte Zeufs im Oktober 1847 aus der grofsen Welt, die ihm fast die Katastrophe gebracht hätte, in das weniger glänzende Dasein am Bamberger Lyzeum und in das stille Viertel hinter demselben zurück.

'Ich bin', schreibt er am 8. Juni 1850 an Mone, 'jetzt hier in der Hauptstadt meines eigentlichen engeren Vaterlandes Historikus an der philosophischen Sektion des Lyceums ... Ich war zufrieden mit meiner Stellung in Speyer, über die ich nicht hinausverlangte, und hier bin ich es noch mehr'.

Und doch war Zeufs, obwohl er manchen Bekannten aus der Jugendzeit, wie seine einstigen Rivalen am Gymnasium, die Professoren Thom. Buchert und Gg. Schaad, hier traf, einsamer als je. Denn jenes anregende wissenschaftliche Leben, das in Speyer geherrscht hatte und auch einen Zeufs veranlassen konnte, seinen Kollegen näher zu treten, fand sich am Bamberger Lyzeum, trotzdem es in Adam Martinet einen geschätzten Orientalisten und Sprachkenner hatte, so nicht wieder, und wenn auch, von dem Feuergeist Const. Höflers angehaucht, der Historische Verein in Bamberg auf Wegen wandelte, die nun die Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte eingeschlagen hat, so war es doch Zeufs selbst nun, der historischen Studien fern blieb, ganz vertieft in die Arbeiten, aus denen 1853 das zweite grofse Hauptwerk seines Lebens, die Grammatica Celtica, hervorging. An der Stätte, wo er einst den Kaledonier Galgacus in ciceronianischem Latein zu seinen Landsleuten hatte reden lassen, hatte er der alten keltischen Völkerwelt ihr eigenes Idiom wiedergegeben und eine Vergangenheit ergründet, die fast mit mehr als sieben Siegeln verschlossen gewesen war.

Er selbst aber, den bisher noch das Feuer der grofsen Forschungs- und Lebensaufgabe erhalten hatte, brach nun zusammen.

Während er daran dachte, sich vom Dienste frei zu machen, um weiteren keltischen Studien in Kopenhagen und London nachzugehen, legte das Gespenst seiner Familie, das hektische Fieber, im Jahre 1855 Beschlag auf diese Freiheit und auf seine ganze stark abgenützte Nervenkraft, und weder die Ruhe des heimatlichen Tales noch eine Kur in Steben konnte den Erkrankten und in düsterer Melancholie sich Verzehrenden heilen. Als seine Urlaubszeit vorüber war, beeilte sich der bureaukratische Formalismus seinen Vorschriften getreu, ihm den Beruf abzunehmen, den er des Brotes wegen einst gewählt hatte. Für Zeufs selbst aber blieb Leben auch noch in seinen letzten Wochen ein Lernen. Noch korrespondierte er damals, wenn auch mit zitternder Hand, mit Christian Wilhelm Glück, an dem er einen begeisterten Schüler und Apostel seiner Forschung gewonnen hatte, über keltische Dinge und noch gab er Mone nicht alle die Werke, die er von ihm entliehen hatte, zurück. Ja, noch an

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dem Tage, da Nachmittags 2 Uhr ein Gehirnschlag seinem Leben ein Ende machte, am 11. November 1856, hatte er eine Reise in den Süden antreten wollen, die gewifs weniger seiner Erholung als den Arbeiten in Mailand und Turin gedient hätte. Er starb an der Stätte, wo er geboren worden war, hinter den entblätterten Erlen der Rodach, als trübe die Novembernebel durch den Frankenwald schlichen, in dem kleinen unscheinbaren Rund, aus dem er erwachsen war, von wenigen nur damals in seiner Weltbedeutung erkannt.

Aber wie seine Gestalt, von einem Bamberger Bildhauer in Stein gehauen, hochragend über die eng umschränkenden Friedhofmauern von Kronach hinweg nach der Stadt und Feste hinüberschaut, die ihm die Welt aufgetan haben, so steht sie heute hochragend in der wissenschaftlichen Welt, weil er selbst dieser wieder weite und weiteste Blicke erschlossen hat. Den Akademien von München, Göttingen und Berlin, die ihn mit der Ehre ihrer Mitgliedschaft bedachten, den historischen Vereinen in bayrischen, rheinischen und nordischen Landen, die ihn sich zum Ehrenmitgliede erkoren, hat sich in den fünfzig Jahren seit seinem Tode langsam, aber um so bedeutungsvoller der Weltverein der Wissenschaft gesellt, ihn als einen ihrer Führer zu verehren.

Wie Zeufs in Stille und Einsamkeit schuf, so liegt das, was er geschaffen, fern von dem grofsen, nur den äufserlichen Menschen bezaubernden Markte des Lebens. Aber er gehört zu den wenigen, die um so mehr innerlich ergreifen, je gesammelter man mit ihnen Zwiesprache hält, und je näher man dem einsamen Forscher tritt, um so mächtiger wächst seine Gestalt, um so unvergefslicher wird sein Bild dem, der es in sich aufzunehmen versucht. So ist es vielen gegangen wie Chr. W. Glück, sie sind begeisterte Jünger und Schüler des Meisters geworden, und mit Ehrfurcht schaut zu ihrem Vater Zeufs die über Europas Grenzen hinaus gewachsene Gemeinde der Keltologen empor, indes er neben Jak. Grimm und Karl Lachmann auch den Germanisten zu einem ihrer Grofsen geworden ist. Doch den Meister der Sprachwissenschaft wird Ihnen ein Mund schildern, der berufener dazu ist, als der meinige. Mir aber, der ich die Ehre habe, den Lehrstuhl einzunehmen, den Zeufs in den neun letzten Jahren seines Lebens innehatte, obliegt es, den Historiker Zeufs ihnen näher zu bringen und ich kann mich dazu nur ermuntert fühlen, wenn ich sehe, wie Thomas Rudhart einstens seine Älteste Geschichte Bayerns veröffentlichte, ohne den Verfechter der wahrscheinlichsten Herkunft der Bayern auch nur einer Erwähnung wert zu halten, und wie Wegele noch die Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie schreiben konnte, ohne auch nur mit einem Worte anzudeuten, dafs ein Werk wie 'Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme' für einen wichtigen Teil historischer Forschung und Darstellung grundlegend geworden ist.

Das erklärt sich wohl damit, dafs ihnen zu viel Sprachwissenschaft in dem historischen Schaffen Zeufsens steckte. Rudhart wenigstens beklagt sich einmal bei einer Besprechung der Markomannenhypothese über die Tyrannei, welche die Sprachgelehrsamkeit über die Geschichte in Anspruch nehme, und über die Grammatik, 'welche Herkunft, Leben und Schicksale der Völker zu ordnen sich unterfange'.[1]) Umsomehr, sollte man meinen, hätte Rudolf

[1]) (Münchner) Gelehrte Anzeigen 1843, S. 763.


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v. Raumer, der Zeufs ja auch persönlich kannte, in seiner Geschichte der germanischen Philologie Grund gehabt, ihn für sie zu reklamieren. Doch auch er schweigt sich aus über ihn, wohl deswegen, weil ihm Zeufs in seinem Werke über die Deutschen allzusehr Historiker war. Und in der Tat, Zeufs ist ein viel zu originaler Geist, als dafs er sich leicht in den wohlgeordneten Fächern der Zunftgelehrsamkeit unterbringen liefse, und er repräsentiert nicht das eine nur oder das andere, sondern der grofse Bund der Wissenschaften der Geschichte und der Sprache ist in ihm Fleisch geworden, sodafs mehr als von jedem andern von ihm das Wort Jakob Grimms gilt, er habe der Geschichte das Bett von der Sprachwissenschaft her aufgeschüttelt.[1]) Die Herkunft der Bayern begründet er vorwiegend mit einem etymologischen Ergebnis, in dem Werke über die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme ist die Sprachwissenschaft die Begleitmusik, die in den Anmerkungen unausgesetzt der historischen Melodie im Texte folgt, und selbst die Ausgabe der Traditiones Wizenburgenses ist in erster Linie den oberdeutschen Orts- und Personennamen zuliebe unternommen.

Wie für Zeufs die Sprachwissenschaft hauptsächlich eine historische ist, so ist sie dem Historiker in ihm die erste geschichtliche Hilfswissenschaft, der Schlüssel, mit dem allein das Tor zum dunkeln Land der Völkergeschichte sich öffnen liefs. Und mit Recht! Denn während der Bund, den die Geschichte am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts mit Philosophie und Aufklärung geschlossen hatte, sie erst fähig machte zu universalgeschichtlicher Betrachtung, und während sie am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts durch die Befruchtung von seiten der Naturwissenschaft her erst tiefer in die kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklungen eindringen lernte, so bahnte sie sich, verbündet mit der Sprachwissenschaft, erst einen zuverlässigeren Weg in die Völkergeschichte, in das Altertum der Völker und unseres eigenen Volkes. Zeufs aber ging diesen Weg als erster mit sicherem Schritte und wurde so der Historiker deutschen und europäischen Altertums, als welcher er hier gewürdigt wird.

Wohl hatten schon manche andere wie Schlözer, der Vater der nordischen Geschichte in Deutschland, und Adelung, der im Jahre des Zusammenbruchs 1806 seine 'Älteste Geschichte der Deutschen' veröffentlichte, mit Hilfe der Spraehe operiert. Aber Zeufs besafs, was beiden noch fehlte, die volle Kenntnis ihrer historischen Entwicklung und war ein viel schärferer Kritiker als Adelung, indes er vor Schlözer, dem rasch aburteilenden Sohne der Aufklärung, die Achtung voraus hatte, die den Quellen, so trüb sie auch aus dunkler Vergangenheit fliefsen mochten, doch ein gerecht abwägendes Urteil nicht versagen durfte. Vergleicht man Zeufs aber mit Konrad Mannert, dem namhaften Geographen des Altertums, so findet man, dafs er auch diesem ganz besonders durch die Sprachwissenschaft überlegen war, ohne ihm als Geograph nachzustehen. So vereinigte Zeufs von vornherein, um der Historiker des deutschen und europäischen Altertums zu werden, alles in sich, was dieser Historiker damals besitzen mufste, und was in solcher Mischung bisher noch nicht vorhanden gewesen war: sprachhistorische Meisterschaft, klares, geographisches Verständnis, gerecht nehmende und gebende Kritik und

[1]) Geschichte der deutschen Sprache² S. XI.



noch eines, eine bisher noch nicht erreichte Kenntnis und Beherrschung des Quellenmaterials.

Denn, wie Schmeller ganz richtig urteilte,[1] "die gröfste Schwierigkeit für den Verfasser des Buches 'Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme' lag nicht im Zusammenbringen der Zeugnisse", obwohl, wie wir hinzufügen dürfen, ein Blick in das Werk selbst und den Nachlafs Zeufsens lehrt, dafs er auch darin die Vorgänger ganz erstaunlich überflügelt hat, dafs er nicht nur die Zeugnisse der Alten benutzte, angefangen von den bekannten Darstellungen eines Caesar, Tacitus oder Ptolemaeus bis in das verlorenste Fragment fast verschollener Byzantiner, sondern auch angelsächsische, nordische, slavische und arabische Quellen heranzog und mit eisernstem Fleifse ein bisher kaum beachtetes Quellenmaterial ausschöpfte, das für die Jahrhunderte des frühesten Mittelalters unbenutzt aufgespeichert gelegen hatte in den mächtigen Folianten der Bollandisten und der Acta Sanctorum und in den zahlreichen Urkundenpublikationen des 18. Jahrhunderts. Gewifs, dieses Zusammenenbringen der Quellen war schon als solches eine Meisterleistung.

Aber es galt noch viel mehr zu tun. Wo Schlözer mit dem wegwerfenden Wort von Lieblingswörtern der tiefen Unwissenheit der Alten sich die Kritik ihre Nachrichten erspart hatte, wo andere, nicht weniger unbekümmert um ihren Wahrheitskern, mit dem livianischen Sigovesus und Bellovesus alle Rätsel einer bunten Völkergeschichte gelöst wähnten, da galt es, wie Niebuhr einmal sagt, 'Gedicht und Verfälschung zu scheiden und den Blick anstrengen, um die Züge der Wahrheit, befreit von Übertünchungen, zu erkennen'.[2] Kritisch gesichtet und gewertet mufste das ungeheure Material werden und — ich lasse Schmeller noch einmal das Wort — 'durch all das Chaos moderner, an sie geknüpfter, einander oft geradezu widersprechender Ansichten und Behauptungen, dem eigenen Urteil unbeschadet' mufste Zeufs sich hindurchfinden.

Die eine und die andere Vorarbeit war ja bereits geschehen, zumal hatten Mannert und ein wenig auch Christian Karl Barth, Aug. Benedict Wilhelm und Christian Reichard ihre Verdienste gehabt, sodafs manche Fabel schon entlarvt, manche trügerische Kulisse schon hinweggeschoben, mancher Widerspruch schon gelöst war. Aber niemand hatte es vor Zeufs unternommen, das so systematisch zu tun, mit dem nämlichen Blick über ein so grofses Ganze und dem gleich scharfen Auge für jeden kleinen und kleinsten Zug. Das aber gab Zeufs des Historikers höchste Weihe, dafs er nicht blofs ein die Tünche des Vergangenheitsbildes beseitigender Kritiker, sondern auch ein neu gestaltender Schöpfer desselben war, und wie später bei der altkeltischen Grammatik, so auch hier aus zahllosen Splittern und Bruchstücken und zusammenhangslosen Teilen vorsichtig abwägend, vergleichend und verknüpfend die Welt der germanischen und nordeuropäischen Völkerkunde wiederherstellte, so, wie der Vater unserer kritischen Geschichtsforschung, Niebuhr, es mit dem römischen Altertum getan hatte.

Und damit habe ich den grofsen Namen noch einmal genannt, dem Cuno schon in seinen 'Forschungen im Gebiet der alten Völkerkunde', I 306,

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[1]) (Münchener) Gelehrte Anzeigen 1838, S. 666.

[2]) Römische Geschichte I¹, S. IX.


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den Namen des Historikers Zeuſs vergleichend an die Seite gestellt hat. Zeuſs ist nicht nur ein Jünger der durch Niebuhr begründeten historischen Methode, er ist auch ein Meister gleich ihm.

Um für ersteres aus einer Fülle von Beispielen nur drei auszuwählen: Wenn Zeuſs wieder und wieder durchzudringen sucht durch die Verzerrungen, welche die Völkertafel des Ptolemaeus zeigt, zu dem wirklichen ethnographischen Bild, das in der Zeit des antiken Geographen vorhanden war; wenn er des Jornandes Gotengeschichte trotz ihrer Fabeln als wertvolle Quelle gründlich ausschöpft; oder wenn er aus all den Widersprüchen der Alten über die Skythen trotz reicher Übertünchung die echten Konturen eines Völkerganzen hervortreten läſst, so ist dies, kongenial gebraucht, die Arbeitsweise eines Niebuhr, und gleichgeartet ist auch bei ihm die für den Historiker so unerläſsliche köstliche Gabe, die vollständige Objektivität und Ruhe, die den Völkern gibt, was einstens den Völkern gehörte.

Wie viel Pathos macht sich doch, so tüchtig die Leistung auch sonst ist, in dem gleichzeitig erschienenen und verwandten Stoff behandelnden Buche Hermann Müllers 'Die Marken des Vaterlandes' breit, und wie erinnert es unwillkürlich heute noch daran, daſs es in den Tagen entstand, da der nationale Gegensatz gegen die Franzosen wieder stärker erwacht war. Nichts davon bei Zeuſs, der an J. Grimm einmal die Worte schrieb: 'Ich freue mich, daſs Sie sich bald öffentlich über die Keltomanie einiger Schriftsteller erklären wollen, und habe es gern gelesen, daſs sie in mir einen Gegner derselben voraussetzen; ebenso würden Sie mich als Gegner der Slawomanie Schaffariks finden, aber auch der Germanomanie. Jedem Volk das Seine.'[1]) Aber ein Schemen ohne nationales Fleisch und Blut war Zeuſs deswegen doch nicht. Daſs er ein Deutscher war, mit warmem Gefühl für das eigene Volk, bekundet doch mehr wie jedes tönende Pathos die bis ins Einzelnste gehende liebevolle Sorgfalt, mit der er seine Nation in die Mitte seines Buchs gestellt und die andern um die Deutschen gruppiert hat. Darinnen ist er aber wiederum Niebuhr gleichzustellen, weil auch er einen nationalen Standpunkt durch einen universellen adelte, und so, indem er dazu noch ein vortrefflicher Methodiker war wie er, ein ausgezeichneter Philolog wie er, zu reichen und dauernden Ergebnissen gelangt.

Da wird mit sicherer Hand, in groſsen Zügen, aus reifster Kunde heraus der Schauplatz entworfen, auf dem das deutsche Altertum sich bewegt, um den die Nachbarstämme sich gedrängt haben. Die Nordvölker treten heran, kein keltischer Mischmasch und doch ein Ganzes mit gemeinschaftlichen Zügen in Sprache, Götterglaube, Körpergestalt und Lebensweise, bei allem Gemeinsamen aber gesondert in drei groſse Hauptgruppen — der Germanen, Kelten und Wenden. Will uns dies heutzutage eine Binsenwahrheit bedünken, so muſs man doch für Zeuſsens Zeit daran erinnern, daſs noch ein Jahr nach seinem Tode ein Sprachforscher, wie Adolf Holtzmann, allen Ernstes den Unterschied zwischen Germanen und Kelten verwischen wollte. Dunkel ist dann freilich Zeuſs gar manches geblieben, was die schwierige, damals noch schwierigere Frage der Zweige der Germanen betrifft. Um

[1]) L. Chr. Stern, Briefe von J. K. Zeuſs an Chr. W. Glück, Ztschr. f. celtische Philologie III (1901), S. 375.


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so sicherer aber wies er den deutschen Einzelstämmen vor der Völkerwanderung ihre Plätze an und schuf ein Fundament, zu dem Mannert und andere freilich wertvolles Material bereits geliefert hatten. Aber so, wie es nun von Zeufs gelegt wurde, ward es ein Bau, auf dem die deutsche Ethnographie trotz einzelner Änderungen auch heute noch steht. Sicherem Beweis eint sich hier manch feine Hypothese, und wie z. B. der Bastarnen germanisches Volkstum endgültig erkannt wurde, so ward in den rätselhaften Baemi des Ptolemaeus das in die Karpathen verpflanzte Suebenvolk des Vannius glücklich geahnt.

Wie Zeufs dann die Kelten und Germanen im Westen gruppierte, im heutigen belgischen und rheinischen Gebiete, wo der Name Germanen zuerst Gestalt gewann, ist in neuerer Zeit nicht ohne Widerspruch geblieben, und über das Volkstum manches der rätselhaften Alpenvölker konnte er nicht ins Klare kommen. Aber mit ihm hält doch ein namhafter Teil der Forscher auch heute noch die alten Belger nicht mehr für Germanen, und ihm dankt man es, wenn endlich die Bojer und mit ihnen ein ganzer, fast heilig gewordener Hausrat historischer Irrtümer endgültig von der schwäbisch-bayerischen Hochebene verwiesen wurde. Dem Keltenvolk überhaupt als Ganzem schrieb er in grofsen Zügen, die Contzen später nur ins Kleinere auszuführen brauchte, seine erste klare Geschichte, und von Adelungs thrakischem Sprachstamme löste er für die Zukunft das Illyriervolk, indes er die angeblich germanischen Geten Jakob Grimms stillschweigend unter den Thrakern begrub.

Nirgends aber erscheint er so sehr als Meister wie bei den Nachbarn in Nord und Ost, wo die dunkeln Namen flüchtiger Skythenvölker und sarmatischer Horden so vieldeutige Rätsel aufgaben und in der grenzenlosen Steppe so viel verschiedenes Volkstum ineinander überflofs. Hier schuf er geradezu aus den Nachrichten der Alten und den Anhaltspunkten der Sprache in fester bestimmten Stämmen und Wohnorten den esthisch-lettischen Völkerzweig und ward dadurch für Müllenhoff die Grundlage zu eingehenden, an sich freilich höchst wertvollen Untersuchungen. Wer aber dem letzteren allein das Verdienst zuspricht, die Skythen als Indogermanen von arischem Zweige erkannt zu haben, der pflegt zu übersehen, dafs aus dem skythischen Chaos schon Zeufs den iranischen Kern in feiner Beweisführung herausgestaltet hat.

Aber alles das sind nur Resultate der ersten Hälfte des Buches. Denn nun läfst Zeufs in einem zweiten Teil noch einmal die ganze Völkerwelt vorüberziehen, der Umgestaltungen wegen, die durch die Völkerwanderung herbeigeführt wurden. Berührten sie in erster Linie die Germanen, so erwuchs Zeufs in erster Linie auch die Aufgabe den grofsen, noch ganz ungenügend beantworteten Fragen nach der Entstehung und Zusammensetzung der germanischen Völkerbünde auf grund der Quellen nahe zu treten. Seit er es getan, hat eine unermüdlich emsige Forschung die Lücke auszufüllen versucht, die Zeufs in der Frage nach dem Entstehungsgrund gelassen hatte, und aufserdem manchen Stein aus seinem Bau gelöst und manchen, der haltbarer war oder schien, neu eingesetzt. Aber es schlug auch auf einem Gebiete, wo so viel des Dunkeln und des Verwirrenden immer bleiben wird, Hypothese die Hypothese und die Ironie, die

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so manchen Fragen der Forschung sich zugesellt, brachte es mit sich, daſs die Sugambern Zeuſsens, die Müllenhoff bereits zum Spiel römischer Rhetoren gemacht zu haben schien, bei Felix Dahn[1]) als fränkisches Kernvolk wieder auflebten, wie der nämliche verdiente Altmeister germanischen Altertums auch wieder zu den Juthungen Zeuſsens als dem Hauptvolk der Schwaben überging.[2]) Mit fliegenden Fahnen aber ist bis auf wenige Dissidenten das gesamte Forscherheer in das markomannische Bajuwarenlager Zeuſsens marschiert, und so ist dem stillen groſsen Forscher, alles in allem, doch das Verdienst gewahrt, den Grundkern der deutschen Völkervereine richtig erkannt zu haben, und bis heute die unerschöpfliche Fundgrube für alle Nachrichten über die Ahnen unserer späteren deutschen Stämme geblieben zu sein.

Eines der glänzendsten Kapitel in diesem Teile ist aber das über die Normannen, weil es in allem, was die umsichtige Benützung des Quellenmaterials, die Feinheit der Beweisführung und die Feststellung der Tatsachen betrifft, geradezu musterhaft genannt werden darf. So schuf Zeuſs auch für das nordische Altertum die feste Basis, wie auch Paul Joseph Schafarik, dessen 'Slavische Altertümer' gleichzeitig mit dem Werke Zeuſsens erschienen, mit ihm in den Ruhm sich teilen muſs, die Grundzüge der slavischen Wanderung und osteuropäischen Völkerverschiebung festgestellt zu haben. Schärfer als jener erkannte dabei Zeuſs, welche Bedeutung für diese Wanderung der Avareneinbruch hatte, und tiefer als alle sah er in den hunnischen Ursprung des Bulgarenvolkes. Zum zweiten Male zwang er so das flüchtige Völkergewimmel der Steppe, dem prüfenden Auge des Forschers standzuhalten und, wenn er dem alanischen Reitervolke vielleicht auch nicht tief genug in die asiatische Heimat turkmenischer Horden folgte, so schloſs er doch sein Werk nicht, ohne nicht auch noch den finnischen Ursprung und die älteste Geschichte der Ungarn achtunggebietend vertreten zu haben. Wo immer man sich in sein Werk vertieft, da bietet es eine Fülle bleibender Ergebnisse und man braucht, wenn man es im Ganzen übersieht, nicht mehr mit dem Urteile zu zaudern, daſs Zeuſs der Niebuhr der Deutschen und der Nachbarstämme ist.

Wenn dies aber nicht schon öfter und entschiedener behauptet worden ist, so liegt der Grund doch wohl an der Form, in welcher Zeuſsens historisches Schaffen uns entgegentritt.

Zeuſs ist nicht der feine Stilist wie Niebuhr und in deutschen Lesebüchern wird er schwerlich jemals so wie jener durch Musterstücke vertreten sein. Hart sind seine Sätze und glänzende Lichter prosaischen Ausdruckes mildern nirgends die eckigen Linien derselben. Selbst die ganze Abfassungsform seines Hauptwerkes hat Miſsfallen erregt. Jakob Grimm schien 'der gehandhabte Unterschied zwischen Altertum der Völker und ihrer Umgestaltung auf die Klarheit der dadurch zerrissenen Verhältnisse ungünstig einzuflieſsen.'[3]) Und in der Tat, an zwei, oft an drei Stellen des Werkes ist das zersplittert, was

[1]) Könige der Germanen Bd. VII, Abt. 1, S. 16.
[2]) Ebenda Bd. IX, Abt. 1, S. 4 ff.
[3]) Gesch. d. deutsch. Sprache², S. X.

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ein und das nämliche Volk, ein und den nämlichen Stamm betrifft. Enttäuschung ist sogar das erste Gefühl, das man dem Buche gegenüber empfindet, wenn man eine zusammenhängende Darstellung erwartet und dann sich einer Art Lexikon gegenüber sieht. Es ist unleugbar so: Nüchtern und hart ist die Schale, in der uns der kostbare Kern geboten wird, und da, wo uns der Verfasser in leicht dahingleitenden Worten in das Reich seiner Forschung einführen oder in wohlpointierten Sätzen seine Resultate uns mundgerecht machen sollte, da verlangt er von uns, mit ihm durch lange lateinische, griechische, nordische und angelsächsische, slavische und arabische Zitate uns hindurchzuarbeiten.

Freilich ist bereits mit Recht darauf hingewiesen worden,[1]) dafs wir so das Ganze eigentlich selbst mit ihm aufbauen, und der Historiker in Zeufs hat nicht ohne gute Überlegung gehandelt, wenn er über die tief einschneidende Bedeutung der Völkerwanderung für die germanische Welt und folglich auch für die Nachbarwelt nicht hinwegsah und auf ihr einen Einschnitt begründete. Sollten einmal die Deutschen im Mittelpunkt stehen und die Nachbarn in Süd und West, in Ost und Nord von hier aus betrachtet werden, dann war ein Werk aus einem Gusse immer noch eher auf solch offen liegendem geschichtlichem Boden zu erzielen, oder es wäre Zeufs gegangen wie Müllenhoff, der über seiner deutschen Altertumskunde hinwegstarb und einen mächtigen Torso und ein Mosaik, in dem das Hauptbild fehlte, hinterliefs. Aber mag man Zeufs auch hinsichtlich der Gesamtanlage seines historischen Hauptwerkes rehtfertigen, die Tatsache bleibt doch, dafs der Gröfse des Inhalts die Form nicht entspricht, und dafs das Werk, welches eine ganze Welt umfafst, jählings in der ungarischen Pufsta endet, so, wie auch die kleine, aber wertvolle Studie über 'Die Reichsstadt Speier vor ihrer Zerstörung' plötzlich zu Ende ist und den Leser fast buchstäblich vor dem Fischertore des alten Speyer stehen läfst.

Aber Zeufs hat auch, wie Bachmann richtig konstatiert,[2]) die alte Wahrheit nicht beobachtet, dafs man die Leser erst interessieren, dann erwärmen, schliefslich überzeugen müsse. Das aber war schuld daran, dafs er bei dem seiner historischen Werke, das ihn frühzeitig weiteren Kreisen bekannt machte, es doch weniger wurde durch die Zustimmung, die er fand, als durch den Widerspruch, den er erntete. Ich meine seine 1839 erschienene Schrift über die Herkunft der Bayern, die Zeufs'sche Hypothese, wie sie untrennbar mit seinem Namen verbunden jeder heute nennt. Hätte sie eine bessere Abrundung und eine gewinnendere Form gehabt, sie hätte nicht fast ebensoviele Gegner gefunden, als es Stämme gab, von welchen man die Bajuwaren hergeleitet hatte.

Zufrieden hatten da die Anhänger der Bojerfabel um ihren Vater Vincenz v. Pallhausen versammelt gesessen und seinen Garibald skandiert, um ihren bajuwarischen Eigendünkel an uralten, welterobernden Bojern zu berauschen. Da grübelte Koch-Sternfeld, wie er Kelten und Heruler zu einem Volksganzen verschmelzen könne, indes C. Fr. Neumann das kleine, kaum sichtbar werdende Boiskenvölkchen im Handumdrehen zum mächtigen Stamm der Bayern beförderte und sich selbst ironisierend der Ritter von Lang sogar zu den Slaven überging. Franken, Goten, Langobarden waren als Vorväter

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[1]) Von E. Kuhn in seiner Münchner Festrede am 14. März 1906.

[2]) Wiener Sitzungsbericht, 90. Bd. (1878), S. 830f.



der Bayern aufgestellt worden und ein klaffender Gegensatz hatte sich schliefslich aufgetan zwischen all diesen Unigenisten und den Föderalisten, unter denen wohlüberlegende Historiker wie Pfister, Mannert, Rudhart aus Sciren, Sueven, Rugiern, Herulern und Turcilingern einen Völkerverein der Bajuwaren konstruiert hatten. Da erschien mitten unter ihnen Zeufs mit der Erklärung, 'Sprachenkunde sei die Leuchte der Völkergeschichte, der Geschichte des Altertums; ohne sie sei niemand ein tauglicher Arbeiter auf diesem Gebiete. Die Sprache gebe sicheres Zeugnis, irre nicht, während eine alte Nachricht wohl irren könne.'[1])

Darauf entwickelte er, nachdem er die Bojisten und Koch-Sternfeld ihres falschen sprachlichen Aufputzes beraubt hatte, in allerdings sicheren Zügen seinen sprachlichen Beweis für die Herkunft des Bayernnamens von Böhmen, der Heimat der Markomannen, fügte aber nur mehr andeutend als ausführend den historischen Beweis hinzu, weil es ihn drängte, auch mit den übrigen Gegnern noch hauptsächlich philologiseh abzurechnen.

So hatte er allerdings die Bojisten vernichtet, trotz des verspäteten Auftretens des Kgl. Advokaten in Trostberg, Carl Siegert, der noch im Jahre 1854 die dem Reichsherold Pallhausen entrissene keltische Standarte ergriff und mit erstaunlicher Verwegenheit schwang.[2]) Aber das geschah recht eigenlich doch nur zur Erheiterung der Wissenschaft, die das bayerische Weifs-blau als die Nationalfarbe schon der alten Armalausen begreifen sollte und bajuwarische Kraftausdrücke wie Letfeigen, Kampl, Lackl sowie den Hofbräuhausbock staunend im keltischen Sprachschatz wiederfand.

Dagegen fehlte der positive Erfolg, weil Zeufs in einer eminent historischen Frage die Hilfswissenschaft zur Gesetzgeberin gemacht hatte, weil er auf einem Kampfplatz zahlreichster Gegner es an einer hieb- und stichfesten Ausrüstung hatte fehlen lassen. 'Bewiesen hat Zeufs nichts, aber wahrscheinlich ist die Sache', schlofs daher Schmeller seine Besprechung der Schrift,[3]) und Rudhart warf sich, als später Wittmann Zeufs hatte vervollständigen wollen, mit Wucht auf jede Blöfse, die in der Markomannenhypothese geblieben war.[4])

Trotzdem ist Zeufs der Sieger geblieben, auch nach dem wohlüberlegten und umsichtigen Angriff, den zwei Jahre nach seinem Tode noch Quitzmann gegen seine Hypothese unternahm. Seit Bachmann den historischen Beweis für die Markomannen noch einmal gründlich und kunstvoll durchführte, blieb Zeufs auch das Verdienst, auf einem engen Gebiet, aber in einer der bewegtesten Streitfragen der älteren deutschen Geschichte den gangbarsten Weg gezeigt zu haben und, wenn schon Bernhard Sepps Juthungen als Stammväter der Bayern wenig Gegenliebe gefunden haben, so werden die Lugier, die Ludwig Wilser noch im vergangenen Jahre zu ihren Ahnen erheben wollte, sie noch weniger finden, trotz des Vorwurfs der Beschränktheit der deutschen Geschichtsforschung, den Wilser schon im voraus erhob.

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[1]) Die Herkunft der Bayern S. IV.

[2]) In 'Grundlagen zur ältesten Geschichte des bayerischen Hauptvolksstammes und seiner Fürsten'.

[3]) Gelehrte Anzeigen 1840, Nr. 17.

[4]) Ebd. 1843, Nr. 91 ff.

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Daſs diese Anerkennung freilich so spät erst sich durchrang, habe ich durch einen Mangel in Zeuſsens Schaffen begründen müssen. Und doch will es mir scheinen, als ob ich daran gewesen wäre, ungerecht gegen ihn zu werden, und von einem Mann gröſseren Glanz und bestechenderes Auftreten zu verlangen, der so ganz und gar aus sich selbst nichts machen wollte.

Die charakteristischen Züge seiner Werke sind ja auch die des Mannes, des Menschen Zeuſs. Anspruchslos und bescheiden war er durch und durch, wie alle bezeugen, die ihn kannten, wie noch heute seine Briefe an Chr. Wilh. Glück verraten, in denen er niemals lästig fallen will und jede kleine Bitte fast sofort wieder zurücknehmen möchte. Oder, um ein anderes Beispiel zu gebrauchen, kann man weniger von der Grammatica celtica sagen als er, wenn er Mone erklärte, er glaube mit ihr der Wissenschaft einen Dienst zu erweisen? Und ging die Anspruchslosigkeit nicht sogar zu weit, die ihn, den hochgewachsenen schönen Mann mit dem feinen Gesicht und dem prächtigen schwarzen Haar so nachlässig einhergehen lieſs, daſs, wie Adam Martinet im Nachrufe für ihn bemerkt, seine äuſsere Erscheinung seinem inneren Wert und Reichtum an Wissenschaft nicht entsprach?[1]) Nein, bestechend wirken wollte und konnte Zeuſs nicht. So wenig er ein glänzender Schriftsteller war, so wenig hinreiſsend war er auch als Lehrer und Dozent, nicht nur weil er stotterte und seine Stimme schwach war, sondern weil er auch die Gabe nicht besaſs, die Fülle und Tiefe seines Wissens für Hörer und Schüler auszumünzen. Darin liegt aber auch die Erklärung dafür, daſs er immer wieder in die Stille einer Bibliothek oder eines Archives getrachtet hatte, um dort bei Büchern und Urkunden ganz er selbst sein zu können.

Was er ganz war, welche Kraft in ihm mächtig wirkte, das ahnten wohl dunkel die, die vor ihm auf den Bänken saſsen, aber verstanden haben sie die Gröſse nicht bloſs dieses Geistes, sondern auch dieser Seele nicht. Sie hätten sie aus seinen Werken erschlieſsen müssen. Dann hätten sie gesehen, daſs diese Seele von einer der edelsten aller Leidenschaften, dem Forschungstrieb, ganz erfüllt war und der erkundeten Wahrheit sich ganz und restlos hingab. Für das Lernen, das Forschen, die Wissenschaft hatte er das fröhliche Spiel der Jugend geflohen, hatte mit der bitteren Sorge und mit zärtlichen Wünschen den Kampf um den Beruf geführt und Jahre lang in der armseligen Stellung eines Hilfslehrers ausgeharrt. Weil von den Büchern der Wissenschaft seine wenigen finanziellen Mittel beansprucht wurden, hatte er die Ehre des Doktorates sich ferne gehalten und noch auf dem Krankenlager opferte er ihr die Nächte, in denen er bis tief in den Morgen hinein studierte. Ihrem heiligen Dienst zuliebe versagte er sich auch das Erdenglück, das in der Familie begründet werden kann. Der Wissenschaft waren alle seine Reisen gewidmet, ihr galten die Briefe, die er schrieb, von ihr empfing er die Freunde, die er liebte, von ihr den Scherz, dessen er, der sonst immer ernste, fähig war. 'Herrn Holtzmann zu holzen' wäre ihm ihretwegen ein Vergnügen gewesen. Denn ihretwegen konnte er selbst bitter werden, wie es Jakob Grimm gegenüber geschah, sogar undankbar erscheinen, wenn man sieht, wie er Mone, dem er doch viel verdankte, der bitterbösen Feder Glücks überlieferte.

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[1]) 21. Bericht d. histor. Vereins Bamberg (1858) S. 76.


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Leben war ihm Wissenschaft, Forschen die grofse Leidenschaft seiner Seele, sich dabei aber doch unentwegt auf ein Ziel beschränken, Selbstzucht im vollsten Mafse zu üben, dafs war die gröfste Tugend dieses so einfachen und doch so wenig verstandenen Mannes.

Auch Aschbach hatte ihn nicht verstanden, als er ihm in der Besprechung seines Werkes über die Deutschen[1]) den Vorwurf machte, er hätte viel mehr auf die modernen Theorien über die germanischen Stämme eingehen sollen. Gewifs hätte Zeufs dies können. Aber wie er die Angebote unbeachtet liefs, die man ihm machte, um ihn als Mitarbeiter für wissenschaftliche Unternehmungen zu gewinnen, wie er in der Grammatica celtica mit aller Kraft der Selbstzügelung an sich hielt, um in keinen der vielen lockenden Seitenwege einzubiegen, so hielt er sparsamstes Mafs auf jenem historischen Gebiete, wo die Anschauungen, die Konjekturen, die Hypothesen auf allen Wegen lauern, den Forscher an sie sich verlieren zu lassen.

So spricht Geistes- und Seelengröfse aus Zeufsens Werken, so erscheint er einfach zwar und anspruchslos wie das äufsere Gewand, in dem er sie gab, aber in höchster Reife wie sie selbst und wie sie aus einem Gufs und Ganzen. So hatte er, kaum über dreifsig Jahre alt, das Werk geschaffen, das durch Müllenhoffs ganze Lebensarbeit nicht überflüssig werden konnte, zu dem auch der grofse Torso D'Arbois de Jubainvilles bis heute nur eine Ergänzung für eine noch frühere europäische Vergangenheit ist, das man sich auch nach den Forschungen eines Kosinna, Much und Bremer und mancher anderer ebensowenig aus dem Reiche der Wissenschaft hinwegdenken kann, wie Grimms historische Grammatik oder Niebuhrs römische Geschichte.

Denn es ist die historische Grammatik der Ethnographie und die Römische Geschichte des europäischen Mittelvolkes und seiner Nachbarn in Ost und Nord und Süd und West und der prägnanteste Ausdruck des fruchtbaren Bundes, den Geschichte und Sprachwissenschaft seit den schweren Tagen des Jahres 1806 geschlossen hatten.

Es ist eine der grofsen weltgeschichtlichen Taten, durch welche Söhne des deutschen Volkes die kriegerische Zerschmetterung bei Jena friedlich wett gemacht haben und, wenn Kronach den Aufenthalt des Völkerzerschmetterers in seinen Mauern mit Recht zu seinen grofsen Erinnerungen zählt, so vergifst die Welt der Wissenschaft mit noch gröfserem Rechte niemals wieder des Erbauers einer Völkerwelt, der aus Kronachs Umkreis hervorging, des bescheidenen Maurersohnes aus Vogtendorf.

Nach der Ouverture zu Iphigenie in Aulis von Gluck bestieg Professor Kuno Meyer-Liverpool das Katheder zur Festrede: 'Johann Kaspar Zeufs als Sprachforscher'.

Hochansehnliche Festversammlung!

Es ist ein weit verbreiteter und fest gewurzelter Irrtum der grofsen Menge, dafs die Arbeit des Gelehrten, der ein entlegenes Gebiet der Altertumswissenschaft erforscht, wohl hie und da auch über den engen Kreis der

[1]) Berliner Jahrbücher f. wissenschaftliche Kritik, 1838, II, S. 318.


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Fachgenossen hinaus Interesse zu erwecken vermöge, aber keine lebendige Bedeutung für die Gegenwart gewinnen könne. Der Laie versteht es wohl, wenn die Wissenschaft ins Praktische umgesetzt erscheint und dort Erfolge erlebt; aber das geheimnisvolle Wirken jeder wissenschaftlichen Tat, den Segen, der ihr inne wohnt und den sie früher oder später oft weithin verbreitet, ahnt er nicht.

Auch von dem stillen Arbeitszimmer in Bamberg, von der Stube im Bauernhaus zu Vogtendorf sind Wirkungen ausgegangen, deren der einsame Arbeiter dort sich selbst nicht bewufst war, die er jedenfalls nicht mehr erlebt hat. Der arme deutsche Gelehrte hatte Gaben zu spenden, um die ihn ein König beneiden könnte.

Wenn wir uns heute an der Stätte, wo der grofse Mann gelehrt und gearbeitet hat, von nah und fern zusammenfinden, um den Tag festlich zu begehen, an dem er vor hundert Jahren der Welt geschenkt wurde, so treiben uns dazu mannigfache Beweggründe. Um die Angehörigen der Anstalt, an der er gewirkt, haben sich seine Stammesgenossen versammelt, die stolz sind darauf, dafs er mit seinem eigenen Ruhme den seiner Vaterstadt, seiner engeren Heimat hinausgetragen hat über die ganze gelehrte und gebildete Welt; die Jünger seiner Wissenschaft, die mit Verehrung zu ihm als ihrem Meister und Lehrer aufblicken; die Vertreter von Universitäten und Akademien, die dem grofsen Gelehrten, dem Begründer einer neuen Disziplin huldigen wollen.

Aber draufsen steht noch eine weit gröfsere Gemeinde, ganze Völkerschaften bringen ihm unsichtbare Lorbeerkränze dar. Sie danken und huldigen ihm als dem Befreier von unerträglichem Joch, der mit dem scharfen Schwerte der Wissenschaft eine Kette durchschlagen hat, die sie lange schmachvoll gebunden hielt; der ihnen einen köstlichen Schatz zurückgewonnen hat, das Bewufstsein einer grofsen Vergangenheit und Überlieferung. Es sind die keltischen Nationalitäten, die Überreste jenes gewaltigen Völkergeschlechts, das einst Europa vom Schwarzen Meere bis an den atlantischen Ozean, von Italien bis zu den Orkaden beherrschte. Nur wenige unter ihnen wissen es, aber sie alle, Iren, Schotten, Kymren und Bretonen, geniefsen die Früchte deutscher Wissenschaft und vor allem der Arbeit des schlichten Gelehrten, dessen Andenken wir feiern.

Schon vor Jahrhunderten mächtigeren Völkern unterlegen, ihres Landes beraubt, fremden Gesetzen unterworfen, war ihnen in aller Drangsal nichts schwerer zu ertragen, traf sie keine empfindlichere Schmach, als die Verachtung und der Spott ihrer Unterdrücker, die auf sie herabsahen als auf ein fremdes Geschlecht in Sprache, Blut und Sitte, ausgeschlossen aus der grofsen Gemeinschaft der zivilisierten Völker Europas, Barbaren, die sich, während sie alle Bildung nur den Eroberern verdankten, erlogene und gefälschte Ansprüche auf eine ruhmreiche Vergangenheit erschwindelt hätten.

So stand es mit den keltischen Nationen, als Zeufs auftrat und die Keltologie zur Wissenschaft erhob. Er sprach der Gesamtheit des keltischen Sprachstammes ihre Stellung innerhalb der indogermanischen Familie zu, er knüpfte die verloren gegangene Überlieferung wieder an, er befreite die Geschichte der Kelten von dem Fluch des Fabelhaften, des Rätselhaften, der so lange verhängnisvoll auf ihr gelastet hatte, er deckte ihre ältesten Sprach- und Literaturdenkmäler auf — und nun bestätigte sich mehr und mehr, dafs

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ihre Zivilisation, ihr Schrifttum älter sei als das ihrer Eroberer, dafs Irland und Schottland einst die Pflegestätte klassischer und christlicher Kultur waren, dafs halb Europa ihnen das Christentum und die Grundlagen der Bildung verdankt, dafs in kymrischen und bretonischen Landen die Wiege unserer mittelalterlichen Epik gestanden hat. Das hat die mit Füfsen Getretenen gehoben und gestärkt; sie sehen sich nun ebenbürtig eingereiht unter die grofsen Kulturvölker Europas, das Interesse an ihrer alten Sprache und Literatur erwachte wieder und eine mächtige Bewegung ist unter ihnen entstanden, deren Ziel die Hebung des keltischen Nationalgefühls ist.

Aber nicht davon soll ich hier reden.

Mir ist die ehrenvolle Aufgabe geworden, vor Ihnen ein Bild von derjenigen Tätigkeit Zeufs' zu entwerfen, der er vor allem sein Leben gewidmet, die ihm eine Haupt- und Ehrenstelle unter den Altmeistern und Begründern der Sprachwissenschaft, neben Jakob Grimm, Pott und Diez, zusichert; seine unsterblichen Verdienste zu feiern auf dem Gebiete der Wissenschaft, das er geschaffen, der keltischen Philologie.

Auch der Laie weifs, dafs die Grammatica Celtica den Hauptehrentitel bildet, auf den sich sein Weltruhm gründet, dafs dieses Buch eine neue Wissenschaft ins Leben gerufen hat, deren Vertreter heute nach hunderten zählen und die an den grofsen Universitäten Deutschlands, Frankreichs, Grofsbritanniens und der Vereinigten Staaten ihre Lehrstühle hat. Dem Fernerstehenden wird die Bedeutung des Buches klarer werden, wenn er vernimmt, wie es auf dem Gebiete keltischer Studien aussah, ehe Zeufs eingriff, wie dort fast nichts als Willkür und Gesetzlosigkeit herrschte, wie die tüchtigsten sich lange ratlos nach einem Führer und Bahnbrecher umsahen, der Ordnung und Licht in dieses Chaos brächte; wenn er dann erfährt, dafs Zeufs allein und in der Stille diese gewaltige Arbeit geplant, unternommen und in wenig mehr als einem Jahrzehnt zu Ende geführt hat; wie er damit auf Einen Wurf einen Bau geschaffen hat, der sonst die Arbeit vieler Kräfte und ganzer Generationen in Anspruch nimmt, während er heute nach über fünfzig Jahren noch so fest und sicher dasteht, dafs kaum hie und da ein Rifs, eine schwache Stelle zu Tage tritt.

Es wäre nun ungemein fesselnd und lehrreich, wenn wir den Gang der keltischen Studien Zeufs' von Schritt zu Schritt verfolgen könnten, den Moment bestimmen, wo ihm zuerst der Gedanke an seine Lebensaufgabe kam, nachzuspüren, wie sich ihm der Plan des Buches fester gestaltete, wie die Arbeit dazu von Stufe zu Stufe vorrückte.

Leider liegen uns zu einer so genauen Darstellung nicht die nötigen Daten vor. Das grofse Werk wurde fast geheimnisvoll geplant; kaum einer oder der andere wufste darum, und die Welt erfuhr erst davon, als es fertig dastand. Nur aus einigen Stellen in den Vorreden zu seinen kleineren Schriften, aus hingeworfenen Äufserungen in seinem Briefwechsel läfst sich ein ungefähres Bild gewinnen, wie er zu Werke gegangen ist.

Es wird gegen das Ende der 30er Jahre gewesen sein, als Zeufs durch seine völkergeschichtlichen Studien zuerst dazu geführt wurde, sich eingehender mit keltischer Sprache zu beschäftigen. Lag doch überhaupt in diesem Jahrzehnt die Frage nach dem Ursprung und der Verwandtschaft der Kelten gleichsam in der Luft.

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Im Jahre 1831 hatte der Walliser Prichard mit seinem Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations als einer der ersten die Verwandtschaft der keltischen Sprachen mit dem Sanskrit nachzuweisen versucht, aber doch so wenig überzeugend, dafs Bopp 1836 noch von dem unsanskritischen Kern der keltischen Sprachen reden konnte. Man meinte eben, dafs die Kelten durch Berührung und Zusammenleben mit Völkern indogermanischer Abkunft wohl manches von diesen entlehnt hätten, in Wahrheit aber, wie die Basken, zu denen mancher sie gerne gerechnet hätte, eine ursprünglich unverwandte Sprache redeten.

Im Jahre 1837 tat Pictet in seinem Buche De l'affinité des langues celtiques avec le sanscrit schon einen bedeutenden Schritt auf dem richtigen Wege vorwärts; es blieb aber doch Bopp vorbehalten im folgenden Jahre durch glänzende, höchst scharfsinnige und geniale Kombinationen die volle Zugehörigkeit des keltischen zum indogermanischen Sprachstamme für jeden Kenner unumstöfslich zu beweisen.

Aber die Stimme dieser besonnenen Forscher, die behutsam und Schritt vor Schritt vorwärts zu kommen strebten, wurde übertönt von dem vorlauten und lärmenden Wesen, das die Unberufenen, Dilettanten und Phantasten zu derselben Zeit auf diesem Gebiete trieben.

In weiten Kreisen der Wissenschaft führten Männer, die sich bei unzureichenden Kenntnissen ganz einem willkürlichen Raten hingaben, das grofse Wort. Trat dann noch die Keltomanie hinzu, die Sucht, überall keltischen Ursprung zu wittern, alle Orts- und Völkernamen Europas, ja andere Sprachen, wie das Germanische, aus dem Keltischen herzuleiten, so war dem Unsinn Tür und Tor geöffnet. Mit Vorliebe wirtschaftete man mit schlecht gewählten Mitteln. Anstatt die vorhandenen guten Wörterbücher und Grammatiken der lebenden keltischen Sprachen mit Vorsicht zu benutzen, schöpfte man seine Kenntnisse aus den schlechtesten Machwerken: so besonders aus einem soidisant Dictionnaire Celtique von Bullet, einem Sammelsurium aller keltischen Mundarten ohne Unterschied, denen auch noch das Baskische beigemengt war. Gerade Bayern war der Hauptherd der Keltomanie und gegen manchen hochgestellten Professor und Akademiker führte Zeufs bei seinem Auftreten auf diesem Gebiete einen wuchtigen Keulenschlag. Von Pallhausen, Reichard, Buchner, Koch-Sternfeld, sie alle müssen seinen Unwillen und Spott über sich ergehen lassen. 'Höre, guter Freund', ruft er einem von ihnen zu, 'die alten bayerischen Wörter, die du für keltisch hältst, sind altdeutsch; was davon in der heutigen Sprache nicht mehr vorkömmt, ist darum nicht fremd, sondern ausgestorben und aus den altdeutschen Denkmälern und den verwandten Mundarten zu erklären. Einige wirklich keltische Flufs- und Städtenamen in Bayern sind aus alter vorrömischer Zeit geblieben, wie in andern von Deutschen besetzten Ländern, und diese alten keltischen Namen, welche bei dem jetzigen Stande der keltischen Philologie und dem Mangel älterer Denkmäler dieser Sprache zu deuten die gröfsten Sprachforscher nicht wagen werden, lafs du dich nicht gelüsten so leichthin aus dem Griechischen herauszukünsteln!' Daran fügt er die belehrenden Worte über die Bedeutung der Sprachenkunde, von denen der Vorredner schon einiges zitiert hat. Er nennt sie den sichersten Leitstern durch das Altertum, wo mangelhafte, sich widersprechende oder irrige Nachrichten es dunkel lassen. 'Aber noch nicht,

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wer nur von Sprachen und einer Masse Wörter weiſs, welche den Wörterbüchern entnommen werden, ist ein tauglicher Arbeiter auf diesem Felde, sondern wer das Sprachengebiet der Völker, die er behandelt, mit wissenschaftlichem Blicke übersieht, die Besonderheiten der einzelnen Sprachen kennt, was jeder gehört oder nicht gehört, unterscheidet, kurz ihre Gesetze und Verhältnisse nach innen und auſsen erkannt hat.'

Und an einer anderen Stelle sagt er: 'Hier herrscht keine Willkür, wie der Uneingeweihte sich einbildet; der Vokal und Konsonant folgt seinem Gesetze.' 'Wer solche Gesetze nicht kennt, und um diesen und jenen oder mehrere Laute oder gar ganze Silben unbekümmert verfährt, wird, was zusammenklingt, nicht was zusammengehört zusammenstellen, nur Willkürliches und Unwahres zu Tage fördern.'

Hier, in der Vorrede zu dem Büchlein über die Herkunft der Bayern von den Markomannen, finden wir dann auch einen Satz, in dem er ausspricht, wie in den keltischen Studien endlich fester Boden zu gewinnen und vorwärts zu kommen sei. 'Die Eigentümlichkeit des Keltischen', heiſst es da, 'kann erkannt werden aus den Sprachlehren und Wörterbüchern seiner Überreste, des Irischen und Galischen (worunter er das Schottische versteht), des Kymrischen in Wales und des Bretonischen in der Niederbretagne, in deren Nachbarschaft, in den baskischen Gebirgen, sich schon eine von der sanskritischen Reihe völlig verschiedene Sprache, das Baskische, erhalten hat.'

Ich habe diese Sätze des längeren zitiert, weil sie gleichsam das Programm enthalten, das Zeuſs jetzt bei seinen kelt. Studien befolgte. Denn schon vor 1840 muſs ihm der Gedanke immer klarer geworden sein, daſs er zu seinen völkergeschichtlichen Arbeiten einer eingehenden Kenntnis des Keltischen nicht länger enbehren könne.

Und wenn wir auch nicht wissen, ob der Plan der Grammatik oder eines ähnlichen Buches schon damals in ihm lebendig geworden ist, so war doch die Entstehung eines solchen Werkes bei der Art wie Zeuſs arbeitete, bei der kritischen und schöpferischen Tätigkeit, die er bei allem, was er angriff, bewährte, nur eine Frage der Zeit.

An zwei Punkten schlug er seinen Haken ein. Zuerst eignete er sich aus den verläſslichsten älteren und neueren Lehrbüchern die Kenntnis der drei noch lebenden Hauptsprachen keltischer Zunge an, des Irisch-gälischen, des Kymrischen oder Walisischen und des Bretonischen; ferner des schon abgestorbenen Kornischen. Das Schottisch-gälische, sowie das auf der Insel Man fortlebende Idiom glaubte er mit Recht als bloſse Spielarten des Irischen mehr auſser acht lassen zu dürfen, besonders da wir hier keine Aufzeichnungen von höherem Alter besitzen. Da er sich manches der teuren und seltenen Bücher nicht selbst anschaffen konnte, so entlieh er sie aus den Bibliotheken und schrieb sie zu beständigem Gebrauch von Anfang bis zu Ende ab oder zog sie wenigstens in ihren Hauptteilen aus. Interessant ist es zu konstatieren, daſs Zeuſs nie mit einem Vertreter des lebendigen keltischen Idioms weder in Korrespondenz getreten noch in persönliche Berührung gekommen zu sein scheint. Er hat also die Laute der Sprachen, die er sich aneignete, nie gehört.

Bei diesem Sprachstudium, besonders bei dem Gebrauch der Wörterbücher, wuſste er mit kritischem Blick das Echte vom Falschen zu scheiden,

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eine Vorsicht, die bei dem Verfahren vieler einheimischer Gelehrten, die noch an die Herkunft ihrer Sprache aus dem Hebräischen glaubten und sich, phantastischen Etymologien zu liebe, manche falsche oder schiefe Aufstellung erlaubten, höchst notwendig war. Kein anderer Forscher war so umsichtig zu Werke gegangen. Selbst Glück mufs sich einmal eine scharfe Zurechtweisung gefallen lassen, als er bei Benutzung des kymrischen Wörterbuchs von Owen, dieses fürchterlichen Etymologus, wie Zeufs ihn nennt, seine Art, alle Wörter auf nicht existierende abstrakte Wurzeln — 'Visionsformeln' sagt Zeufs — zurückzuführen, nicht durchschaut hat und von diesen Phantastereien Gebrauch macht.

So rüstete Zeufs sich behutsam und gründlich mit einer Kenntnis der lebenden keltischen Sprachen aus, wie sie vor ihm nur noch Einer besessen hatte, der einzige, der auf den Ehrentitel eines Vorläufers von Zeufs Anspruch erheben kann und darum verdient, hier mit Achtung genannt zu werden.

Dies war der Walliser Edward Lloyd (Llwyd), der 1660 geboren, in der Geschichte der keltischen Philologie etwa die Stelle einnimmt, wie Franciscus Junius in der germanischen. Auch sein Leben hat mit dem von Zeufs manche Ähnlichkeit. Er setzte alle Mittel und sein Leben an ein grofses wissenschaftliches Unternehmen, ein Kompendium der Grammatik und des Wortschatzes aller noch lebenden keltischen Sprachen, zu denen damals auch noch das Kornische gehörte. Von dieser Arbeit erschien im Jahre 1707 der erste und einzige Teil unter dem Titel Archaeologia Britannica als Frucht 5jähriger Reisen und Studien in allen keltischen Ländern. Es ist ein staunenswertes, seiner Zeit weit vorausschreitendes Werk, voll neuer Belehrung und richtiger sprachlicher Beobachtungen. Hatte Lloyd doch u. a. schon die german. Lautverschiebung wenigstens in einem Punkte, der Vertretung von idg. *k* durch *h*, beobachtet und formuliert und manche Wörter wie *centum* und *hundert*, *canis* und *hund*, richtig verglichen. Aber zu der Erkenntnis einer organischen Entwicklung der Sprache oder zu dem Gedanken einer ursprünglichen Einheit ist er freilich nicht vorgedrungen. Zwei Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung seines grofsen Werkes, das die gebührende Anerkennung nicht fand und keinen Einflufs auf die keltischen Studien ausübte, starb Lloyd. Zeufs hat sein Buch benutzt und erwähnt es mit besonderem Lob in seiner Praefatio.

Neben der Beschäftigung mit den lebenden Idiomen richtete Zeufs nun sein Hauptaugenmerk auf einen anderen Punkt. Er suchte in allen Einzelsprachen der ältesten Aufzeichnungen habhaft zu werden.

Für das Altkeltische des Kontinents, das Gallische, und das Altbrittische besafs er gewifs schon umfangreiche Sammlungen. Wie Sie wissen, kennen wir diese Sprache nur aus verhältnismäfsig geringen Überresten, den bei griechischen und lateinischen Autoren vorkommenden Wörtern, Eigen-, Völker- und Ortsnamen, einigen Vokabularien, Inschriften und Münzen. Dieses Material, das jetzt in Holders 'Altkeltischem Sprachschatz' gesammelt und erläutert vorliegt, galt es zu sichten, von Schreibfehlern zu reinigen und zu deuten. Die Überlieferung hatte diesen altkeltischen Namen arg mitgespielt. Unter den Händen vieler Generationen von Abschreibern waren manche von ihnen stark entstellt. Boadicea statt des richtigen Boudica und Mons Grampius statt Graupius bei Tacitus sind die klassischen Beispiele dafür. Manches ist

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erst in unserer Zeit richtig gelesen und gedeutet, Zeufs aber war der erste, der diese Überreste zu behandeln wufste, sie zu einer Lautlehre und, so weit sie ausreichten, zu einer Grammatik des Altkeltischen verwertete. Überall erkannte er mit sicherem Blick die etyma und wies ihr Fortleben in den modernen Sprachen nach.

Was das Inselkeltische und Bretonische betrifft, so waren hier, von dem schon erwähnten Altbrittischen abgesehen, das nur aus Namen bekannt ist, die ältesten Denkmäler, ähnlich wie im Hochdeutschen, Glossenhandschriften des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts. Freilich für das Altkymrische war die Ausbeute nicht allzu grofs; hier war er für Wortschatz und Grammatik mehr auf die spätere Sprache angewiesen, deren Kenntnis er besonders aus zwei schon gedruckt vorliegenden Texten schöpfte, den von Lady Guest herausgegebenen und übersetzten sogen. Mabinogion, einer Sammlung kymrischer Sagen und Erzählungen aus dem 13. und 14. Jh., und den 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales', einem Korpus einheimischer Gesetze, deren Sammlung dem Könige Howel Dda im 10. Jh. zugeschrieben wird.

Unter den 'Zeufsiana', dem Nachlafs von Zeufs, der auf der Kgl. Staats- und Hofbibliothek zu München aufbewahrt wird, findet sich eine vollständige Abschrift des 2. Bandes der Mabinogion von seiner Hand, sowie ein von ihm angelegtes Wörterbuch zu allen drei Bänden, eine Arbeit, die seit ihm noch keiner wieder unternommen hat.

Für das Altirische lag ein im Gegensatz zum Altkymrischen sehr umfangreiches, bisher aber kaum beachtetes und vollständig unbenutztes Glossenmaterial in Handschriften des 8. und 9. Jhs. auf den Bibliotheken von Würzburg, Mailand, St. Gallen und Karlsruhe.

Hier mufste Zeufs sich zunächst der mühseligen Aufgabe unterziehen, viele tausende von Glossen, nicht nur einzelne Worte, sondern meist ganze, oft lange Sätze abzuschreiben. Er war der erste, der diese Handschriften, seit sie vor vielen Jahrhunderten als 'libri scottice scripti' und deshalb unlesbar in den Klosterbibliotheken zur Seite gestellt waren, wieder zu lesen und zu deuten verstand.

Innerhalb eines Jahres (1844/45) schrieb er sich auf wiederholten Reisen die sämtlichen Glossen ab, und zwar zweimal, zuerst in der Reihenfolge wie sie die Handschriften boten, dann noch einmal alphabetisch geordnet. Schon die richtige Entzifferung der oft sehr kleinen und schwer leslichen Schriftzüge mit ihren zahlreichen Abkürzungen und Kompendien war keine leichte Arbeit und neuere Herausgeber haben oft Ursache gehabt, den sicheren Blick, 'the unerring eye of Zeufs' mit Whitley Stokes zu bewundern. Aber unendlich schwieriger war die Aufgabe, die nun an ihn herantrat, die richtige Zerlegung, Deutung und Verwertung all dieses Materials zu grammatischen Zwecken, ja, der Aufbau der ganzen altirischen Grammatik aus ihm heraus. Von allem, was Zeufs geleistet hat, war dies die genialste Tat. Hier war seine Arbeit überall schöpferisch, denn da gab es keine Vorarbeiten, die er nicht selbst gemacht hätte.

Nur wer selbst einmal versucht hat, sich in die formenreiche Sprache hineinzuarbeiten, 'questo linguaggio difficile e davvero stupendo', wie sie Graf Nigra einst in halber Verzweiflung genannt hat, vermag das von Zeufs Geleistete ganz zu würdigen und wird immer wieder staunen, wie er fast überall

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so sicher ihre Gesetze erkannt, die Regeln und Ausnahmen formuliert hat. Denn das Verbalsystem des Altirischen ist ohne Frage das komplizierteste und subtilste aller idg., ja vielleicht aller Sprachen, und seine Syntax weicht stark von sonstigem idg. Sprachgebrauch ab. Ist Zeufs auch manches einzelne entgangen, hat er auch, um das Wichtigste zu erwähnen, das alles beherrschende Akzentgesetz nicht erkannt, welches erst 30 Jahre später von Zimmer und Thurneysen gefunden wurde, so tut das doch dem Ganzen nicht etwa grofsen Abbruch.

Diese zweite Vorarbeit nun nahm etwa fünf Jahre in Anspruch. Wie seine Beobachtungen, seine Sammlungen sich allmählich vervollständigten, mufs der Gedanke der Grammatica immer festere Gestalt gewonnen haben. Am 8. Juni 1850 schreibt er an Mone, dafs seine Studien und Sammlungen sich allmählich zu einer förmlichen Grammatik der älteren keltischen Sprachformen ausgestalteten. Bald darauf sucht er nach einem Verleger. Der Druck nahm fast zwei Jahre in Anspruch und im November 1853 erschien dann nach etwa 13jähriger Tätigkeit in zwei Bänden auf über 1100 Seiten die Grammatica Celtica.

In der Anlage und Anordnung hatte Zeufs sich Grimms Deutsche Grammatik zum Vorbild genommen. Die Vorrede führt zunächst das weitschichtige Material, aus dem er geschöpft, kritisch beleuchtet auf. Dann mit der Beschreibung der Laute anhebend, schreitet das Werk von Stufe zu Stufe übersichtlich geordnet vor: Formenlehre, Wortbildungslehre, Syntax, eine vollständige beschreibende, vergleichende und historische Grammatik der Einzelsprachen. Den Schlufs bilden Metrik und 'Spicilegia et Specimina e codicibus,' alt-irisches und brittisches Quellenmaterial.

Ein grofser Zug geht durch das ganze Werk, das durchaus einen monumentalen Eindruck macht, als sei der Verfasser sich bewufst gewesen, dafs er einen Bau aufführe, der viele Generationen überdauern sollte. Wie aus Stein gehauen, fest ineinander gefügt, stehen die Perioden da. Von jedem Blatte des Buches aber weht uns ein hoher Ernst, eine sittliche Strenge, eine unbestechliche Wahrheitsliebe entgegen, und gibt uns ein Bild von dem Geiste und Charakter des Mannes, das sich bei der Lektüre des einzigen längeren Briefwechsels, den wir von ihm besitzen, dem mit Glück, bestätigt. Es hat in der Tat wohl wenige Forscher gegeben, die so ganz nur von dem Drang nach Wahrheit und Erkenntnis erfüllt waren und nur diesen in sich walten liefsen, abhold jedem noch so verlockenden Spiel der Phantasie, zurückschreckend vor jeder gewagten Aufstellung, vor jeder übertriebenen Behauptung. Auch der gröfste Gelehrte unterliegt wohl einmal der Lust am Trug. Aber Zeufs wies alles weit von sich, was seinem scharfen Verstand, seinem wissenschaftlichen Gewissen nicht Probe hielt.

Zur näheren Charakteristik dieses Hauptzuges in seinem Wesen möge noch einmal der schon vom Herrn Vorredner angeführte Brief an Jak. Grimm dienen, den er ihm als Antwort auf die Übersendung seiner Abhandlung über Jornandes und die Geten schrieb.

'Ich bin überzeugt,' schreibt er, 'dafs Sie mir meine Offenheit nicht übel nehmen werden, weil ich weifs, dafs auch Sie in Ihren Schriften sich offen und ohne Scheu über die Ansichten anderer aussprechen. Mit der Sache selbst in dieser Abhandlung, der Verbindung der Geten und Gothen, bin ich

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ganz und gar nicht einverstanden, schon deshalb nicht, weil ich alte Zeugnisse, die mir und sicher auch anderen nicht so unbedeutend scheinen können, (wer wird gegen solche einen Jornandes oder gar einen sprachlich und geographisch verwirrten Kopf im späten Mittelalter höher anschlagen und verteidigen wollen?) nicht beachtet sehe. Strabo zeigt sich in sprachlichen Verhältnissen immer besser als irgend ein anderer alter Schriftsteller unterrichtet; er weifs z. B. besser als Cäsar, welche Völker in Südgallien gegen die Pyrenäen nicht dem gallischen, sondern dem iberischen Sprachstamme zugehören.'[1])

Was nun die Ergebnisse betrifft, die in den Seiten der Grammatica Celtica niedergelegt sind oder aus ihrer klaren Darstellung abzulesen waren, so lassen sie sich kurz etwa folgendermafsen zusammenfassen.

Die Zugehörigkeit der keltischen Sprachen zu der idg. Familie, die ja freilich nach der letzten Arbeit von Bopp in den Augen der Kenner schon feststehen mufste, war jetzt auch für den minder Eingeweihten über allen Zweifel erhaben. Die Lautgesetze, welche sie als geschlossene Gruppe innerhalb dieser Einheit kennzeichnen, waren ein für allemal bestimmt. Fortan konnte kein Kundiger mehr zweifeln, ob ein Wort keltisch oder germanisch sei. Das rätselhafte Baskische war stillschweigend ausgeschlossen. Innerhalb der keltischen Gruppe waren die Gliederung und Verwandschaftsverhältnisse der Einzelsprachen scharf umrissen und festgelegt. Zwei Hauptgruppen traten hervor, die gälische und brittische, jede wiederum an bestimmter Lautgebung leicht erkennbar. Dazu kam das Altkeltische des Kontinents, das Zeufs nahe an das Brittische heranrückte. Hier haben spätere genauere Untersuchungen und vermehrte Denkmäler der Sprache gezeigt, das auf diesem grofsen Sprachgebiete schon dialektische Verschiedenheiten herrschten, die an den Unterschied zwischen gälisch und brittisch gemahnen.

In den Einzelsprachen hatte Zeufs durchaus eine scharfe Scheidung in alte, mittlere und neue Perioden durchgeführt, deren Lautübergänge eingehend behandelt waren, so dafs nun zum ersten Male manches bisher in der Luft schwankende Denkmal genau datiert werden konnte. Die Gesetze, nach denen somit die Geschichte der Sprachen verlaufen ist, waren aufgestellt. Nun liefsen sich, um nur einiges zu erwähnen, die heutigen Wörter auf ihre früheren Formen zurückführen; nun liefs sich eigenes und fremdes Sprachgut, Urverwandtes und früh oder spät Entlehntes sicher auseinander halten. Gerade an dem Unvermögen, dies richtig zu bewerkstelligen, war früher mancher Versuch, die Stellung der keltischen Sprachen zu bestimmen, gescheitert.

Nun war dem Forscher der Leitfaden in die Hand gegeben, mit dem er sich an Probleme wagen konnte, die bisher unlösbar waren: die Ethnographie des mittleren und westlichen Europa, die Wechselwirkung der Sprachen aufeinander, wie sie in Lehnwörtern zu Tage treten, die Schlüsse, die sich auf das Herüber und Hinüber politischer und sozialer Einflüsse ziehen lassen, Überlieferung und Austausch von Sagenstoffen, Entlehnung und Entwickelung metrischer Formen usw. Auf alle Zeiten war die Grundlage gelegt für eine Wissenschaft und weitere Forschung, deren Umfang wir heute noch nicht er-

[1]) Und nun folgt die Stelle, die schon der Vorredner citiert hat, worin Zeufs sich als einen Gegner nicht nur der Keltomanie, sondern auch der Germanomanie erklärt.


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messen können. Eine neue Disziplin der Sprachwissenschaft, der Völkergeschichte, der Litteratur, mit einem Worte, die keltische Philologie war geschaffen.

Aber die erste Aufnahme des grofsen Werkes stand in keinem Verhältnis zu seiner Bedeutung und seine Wirkungen traten auffallend langsam hervor. Zwar wurde es bei seinem Erscheinen von einzelnen hervorragenden Gelehrten wie Bopp und Grimm und Pott in Deutschland, von O'Donovan in Irland, von einem und dem andern in Wales und in Frankreich, freudig begrüfst, aber eine sofortige Wirkung auf den Gang keltischer Studien, ein Aufblühen derselben hatte es nicht zur Folge.

Einer der Hauptgründe für diese Erscheinung war wohl folgender.

Die Grammatica Celtica stellte so hohe Anforderungen an den Leser, ging so weit über alles hinaus, was je auf diesem Gebiete geleistet worden war, machte dem Anfänger, dem Dilettanten so gar keine Zugeständnisse, dafs wenige den Mut und die Ausdauer besafsen, sich an das Studium des Buches heranzuwagen. Besonders war dies in den keltischen Ländern der Fall, wo kaum der eine oder andere von dem Werke Notiz nahm.

Die Keltomanen aber trieben ihr Handwerk unbekümmert fort. Kaum zwei Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung der Grammatica erschien Holtzmanns 'Kelten und Germanen', gegen den Zeufs selbst noch einen scharfen Hieb zu führen hoffte; aber Krankheit und Tod hinderten ihn daran. Er benutzte vielmehr die kurze Frist, die ihm noch beschieden war, Verbesserungen und neues Material nach allen Seiten hin zu sammeln und seinem Buche einzuverleiben. Es selbst aber noch weiter auszubauen, dazu fehlte ihm bald die Kraft. Er hatte sein Tagewerk vollendet. Die Nacht, da niemand mehr arbeitet, kam heran. Ruhig, ohne Klage schaute er dem nahenden Tode ins Auge.

In einem Briefe vom 27. Nov. 1855, ein Jahr vor seinem Hingang, schrieb er an Glück, den einzigen, der sich unter seinen Augen in das Keltische eingearbeitet hatte: 'Sie können einmal, da meine Gesundheitszustände sehr ungünstig sind, eine zweite Ausgabe meiner Arbeit besorgen. Also fleifsig fortgearbeitet!' In Augenblicken, wo er sich kräftiger fühlte und wieder hoffte, plante er dann wieder noch manches. Seiner grofsen Lebensaufgabe hatte er alles geopfert, seine spärlichen Geldmittel, seine Gesundheit, den Gedanken an Ehe und Familienglück — jetzt stand er im Begriff, auch die Heimat aufzugeben. Es ist wohl nur wenigen bekannt, dafs er in seinem letzten Lebensjahre den Gedanken hegte, nach Irland umzusiedeln. Wie aus einem Briefe vom 6. Juli 1856 hervorgeht, der an den nach Dublin verschlagenen deutschen Philologen Siegfried gerichtet ist, wollte er sich in Dublin niederlassen, wo er auch eine akademische Lehrtätigkeit zu finden hoffte. Er mufs damals Hoffnung geschöpft haben, dafs seine Gesundheit sich wieder festigen werde, denn schon schlägt er Siegfried, der auf Ferien in Deutschland weilte, ganz bestimmt vor, ihn auf der Station Hochstadt zur gemeinsamen Reise nach England zu erwarten. Diesem Plan, nach Irland zu gehen, hat gewifs die richtige Erkenntnis zugrunde gelegen, dafs der Fortschritt der keltischen Studien zunächst an die weitere Erforschung des Irischen geknüpft sei, das an Wortschatz und Formenreichtum, sowie an Alter, Umfang und Mannigfaltigkeit seiner Litteratur alle übrigen keltischen Sprachen weit übertrifft. Hierzu tat aber, da nur wenig gedruckt vorlag, langjährige Arbeit auf den

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Bibliotheken Grofsbritanniens, vor allem Dublins not, wo ungezählte Handschriften jeden Alters lagen.

Wer vermag zu sagen, wie rasch unsere Wissenschaft fortgeschritten wäre, ob wir nicht vielleicht schon über den jetzigen Standpunkt hinaus wären, wenn es Zeufs vergönnt gewesen wäre, noch ein oder zwei Dezennien dort an der Quelle zu schöpfen und zu schaffen; wenn er dort gar Schüler um sich versammelt hätte. Aber als Siegfried ihn im Laufe des Sommers in Vogtendorf besuchte, fand er einen totkranken Mann.

'Mit ihm,' klagt Glück in seinem Nekrolog, 'ist ein unendlicher Schatz von Wissen zu Grabe getragen und die Aussicht auf grofse Erfolge verschlossen.'

Es war in der Tat so. Jahrzehnte vergingen, ehe die Keltologie grofse Fortschritte zu verzeichnen hatte. Erst mit dem Anfang der 80er Jahre nahm sie den grofsen Aufschwung, der sich an die Namen Windisch, Zimmer und Thurneysen knüpft. Eine Zeitlang hatte die Forschung in der keltischen Wissenschaft gar nur auf zwei Säulen geruht. Zwei Männer waren es, welche die Keltologie, wie sie sie gleichsam aus den Händen von Zeufs empfangen hatten, in eine neue Periode hinüberleiteten: Hermann Ebel, der nach Glücks frühem Tode Zeufs' Forschungen weiter führte und die Neubearbeitung der Grammatica Celtica übernahm, dann aber selbst früh ins Grab sank, und Whitley Stokes, der als junger Mann durch den oben genannten deutschen Philologen Siegfried in das Werk Zeufs' und die keltische Philologie eingeführt, sie besonders durch Herausgabe von Texten mächtig förderte und noch heute in seinem 77. Jahre so rüstig weiter arbeitet wie kaum ein anderer.

Wenn die altirischen Sagenerzähler die Tapferkeit eines Helden, die Schönheit einer Frau, deren Ruhm Jahrhunderte überdauert hatte, aufs höchste preisen wollen, so gebrauchen sie wohl eine Formel, die ausdrücken soll, dafs mit ihnen gleichsam ein neues Mafs der Tapferkeit, der Schönheit in die Welt gekommen sei. 'An ihnen, sagen sie, wird seither alles gemessen, was es Schönes und Tapferes in der Welt giebt.' So können wir auch von Zeufs sagen: an ihm und seinem Werke werden heute noch alle Leistungen auf dem Gebiete der von ihm geschaffenen Wissenschaft gemessen. In dem Grade als sie sich seiner Vollkommenheit nähern, steigen sie an Wert und Bedeutung; wie sie sich von ihr entfernen, sinken sie. Wer aber dem Meister nicht nachstrebt, wer gar wähnt, er könne etwas leisten, ohne bei ihm in die Lehre zu gehen, der schliefst sich selbst aus der Reihe der Forscher aus. Und so wird es bleiben, so lange unsere Wissenschaft dauert, und über hundert Jahre wird ein anderer an dieser Stelle stehn und wird es aufs neue vor seinen Hörern heraufführen, das unsterbliche Verdienst, das leuchtende Vorbild von Johann Kaspar Zeufs.

'Die vier Menschenalter' von Lachner liefsen in ihrer mächtigen Tonsprache die ganze Fülle festlichen Empfindens noch einmal harmonisch auf die Hörer ausströmen. Eine wundersame Weihe war über allen.


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Ragend blickt ein Steinbild über Kronachs Friedhofsmauern: um schmale Schultern faltet sich, vom linken Arm gehalten, ein weiter Mantel. Die Rechte trägt ein geöffnetes Buch, das Auge blickt sinnend ins Weite unter der hohen Stirne; die Locken fallen in den Nacken und ein kleines Bärtchen über der Lippe scheint eher einem Jüngling, denn einem reifen Manne zu gehören. Das Bildnis stellt Zeufs dar, zu jugendlich zwar, zu unfertig, fast verkleinernd, und doch, wer hier liest: 'Sein Name wird in seinen Werken fortleben, wenn auch die irdische Hülle schon längst zerfallen ist', der fühlt ein heimlich Ahnen und Erkennen, dafs hier ein Grofser rastet. Und der Wissende neigt in Verehrung still das Haupt. Von drüben grüfst die Feste Kronach, wie sie schon der Meister der Farbe, Lucas, der alten Cranaha gröfster Sohn sah, und zur Rechten unter schattenden Bäumen blinken ferne rote Ziegeldächer: Vogtendorf, der Geburtsort unseres Zeufs.

Zu diesem Grabe kamen sie am Nachmittag des 21. Juli. Weihevoller Klang des 'Gebet um ewige Ruhe' von Cherubini. Nun brachten sie dem Unsterblichen Kränze, zuerst der Rektor des Bamberger Lyceums, Dr. Hartung:

'Dem ehemaligen Kollegen, welcher durch den hohen Genius seines Geistes der Wissenschaft diente, und der viele Jahre eine Blüte und Leuchte unseres Lyceums war, lege ich an seinem 100. Geburtstage im Namen des Professorenkollegiums des Bamberger Lyceums zur dankbaren Erinnerung an dieser Stätte einen Kranz nieder.'

Nun der Präsident der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geheimrat Heigel-München:

'Bewegten Herzens trete ich an das Grab des grofsen Sohnes des Frankenlandes. Auf eine Persönlichkeit, die auf ganz anderem Gebiete sich Ruhm und Ehre erwarb, auf Prinz Eugen, hat Rousseau das Wort gemünzt: 'Nie hat ein Mann so viel Einfachheit mit so viel Gröfse vereinigt.' Ich glaube, dafs dieses Wort auf die Sinnesart und auf die wissenschaftlichen Taten unseres Zeufs Anwendung finden kann. Ein Name ohne Makel, eine Erinnerung ohne Schatten, eine jener seltenen hochbegnadeten Erscheinungen, deren Gemüt und Geisteskräfte in einer Harmonie zusammenstimmen, in denen die Würde der menschlichen Natur ohne Schlacken sich offenbart. Ich lege diesen Kranz im Namen der Münchener Akademie, die 14 Jahre die Ehre hatte, ihn zu den Ihrigen zählen zu dürfen, als Zeichen ehrfurchtsvollen Dankes auf das Grab des grofsen Toten und dennoch Unsterblichen nieder.'

Darauf Professor Roethe-Berlin:

'Die preufsische Akademie der Wissenschaften weiht diesen Kranz in bewunderndem Gedenken ihrem einstigen Mitgliede, dem grofsen deutschen

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Philologen, dessen Einzelkraft Akademien beschämte, dem Sprachforschung und Geschichte sich zu unlöslicher organischer Einheit zusammenschlossen, dem eine neue Wissenschaft erwuchs aus dem lauteren Drange, seines eigenen Volkes älteste Vergangenheit zu sichern und zu erhellen. Sein Andenken, das uns stählt und mahnt, möge — ich spreche in Zeuſs' eigenem klangvoll gegliederten Latein — manare et manere perpetuo montium ad instar erectorum et fontium ex illis tranquille scaturientium, sein Andenken möge währen wie diese Berge seiner Heimat und lebendig wie der sprudelnde Quell aus ihrer Tiefe.'

Es folgte Professor Schröder-Göttingen:

'Die Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen weiht diesen Kranz dem Andenken des groſsen nationalen Philologen, der den Hintergrund unserer Volksgeschichte erhellt hat für alle Zeiten, der das Lebenswerk Jakob Grimms erweitert und indem er über die Grenzen hinausschritt, die Grenzen befestigte, der die strenge Methode Lachmanns anwandte. Möge die sittliche Macht der Philologie die Dauer seiner Werke überdauern; diesen sichern wir die Dauer von vielen Generationen. Wir erhoffen ihm die Ewigkeit.'

Professor Delbrück-Jena sprach:

'Im Namen der Universitäten des deutschen Reiches und der vereinigten Staaten lege ich einen Kranz nieder an dem Grabe des groſsen Sprach- und Geschichtsforschers, ein Zeichen der Verehrung, mit der wir zu ihm hinaufsehen, ein vergängliches Symbol unvergänglichen Ruhmes.'

Einen Kranz, der die Inschrift trug: 'To the glorious memory of Johann Caspar Zeuſs from the School of Irish Learning in Dublin' weihte Professor Kuno Meyer-Liverpool mit den Worten:

'Im Namen und Auftrage der Hochschule irischer Studien in Dublin lege ich diesen Lorbeerkranz zu den Füſsen des unsterblichen Begründers und Meisters unserer Wissenschaft nieder.'

Nun trat Herr Joseph O'Neill-Dublin zum Grabe; es war wohl der ergreifendste Moment der ganzen Feier, als in gälischen Lauten zum Steinbild Zeuſs' empor die Worte klangen:

'Im Namen der gälischen Liga lege ich diesen Kranz auf dem Grabe des groſsen Deutschen nieder, der sein Alles der Wissenschaft geopfert hat. So lange es Gälen auf irischem Boden gibt, wird sein Name unter uns in ehrendem Gedächtnis gehalten werden.'

Der Kranz sank aufs Grab, auf grüner Schleife trug er die gälische Inschrift: '*O Chlannaibh Gaedheal i ndiolchuimhne ar anté do chéad-chuir cruinneolás na sean-ghaedhilge ar bun*'. (Von den Stämmen der Gälen in liebevoller Erinnerung an den Begründer altgälischer Wissenschaft.)

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Zeufs' Neffe, Bürgermeister Kempf, sprach dann:

'Im Auftrage der Gemeinde Vogtendorf, des Geburtsortes des grofsen Toten, lege ich diesen Kranz nieder.'

Weiter Rektor Dr. Baier-Bamberg:

'Das Bamberger Gymnasium weiht seinem grofsen Toten diesen Kranz zum ehrendsten Angedenken.'

Das Wilhelmsgymnasium München vertrat Lycealprofessor Dr. Haas-Bamberg:

'Rektor und Professorenkollegium des Kgl. Wilhelmsgymnasiums in München lassen ihr aufrichtiges und innigstes Bedauern aussprechen, dafs es ihnen unmöglich war, zu unserer hehren Feier einen eigenen Vertreter zu senden. Mir als ehemaligem Mitgliede des dortigen Lehrkörpers wurde der ehrende Auftrag, im Namen des Wilhelmsgymnasiums, der ersten Stätte Zeufs' lehramtlicher Tätigkeit, diesen Kranz hier niederzulegen. Ich füge daran den Herzenswunsch: Es mögen die Stätten, in denen Zeufs' reiner Geist gewaltet, Stätten der reinen, heiligen Wahrheit bleiben für und für!'

Professor Dr. Chroust-Würzburg sprach hierauf:

'Die Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte verehrt Zeufs als den gröfsten Geschichtsforscher, den Franken hervorgebracht hat. Sein Lebenswerk hat nicht unmittelbar ihr gegolten, aber von dem Samen, den er gestreut, ist mancher Keim in den Halm geschossen. Möge die strenge Zucht, möge der stille Ernst dieser freudelosen Natur, möge die Kraft, mit der er zwei Wissenschaften zusammengehalten, späteren Geschlechtern reiche Früchte tragen. Als ein spätes Zeichen des Dankes und der Verehrung legt die Gesellschaft diesen Kranz nieder.'

Endlich Bibliothekar Dr. Pfeiffer-Bamberg:

'Zuletzt bringt in herzinnigem Danke mit bescheidenem Wort der historische Verein der Pfalz zu diesem Grabe den Lorbeer des Ruhmes und die Palme des Friedens. Die besten Jahre der ungebrochenen Kraft dieses Mannes gehörten uns; sobald er 1839 nach Speier kam, ward er der Unsere, und wie er unserer Stadt Speier die Topographie schrieb, so hat er ein Juwel unserer Sammlungen, den Codex traditionum possessionumque Wizenburgensis in köstlicher Fassung der Nachwelt überliefert.

Ein Grabhügel ist höher, als alle Berge der Welt, denn eine Rundsicht tut sich auf, über Höhen und Tiefen, und in einem umfassenden Ausblick eint sich Fernes und Nahes. Von hier aus blickt das Bildnis des Mannes hinaus in die Weite, der einstens in der stillen Studierstube selbst nicht ahnen konnte, wie weit sein Wirken dereinst fruchtbar werden würde. Seines Namens Klang erinnert an den Olympier. Was Zeufs der Wissenschaft gab, was er uns gab, ist Göttergeschenk, *κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί*. So bringe ich vom ragenden Kaiserdom und von Ufern des Rheinstromes, des deutschen Stromes, weihevollen Grufs und unauslöschlichen Dankes treues Gelöbnis zu Deinem Grabe, Unsterblicher!'

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Noch einmal ertönte Gesang, dann schied man von der Stätte.

Auf der alten Feste vereinigten sich die Teilnehmer der Gedächtnisfeier wiederum, von Bürgermeister Zintner begrüſst, dem Professor Breſslau-Straſsburg dankte. Als der Abend niedersank und golden die Sonne zur Rüste ging, lag in magischem Glanze das Frankenland; dann spielten um Zinnen und Giebel bengalische Feuer; als Rauch und Flammen verweht waren, stand fern am Himmel leuchtend ein heller Stern.

Bamberg. MAXIMILIAN PFEIFFER.

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DAVYDD AB GWILYMS GEBET ZU DWYNWEN.

Davydd ab Gwilym hat in seinen Minneliedern vor allen andern Morvudd ausgezeichnet, eine blonde Schöne, deren Gestalt freilich bei ihm kaum bestimmte Formen annimmt. Er hat der Jungfrau sowohl als der jungen Frau glühende Verse gewidmet, aber der Roman seines und ihres Lebens ist verworren und unklar geblieben. Sie ist Davydds Laura, hat aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nie anders als in seiner Poesie gelebt. Die Gedichte an Morvudd sind bald hoffnungsvoll, lebens- und liebefroh, bald aber traurig, zweifelnd, ja verzweifelnd. Zu den letztern gehört das Gebet an die heilige Dwynwen (Barddoniaeth Nr. 79).

Der heiligen Dwynwen, deren Weisheit in einer alten Terzine erwähnt wird (Iolo Mss. 253), war, ebenso wie ihrer Schwester Ceinwen (MA. 423 b), Llanddwyn auf Môn oder Anglesea geweiht, ein Wallfahrtsort, den Davydd auch 208, 38 nennt. Ihr Vater Brychan Irth Brycheiniog, der Sohn Anllechs, eines Königs von Irland, und der Marchell, die angeblich von einem Könige von Griechenland abstammte, hatte von drei Frauen viele Söhne und Töchter, 23 und 25 nach den einen (MA. 418 a), 25 und 26 nach den andern (Iolo Mss. 119 ff.). Die werden alle unter den Heiligen aufgeführt, und es sei erinnert, dafs der Ausdruck *Saint* den Walisern in alter Zeit im allgemeinen die Vornehmen von christlichem Glauben bezeichnet. Dwynwen aber war eine fromme Nonne gewesen und galt als eine Heilige in der engern Bedeutung des Wortes.

Der Dichter wendet sich in dem Gedichte an das Gnadenbild der Heiligen in der Kirche zu Llanddwyn und bittet sie, dafs sie seine *llatteies* 'Botin' oder 'Vermittlerin' sei, seine Liebes-

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botschaft an Morvudd ausrichte. Die Heilige wird so gewissermaſsen zu einer Liebesgöttin und ist als solche bei Davydd öfter genannt (vgl. 34, 19. 35, 27. 111, 51. 158, 45. 164, 44. 188, 13. 197, 39), ebenso bei den Spätern. Das Gedicht ist ernst und feierlich gehalten, aber wer auf den Dichter sieht, erkennt vielleicht, daſs er 'with one auspicious and one dropping eye' vor die Heilige hintritt. Es fehlt auch nicht an einem unfreundlichen Seitenblicke auf den *Eiddig*, den 'gilos' oder eifersüchtigen Nebenbuhler, denn Davydd ist vorzüglich in der provenzalischen Dichtungsart der 'gilozescas'. Sein Gebet an Dwynwen erinnert auch an eine ähnliche Bitte, die der Troubadour Gwillem von Cabestaing an die Jungfrau Maria tut. Den deutschen Leser aber läſst der Anfang an die 'Wallfahrt nach Kevlaer' denken, deren Dichter 500 Jahre nach dem walisischen Minnesänger lebte.

Das Gedicht (*cywydd*) Davydds ist nicht getreu überliefert, wie schon aus der unvollkommenen Cynghanedd mancher Verse hervorgeht. Die Schreiber und Herausgeber scheinen die zweifelhaften und dunklen Lesarten, die das Verständnis des Dichters fast auf jeder Seite hindern, oft willkürlich durch leichtere ersetzt zu haben, und nur durch langwierige Arbeit darf man aus den Handschriften einen bessern Text zu gewinnen hoffen. Aber die Kritik ist wegen des Mangels alter Codices und wegen der Menge der Varianten überaus schwierig. Wir müssen uns leider mit der Edition von O. Jones und W. Owen begnügen, in der man den Dichter 120 Jahre gelesen hat. Die zweite Ausgabe von 1873 hat nichts daran gebessert und ist durch zahllose Fehler entstellt.

Ymbil ar Ddwynwen santes.

Dwynwen deigr d'anian[1]) degwch!
Da gwŷr,[2]) o gôr fflamgwyr fflwch,
Dy ddelw aur diddoluriaw
Digion druain-ddynion draw.
5 Dŷn a wylio, gloyw-dro glân,
Yn dy gôr, un deg[3]) eirian,

---

[1]) arien *Iolo Mss. 83, Rep. 1, 284. 411.*
[2]) deg ŵyr *Iolo.*
[3]) Indeg *Iolo.*

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Nid oes glefyd na bryd brwyn
A êl ynddo o Landdwyn.
Dy laesblaid, yn dy lwysblwyf —
10 Dolurus ofalus wyf!
'Y mron oer am yr unferch
Ysydd yn unchwydd o serch.
Hirwayw o sail gofeiliaint,
Herwydd y gwn, hwn yw 'r haint:
15 Oni châf, o byddaf byw,
Forfudd — llyna oferfyw.
Gwna fi 'n iach, weddusach wawd,
O'm anwychder a'm nychdawd!
Cymysg latteiddrwydd flwyddyn
20 A rhadau Duw rh'od a dŷn.
Nid rhaid, ddelw euraid ddilyth,
It[1]) ofn pechawd fethgnawd[2]) fyth.
Nid adwna da ei dangnef —
Duw a wnaeth nad ei o nef.
25 Ni'th wyl mursen yleni
Yn hustyng yn yng a ni;
Nid eill Eiddig ddŷn dig du,
Noeth ddragwm, fyth mo'th ddrygu;
Ni rydd Eiddig ddig ddygnbwyll
30 Warffon i ti, wyry' ei phwyll.
Tyn o'th wobr — taw! ni thybir
Wrthyd, wyry', gymhlegyd hir.
O Landdwyn, dir gynired,
Y gwn y tro, gem tir cred:
35 Nef ni'th omeddawdd, hawdd hedd,
Dawn iaith aml, dŷn ni'th omedd.
Diammheu weddiau waith,
Duw a'th eilw, du ei thalaith!
Dêl lid, Duw dy lettywr,
40 Dêl i gôf dwylaw gŵr;
Traws oedd y dŷn a'i treisiai,
Tra ddêl im' trwy ddail mai.
Dwynwen! pe parid unwaith,
Dan wŷdd mai a hirddydd maith,
45 Morfudd lawen ddŷn wen wych,
Dwynwen, ni byddit anwych!
Dangos o'th radau dawngoeth,
Nad wyd fursen, Ddwynwen ddoeth!
Er a wnaethost, drwy ddanbwys,
50 O benyd y byd a'i bwys;

---

[1]) yt *A*, yr *B*.
[2]) wethl-gnawd *W. Owen*, fethl-gnawd *S. Evans*; pechawdseth . . . syth *B*.

Er ffydd, er crefydd croywfyw,
A wnaethost tra fuost fyw;
Er dy eirian leianaeth
A gwyrfdawd y coethgnawd caeth;
55 Er enaid, os rhaid yr hawg,
Brychan Yrth breichiau nerthawg —
Eiriol er dy grefol gred,
Yr em wyry', roi ymwared! [1])

Übersetzung.

'O Dwynwen, du in deiner Zähre Schönheit! [2])
Im Chor [3]) von vielem Kerzenwachs umflammt, [4])
Weifs wohl dein goldnes Bild den Schmerz zu heilen
Den armen kummervollen Menschen dort.
5 Wer Andacht hält, [5]) du einzig Schöne, Hehre!
In deinem Chor (ein lauter, heilig Werk!),
Ein solcher kehrt mit Krankheit nicht behaftet
Noch sorgenvolles Sinns aus Llanddwyn heim.
Die milden Deinen lafs in der Gemeine [6])
10 Mir beistehn! Ich bin schmerz- und kummervoll.
Das arme Herz ist um das Eine Mädchen
In einer einzgen Liebeswallung mir.
Ein langes Leid aus tiefes Grames Grunde,
Das ist, so viel ich weifs, die Krankheit nur:

---

[1]) wyryf *Rep.*; ym wared *Rep. 1, 411.*

[2]) Der erste Vers ist unsicher und schwierig. Edw. Jones (Welsh Bards 2, 55) übersetzt 'Fair as the hoary tears of morning', der Herausgeber der Iolo Mss. p. 473 'O thou tears-endued Dwynwen, pure essence of beauty'. Letzterer liest *arien* (cf. *arien deccad* MA. 337 b infra) statt des gewöhnlichen *danian*, wofür ich *d'anian* vermute.

[3]) *côr* eig. der Teil der Kirche, wo der Klerus mit dem Kirchenchor steht (wie *mynach mewn cilfach côr* 63, 36. 128, 40. 48), daher sowohl ein Obergemach (*a'r ddôr islaw 'r côr* 108, 62. 13, 6. 32, 33. 132, 3), als auch das mit der Kirche verbundene Kloster und sein Seminar, wie in *crefyddes a santes wyd,* | *caredig i'r côr ydwyd* 10, 10. 11, 20. 28. 30. 22, 6. 122, 36. 138, 23. 173, 29. 236, 38.

[4]) In den Iolo Mss. übersetzt: 'Fair grand-child of Flamgwyr's congregation'! Vgl. *da gŵyr* 76, 39; *da gwn* 58, 47; *da y gŵyr edrych* 239, 21; und: *canwyll fflamgwyr* 81, 30; *gwe fflamgwyr wedd* 60, 7; *fflamgwyr* I. G. 32, 83.

[5]) Eig. *gŵylio gŵyl* 'die Vigilie, das Jahresfest der Heiligen begehen', daher die Bestimmung auf ein Jahr Vs. 19. 25.

[6]) *Dy laesblaid* 'Thy extended guardianship I crave' Jones.

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15 Wenn ich, so lange ich hienieden lebe,
Nicht Morvudd habe, ist mein Leben leer.
Mache gesund (mehr ziemt sich[1]) diese Weise)
Von meinem Kleinmut, meinem Siechtum mich!
Dies Jahr durch übernimm den Dienst der Botin
20 Mit Gottes Gnaden zwischen dir und uns.
Nicht brauchst du je des schwachen Fleisches Sünde[2])
Zu fürchten, unvergänglich golden Bild!
Nicht wird der Friedenreiche es verwirken,[3])
Gott hat's bestimmt, dafs du im Himmel bleibst.
25 Nicht wird dich heuer eine Spröde sehen,
Wenn flüsternd du mit uns zusammen bist.[4])
Nicht kann der heillos arge Eifersüchtge,
Der bare Popanz,[5]) je dir Böses tun;[6])
Noch soll ergrimmt der Gimpel in Erregung
30 Dir eins versetzen, die du reines Sinns!
Mit deinem Lohne komm![7]) — nur still! O Keusche,
Man plant[8]) kein langes Klagen wider dich.
Ich weifs, wie's im besuchten[9]) Lande Llanddwyns
Sonst zugeht, o Juwel der Christenheit!
35 Dir wehrte nicht der Himmel selgen Frieden,
Der Sprache Kraft versagt der Mensch dir nicht.

---

[1]) Vgl. *weddus wawd* 239, 32.

[2]) Vgl. *methgnawd* 'das fehlende Fleisch' 61, 47 (von *methu* RB. 1, 104. 170. LA. 157, 1); Pughe liest im Wörterbuche s. v. *dilyth* : *wethlgnawd* 'flesh-tempting' und S. Evans s. v. *methlgnawd* 'das bestrickende Fleisch' (von *methlu* Rees 221).

[3]) Vgl. *Nyt atwna Duw ar a wnel*, sagt Llywarch Hên bei Skene 2, 258.

[4]) *hustyng*, *husting* 'flüstern'; vgl. *dôs yn ei chlust a hustyng* 21, 29; *y rhwystr gwedi yr hustyng* 142, 16; *hustyngwr*, *hasting o air yn ei chlust* 192, 31. RB. 1, 60. 285. — *yng*, *ing* 'eng, nahe'; vgl. *yn yr ing* 154, 72; *mor ing i mi yw 'r angau* 255, 49; *dydd-ing* 246, 7; *du ing lid* 106, 16; auch 13, 1 nach zweifelhafter Lesart.

[5]) *dragwm* 'Drache' hat hier vermutlich eine übertragene Bedeutung; vgl. *chwareu dragwn* 205, 8, wo andere *eurwisg dragwn* lesen.

[6]) *mo* (aus *dim o*), entsprechend dem franz. pas, point, mie, goutte in negativem Satze, ist in Davydds Gedichten noch selten: *nis gwna mo hyn* 198, 81; *na âd i'm gelyn gael mo 'm gweled* 246, 16; *mo'i* 28, 28 ist erst in der zweiten Ausgabe eingesetzt und *mo'r od* 31, 20 darin in *mor od* verbessert.

[7]) *Tyn o'th wobr* 'hasten with thy reward' Jones; vgl. *i ble tyn* 148, 48.

[8]) Vgl. *diben o hwn a dybir* 232, 55.

[9]) Vgl. *cynired* 4, 52.

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Gebete sind von zweifelloser Wirkung;
Du Schwarzgekrönte! rufen wird dich Gott.
Und kommt Verdrufs, gewährt doch Gott dir Obdach,
40 Und spüren soll man eine Mannesfaust.
Vermessen wäre der, der sie berührte,
Wenn sie durchs Laub des Maien zu mir kommt.
Wenn, Dwynwen, einmal nur du mir gewährtest
Am lieben langen Tag im Maigehölz
45 Das feine herzge Kind,[1]) die heitre Morvudd,
So wärst du, heilge Dwynwen, herzlos nicht.
So zeige denn, mit lautrer Gunst und Gnade,
Dafs, weise Dwynwen, du nicht spröde bist.
Bei dem, was du vollbracht durch deine Leiden
50 An Bufse dieser Welt und ihrer Last;
Beim Glauben, bei dem tätig frommen Sinne,
Den du in deinem Leben einst bewährt;
Bei deines Standes preislichem Gelübde,
Der Keuschheit des gebundnen reinen Fleischs;
55 Und bei der Seele, wenn es fürder nötig,
Des armgewaltgen Fürsten Brychan Yrth —
Fürbitte tu, bei deiner gläubgen Inbrunst,
Dafs mir Erlösung werde, keusche Maid!'

---

[1]) *y ddŷn* in der Bedeutung 'die Geliebte' ist bei Davydd sehr häufig, griech. ἡ ἄνθρωπος, das jedoch oft mit Geringschätzung gebraucht wird.

Berlin. L. Chr. Stern.

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MISCELLEN.

1. Strophe 57 in Imram Snedgusa ocus Mic Riagla.

In meiner Ausgabe des Gedichtes, das die Seereise von Snedgus und Mac Riagla erzählt,[1]) war mir, ebenso wie den Verfassern der irischen Prosaversionen, die Strophe 57 unverständlich geblieben. Es steht dort in Bezug auf Elia, der die Mönche in seiner Behausung willkommen geheifsen hat:

> Cleithi suath suidhighthe lais, lith for forbairt,
> cotur cain[2]) coir co trillsib oir ocus argait.

Den Schlüssel bietet *cotur*, offenbar dasselbe Wort wie *catur cattur catar* bei Meyer, Contrib. s. v. *catar*; Cain Adamnain p. 44 zu 36, das aus lat. *quattuor* geschöpft ist und ein Buch mit den vier Evangelien bezeichnet. Dieses wird also hier *clethe suad*, 'das Dach der Weisen' genannt, und die Strophe bedeutet:

'Das Dach der Weisen wurde bei ihm (eher 'von ihm') hingesetzt — ein wachsendes Fest! —, ein schönes, würdiges Evangelienbuch mit Flechten von Gold und Silber.' Gemeint ist wohl, dafs die in Str. 58 erwähnte Predigt über das jüngste Gericht sofort von Elia gehalten wird, und dafs er dabei den Evangelientext zu Grunde legt.

Was die sonstige Übersetzung betrifft, so wird man mit Strachan *dia athair* in Str. 61b wie gewöhnlich als 'Gott Vater' nehmen müssen, sei es nun, dafs man *mac na h-ingine, dia athair* als 'der Sohn der Jungfrau und Gott Vater' zu verstehen hat, oder dafs beide als eine Person gedacht sind, wie das dem Mittelalter geläufig ist.

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[1]) s. Z. V, 418 ff.

[2]) coturcain MS.

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Ferner betont Kuno Meyer mit Recht, dafs das Anfangswort der Strophen häufig durch Alliteration an das letzte der vorhergehenden geknüpft ist (sog. *fidrad freccomail, fidrad cubaid*), und dafs dadurch meine Umstellung von Str. 11 und 12 als richtig erwiesen wird. Auch in Str. 53b wird *gaile* 'Flecken' sowohl mit dem vorhergehenden *césadh* als mit dem folgenden *Cain* alliterieren; der Dichter hat also noch die altirische Form *caile* gebraucht, während schon im Saltair na Rann *gaile* durch die Alliteration gesichert ist (s. Stokes, KZ. 38, 461).

Den Prosatext, den ich als Version B bezeichnet habe, hat jetzt Stokes[1]) direkt nach der Handschrift herausgegeben und aufser manchen Lesungen auch hier und da die Übersetzung verbessert. In Bezug auf das Gedicht stimme ich ihm jetzt darin bei, dafs in *samtha* Str. 67 und *samud, samad* Str. 74 wohl das gewöhnliche *samud* 'Versammlung' zu sehen ist; vielleicht gilt das doch auch für *samgha* Str. 22, wo ich in der zweiten Zeile *co h-indsi n-and* lesen möchte. Aber die Übersetzung von *congaib* Str. 72 durch 'mit Speeren' (*co n-gáib*) kann ich nicht annehmen, da es mit *longaib* reimt; und die Cäsur, die Stokes p. 166 in Str. 67b, 69b, 70b, 72a und b, 73b, 74b, 76b (auch 71b) abweichend von mir ansetzt, widerstreitet den Gesetzen der irischen Verskunst, da der Cäsurreim vernachlässigt ist.

Zum Schlufs möchte ich den Zs. V, 421 ausgesprochenen Wunsch wiederholen, dafs das Gedicht in Imram Curaig Mailduin (im Yellow Book of Lecan und in Brit. Mus., Harleian 5280) bald einmal zum Abdruck komme.

Freiburg i. Br. R. THURNEYSEN.

2. Notes on the Second Edition of the Martyrology of Oengus, London 1905.

p. ix, l. 19, According to Lebar Brecc 110 a 37—39, Eve was created from the eighth rib on Adam's right side (*don ochtmad asna ūachtarach chlēib a lethi deis Adaim dorōnta Eua*).

xi, l. 27, *for* . . . *read* fructifies (?).

xxv, l. 27, *for* bondage *read* fasting.

l. 36, *dele* winnowing.

[1]) Rev. Celt. 26, 130 ff.

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p. xxv: note 3 is wrong. The right hand seems to have been called *lám bennachtan* 'hand of benediction' because from the earliest times (see Genesis xlix, 14 et seq.) that hand was used in the act of blessing. The left hand was called *lám soscéli* 'hand of gospel', because in celebrating mass, after the epistle is read on the right (or south) side of the altar, the gospel is read on the left (or north) side. Hence in Charter VII of the Book of Kells *in ferand ar do láim ·ṡoscéla* means 'the land on thy left hand'.

xxvi, l. 1, *for* noble birds *read* famous birds.

19, A. D. 797 is, according to the Four Masters, the date of Maelruain's death. But the Annals of Ulster give it, more correctly, as A. D. 792.

xxx, l. 4, add *Sauul.*

xxxi, l. 9, *for* but dental forms are *read* Non-relative dental forms are occasionally

xxxiv, l. 1, for *doriga* Prol. 298 read *dorega* Prol. 258.

xxxvii, l. 5, *dele* in *is*, and dele l. 6.

xxxix, l. 17, add *Saul* Ep. 524, is disyllabic: *Gaius* Feb. 20, is trisyllabic: *Eusebi* Sep. 25, is a quadrisyllable. Elision is extremely rare.

xli, penultimate line, *after* letter *insert* At Prol. 24, July 8, 12, Aug. 24, 25, and in Salt. na Rann 1735, 2257, 7337, *sc* alliterates with *s*. And yet Atkinson (*On Irish Metric*, p. 8) asserts that initial *s* when followed by a mute can only alliterate with itself and the same mute.

xlv, l. 20, *for* Feb. 6 *read* Feb. 13.

xlvii, l. 11, *for* It must be confessed *read* The Martyrology of Oengus is essentially a mnemonic poem. No one therefore should complain

16, *for* most *read* much.

l, l. 27, *for* when *read* whence.

li, l. 33, *add* and the etymology of *Cypselus* in Herodotus v. 92.

p. 5, ll. 2, 3, }
9, ll. 32, 33, } *for* enters on etc. *read* refers, in the prologue of the Martyrology to Donnchad's death (*tic le* p. 4 = *tic tar* p. 8, ll. 26, 27).

24, Prol. 165, *for* Temra *read* Temro.

col. 2, l. 15, *for* anguish *read* trouble.

27, Prol. 241, *for* do-chiṅgthecht *read* do chiṅgthecht, where *do* is the pretonic form of the prep. *de*: *di*. Mr. Bergin compares *Cia ron-beth do chingthecht*, *cath fri Demon* ('though we may have so much combating, a fight with the Devil') with Wb. 28 d 29: *ma ru-s-bói di humaldóit* (gl. si sanctorum pedes lauauit) 'if she had so much humility'.

29, col. 2, ll. 12, 13, *for* enquiring for every one *read* for anyone enquiring for them.

col. 2, l. 19, *for* chapters *read* stanzas.

l. 27, *for* chapter *read* stanza.

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p. 30, Prol. 309, *read* Lilesiu.
30, Prol. 316, *for* is *read* it.
col. 2, l. 8, *for* writings *read* lines.
l. 13, *for* 'tis a blind direction to men *read* thou art the blindest of sense among men, *dallchéilliu* being the comparative (here used as a superlative) of *dallchíall*.
last line *for* chapters *read* stanzas.
41, l. 2, for *Aircc* read *Airec*.
42, l. 16, the corrupt gloss on Felix in LB. *viz*. pasa fæl .ix. .i. prius, is thus corrected by Mr. Plummer: Papa Felix .i. primus.
42, l. 23, *for* Affrodius *read* Affrod[os]ius, and see *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium*, ed. Tischendorf, cc. 22, 24.
43, l. 3, *for* to *read* against.
l. 7, *for* Chóca *read* of a cook.
46, l. 9, i n-innsibh (sic ms.) should doubtless be corrected to i nDéisib (Plummer).
47, l. 11, *for* islands *read* Decies (without Druim).
ll. 16, 38, *for* leprosy (?) *read* anguish.
49, l. 25, *after* backsliding *insert* for to him happened this backsliding, for example.
l. 35, *for* Nia *read* Niafer.
65, l. 25, *for* wishes *read* dainties.
68, last line, after R² insert *Fiachra*, and *after* Suaide *insert* [leg. Suilighe].
69, l. 5, *for* Dua *read* Dui.
last line, *for* Suaide *read* Swilly.
71, l. 4, *for* stay *read* sing.
l. 31, *after* Shannon *insert* a nun who is in Cluain Bairenn beside Clonmacnois.
99, ll. 16—24, The names are corrupt. *Habitus* should be Avitus, *Protas* Protus, *Iacinthus* Hyacinthus, *Elinus* Helenus, and *Steren* Zareas (?). See the Vita Sanctae Eugeniae in Migne *Patr. Lat.* XXI.
105, col. 2, ll. 19—24, *read* on the fair feast of Quadratus, whose blood it is that does not perish.
111, l. 32, *for* Cuachán *read* Little Cup, a nickname for King Guaire's caldron. The verses are an extract from the legend of Guaire and S. Colman mac Duach, *Ériu* I, 46, *Rev. Celt.* XXVI, 374, 376.
113, l. 25, *dele* it went.
149, l. 2, *read* took the cow with her biestings (*'m a nús*).
151, l. 1, *for* a pope *read* Pupu.
160, col. 2, ll. 13, 14, *for* the prayer of paltry ones *read* a paltry refuge.
175, l. 12, 13, *for* prayer of paltry ones, *read* paltry refuge.
187, l. 7. The stone-idol here called *Cermand Cestach* is *Kermand Kelstach* in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, London 1685, p. 197: where he quotes a similar scholium, and attributes it to Cathaldus Maguir canonicus Ardmachanus, (supra p. XIII): 'Hic Lapis ... asservatur Clochariae ad dextram ingredientis Ecclesiam, quem gen-

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tiles auro obtegebant, quia in eo colebant summum partium Aquilonarium Idolum Kermand Kelstach dictum'.

p. 195, col. 2, l. 7, *for* the *read* his.

201, l. 20, note: As to cursing *manu sinistrâ*, see the Tripartite Life, pp. 325—326.

213, ll. 32, 39 *for* Quiriacus *read* Cyricus.

225, notes, l. 4, *after* 26 *insert* and the story of Periander (ὅς νεκρῷ ἐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ ἐμίγη), Hdt. V, 92.

229, l. 3, from bottom, *for* rolé *read* rolég.

234, col. 2, l. 17. *for* Moses' *read* the winter.

237, col. 2, l. 19, *after* noble *insert* cry.

241, l. 13, *prefix* 4 *without suddenness*, i. e. at committing sin or denying God.

243, l. 9, note, So Cypselus (Κύψελος) was so called from κυψέλη *a chest, box*, Hdt. V, 92.

251, Dec. 11, As R[1] has *trethain* in l. 4, we should perhaps correct l. 2 to *Mugnai tuathmaig lethain* 'of Mugnae in the broad northern plain', where *tuathmaig* and *lethain* are locatives singular.

col. 2, l. 20, *for* triad *read* trio.

255, Dec. 29, As the gen. sg. of *ecnae* is *ecnai*, we should read in l. 2 *donn-ecrai* ('shelters us') and in l. 4, *ṅecnai*.

256, l. 16, *read* mórfognam.

l. 35, *after* est *insert* [2. Cor. V, 15].

261, l. 5, for *Thyrsus* read *Drusus*.

l. 23, *for* F . . . . . *read* F(iacc)

l. 8, from bottom, *for* Iamnan *read* Iaman.

267, Ep. 74, K. Meyer suggests that *colbu* may be for **coblu*, compar. (here used as superl.) of *cobel* = *con* + *fial*, whence *coble*, Contribb. If so, read *as colbu*, and translate 'The race we have run for the Kingdom of Christ who is kindliest'. Cf. *carsait Críst as díliu*, May 7.

268, Ep. 99. For *noebán* read perhaps *nóeb án* (where *án* alliterates with *idnai*), and translate: 'every splendid saint with purity has wrought his stanza'.

271, col. 2, l. 23, *for* conflict with *read* match (for the Devil).

272, Ep. 172, *beith* should be corrected to *both*.

284, Ep. 441—556. These twenty-nine quatrains Thurneysen (Rev. Celt. VII, 89) considers to be intercalated, 'par un poète postérieur', as they do not obey the law that, where there is no disyllabic assonance between the last word of the third line and some word in the interior of the fourth, the final syllable of the third line must assonate with the final syllables of the second and fourth lines.

Glossarial Index.

p. 294, ad-cuaid: *for* prefix *read* perfective.

296, airdirc: *read* O. Bret. *erderch*.

299, l. 7, *for* arduu *read* arddn.

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p. 299, penult. line, *for* -selgim *read* slegim.
301, l. 8, for *prayer*, Aug. 8, read *refuge* July 3, Aug. 8.
303, l. 1, *for* buith *read* both.
l. 17, *insert* perf. sg. 3 ro ucc Dec. 14.
304, l. 6, from bottom, *before* 375 *insert* acc. buith.
306, l. 3, *dele* (ex bhuvano-s).
308, *dele* l. 25, céllin etc.
309, l. 7, from bottom, *for* see *do-chingthecht* etc., *read* dat. Prol. 241, deriv. of the stem of *cing*.
312, l. 13, *for* meaning obscure *read* for comdhas, comadas.
l. 18, *for* conflict *read* match.
313, corach, coraig should be córach, córaig, as they are derived from *cór*, which in p. 156 rhymes with *ór* 'gold'.
316, l. 15, *after* boat *insert* Dec. 1.
l. 19, *for* III *read* 111.
l. 3, from bottom, for *blind guidance* read *blindest of sense*, compar. of *dallchiall*, which here is a bahuvrihi adj.
320, ll. 1, 2, *for* Fél. Oeng. clxxi, *read* p. 258.
321, l. 5, *dele* dochingthecht. *dele* l. 29.
l. 5, from bottom, *for* subj. *read* pres. ind., and *for* -ecrae *read* -ecrai.
323, l. 9, *for* do-menaim etc. *read* do-m-fil p. 94.
penult. l. *after* do-ro-chair *insert* has fallen.
326, l. 18, for *iēnuarius* read *ienuarius*.
328, l. 19, *for* éil-n *read* féil-n.
329, l. 13, *for* them *read* you.
330, s. v. flesc, *dele* (Cymr. *llŷsg*).
344, l. 24, *read* máithe p. 46, now maoithe *pain, grief, anguish*, Dinneen.
348, l. 9, *add* Br. *mouga*.
349, l. 4, for *is* not ... 135, *read* nih *is not*, July 3, Aug. 8, Ep. 97.
351, l. 18, for *nualann* read *húalann*.
357, l. 16, add *Ro* is never found after *mad-* q. v.
368, tirbaid, for *anguish* read *trouble*: pl. n. tirbithi, Wb. 14 d 13.
384, Fernae. In the earlier part of the Annals of Ulster the gen. is *Fernann*.
401, Astragie, *add* An Astriges *se drŷ* 'the magician' is mentioned in *Salomon and Saturn*, ed. Kemble, p. 200.
404, Bran Berbae, *for* a heathen king, *read* = Bran Ardchenn, king of Leinster, slain A. D. 795 (Thurneysen).
413, Cu-chuimme, l. 2, *after* 1888, *insert* where the colophon to the collection of canons in MS. lat. 12021 (Bibl. nationale) should, according to Thurneysen, be corrected thus: Huc usque Ruben et Cúcuimne Iae et Durinis '*so far Ruben of Iona and Cúchuimne of Dairinis*'.
416, Donnchad; *after* l. 1, *insert* Prol. 221, and *dele* a heathen king (Thurneysen).
417, l. 1, *add* son of Brian brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. To the Síl Duach belong the O'Conors, Mac Dermots, O'Flahertys and other Connaught families.

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p. 419, Etech: *add* a Buanann muime na Fiann is mentioned in Cormac's Glossary.

426, Habitus: recte Avitus.

427, Iafer Dub. = Jupiter Niger, Pluto.

428, Iuliana: *add* Irish Life in Liber Flavus Fergussiorum, Part II, fo. 9 b 1.

436, The articles from and including *Mochabae* down to and including *Moling*, should come before *Moluoc*.

462, triads: *add* the three *athláich* of Ireland 112.

465, l. 28, *for* *n*glanbai *read* *n*glanbail.

468, penult. line; *add* nogessed Ep. 217, ngestae Ep. 432, part. nec. gessi Dec. 2.

471, l. 22, *for* subs *read* sube.

Indices.

The following words should be inserted in their proper places:

1. Glossarial Index.

airbre *a host*, *pl.* airbri XXIV. dat. airbrib, LB. 131 a 48, a sister-form of *arbar*, gen. *arbir* (gl. cohortis), Thes. pal. hib. II.

airc X, *difficulty, need*: cogn. with Lat. *arceo* and *ar(c)tus*? Cf. Ovid's *artis in rebus*.

allud *renown*, gen. allaid p. 156.

án-ching *a splendid champion*, gen. -ed, Feb. 25.

anailchi XI, *vices*, analchi Thes. pal. hib. II, 244, pl. of analaig?

anlann p. 88, *a relish, condiment*. Cymr. *enllyn*.

árach *a fetter*, dat. āruch p. 90, ex *ad-rig: cf. Lat. *cor-rigia*.

araile *another*, Ep. 1, dat. arailiu Prol. 248.

ar-coirbi XI, *fructifies*? Rev. celt. XXVII, 86, 87.

aruclān X, *a little oratory* (aracul), ariuclán Thes. pal. hib. II, 294.

assa *shoe*, gen. sg. p. 112.

bán-gáirid 208, l. 4, LB. 96, *laughs aloud*: *bán* cognate with Gr. *φωνή*, Arm. *ban*, Lat. *fāri*.

bíatach XIII, *victualler*; cf. ar-bíathaim *I feed*.

boimm 88, *a bit*, (pl. bommann), ex **bogsmen*, cognate with Ir. *bo-n-gim*, Skr. *bhajyate*.

cacht *fasting*, .i. troscadh O'Cl., gen. cachta XXIV, XXV.

cāithlech XXV, *chaff*, also *cáith, cáithech*: cf. Lat. *quatio*.

cness *skin*, gen. cnis 46.

coairt X, *landholder*: cf. eissirt, and Goth. *airtha*.

con-ricim *I come together*, pl. 3 con-recat, June 14; *b*-fut. pl. 1 conricfam 86.

costad 88, l. 14, *act of establishing* (com-stā . .).

cúachán 110, *a little cup*, dimin. of *cúach*, Lat. *caucus*.

deccair *hardship*, pl. dat. deccraib X.

denus 132, *a space of time*, cf. Lat. *nun-dinae*.

dibregōit X, from Lat. *deprecātio*.

do-essurg, -tessurg, *I rescue*, do-n-esarta, do-n-esairgfind 152.

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do-ling Sep. 14, *leaps*. Skr. *láṅghati*.
donuall X, *a piteous cry*.
duailche *vice*, gen. duailchi XI.
ecne 112, *salmon*.
eissirt X, *a landless man*: cf. coairt.
escca 150, *water*, sister-form of *esc*, Corm. from *isca*.
fairche in arathair 72, *a ploughing-field*.
findfad XXV, *hair*, a deriv. of *find* cogn. with the *wint* of OHG. *wintbrāwa*, now *Wimper*, IF. XIX, 345.
fithise *path*, *orbit*, m'[ḟ]ithisi 76, sister-form of *fithis* F., Ml. 28 c 19.
fochla *a den*, dat. fochlai 44. *fochlaidh* (gl. cavicula), Ir. Gl. 229.
foglas XXV, *greenish*: Cymr. *go las* 'rather blue', the *fo-*, *go-* is a diminutival prefix.
fois 168, *rest*, ex **vosti*, cogn. with Ir. *feiss*, *foss*, Skr. *vastu*, Gr. ἄστυ.
fo-nig XI, *purifies*, pret. sg. 3 *fo-nenaig* Thes. pal. hib. II, 322. cogn. with Skr. *nenejmi*, Gr. νίζω.
fuathróc 92, *apron*, a corruption of *fuathbróc* LL. 59 b 1. Zimmer, KZ. 30, 84.
fuidell 92, *leavings*, Cymr. *gweddill* 'reliquiae', Davies.
fuilled *addition*, Ml. 69 b 6, dat. i b[f]uilliud 150.
grāda epscuip, grāda sacairt 72, *episcopal orders*, *sacerdotal orders*.
imnedach 154, *full of troubles*, deriv. of *imned*, gen. imnith Wb. 6 c.
innmat, innmadh 134, *act of washing*.
iris 200, *a strap*, *a suspender*. Lism. Lives l. 4358.
it Prol. 316, *thou art*.
leistiar 112, for *allestiar 'on the west-side'* from **an-leth-siar*; cf. *al-leth-thess*, Trip. Life 148.
lám fri cach séri 42, *abstinence from* (lit. hand against) *every food*. See Ériu II, 56, § 9.
lám soscéli XXV, *left hand*, lit. *gospel-hand*.
liter domnaig XXV, *Dominical Letter*.
loithe Prol. 287, *dumbness*.
mire XXIII, *madness*, deriv. of *mer* 'mad', LU. 40 a 33.
mí-rún XI, *malice*, now written *mìorún*.
mór-ḟognam 256, *great servitude*.
mór-gorta 146, *great hunger*.
mór-iaraid 148, *act of entreating greatly*.
nuimir óir XX, *the Golden Number*.
nús 148, *biestings* (colostra), a contraction of *núa ass*.
ochtmad 148, *one of the eight*. For like use of other ordinals see Ir. Texte IV, XIV, et infra s. v. tres.
óib XXV, *semblance*.
prímchathair 184, *chief monastery*.
samad 94, *congregation*, *community*. Compd. with *sam*.
scé *a thorntree*, gen. sciach 134.
sentúath 256, *an old tribe*.
soc 72, *ploughshare*, from Lat. *soccus*.
soléir Aug. 26, *very pious*.
sreb *stream*, pl. sreba 152.

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2. Index of Places.

3. Index of Persons.

4. Index of Things.

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3. Zu Tochmarc Étáine.

In dem irischen Texte CZ. 5, 524 Z. 1 sind die Worte *caencomrac* (*.i. síd*), 7 *ní bi nech a fuaith a chéle* nach K. Meyer zu verstehen: 'freundliches Entgegenkommen, und niemand hafst den andern', und demnach p. 528, Z. 12 zu verbessern. Zu *Siugmall* p. 530 hätten Nettlaus Bemerkungen in der Revue celtique 12, 229 f. erwähnt werden sollen. In dem Liede Midirs (Windisch, Texte, p. 133, 12) mufs doch wohl, wie Prof. Thurneysen erinnert, *dodon archéil ar áraim* geschrieben werden (nicht *ar a raim*, wie CZ. 5, 533, Anm. 2 vorausgesetzt ist); denn *áraim* bildet aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach den Reim zu dem vorhergehenden *Ádaim*.

Berlin. L. Chr. Stern.

4. *Glanio,* to land.

Mr. Eilian Owen, in his ingenious and successful attempt to clear up an obscure and disputed line from the Black Book of Caermarthen (v. Ztschr. f. celt. Ph. V, 572—74) having mentioned the verb *glanio* as a modern substitute for its old and indigenous Cymric equivalent *tirio* 'to land' remarks that *glanio* must have already existed in the 18th century, since Williams Pantycelyn (1717—91) uses it. Perhaps, I may be permitted to point out that *glanio* 'to land' occurs as early as the end of the *16th* century, being found in bishop William Morgan's first Cymric Bible Version of 1588; cf. S. Marc VII, 53, at the end: *ac a làniasant*, 'and they landed', [in terram e navi descenderunt].

Oxford. H. Krebs.

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ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

Celtae and Galli, by John Rhys. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. II. 64 pp. 8⁰.

Der Aufsatz, der mir durch des Verfassers Güte zugekommen ist, stellt einen neuen Versuch dar, hinter die Rätsel der Sprache des Kalenders von Coligny (s. Zs. II, 523) und des Bleitäfelchens von Rom (Rev. Celt. 19, 170) zu kommen. Gleichzeitig werden die fragmentarische, halb lateinische Inschrift von Évreux (CIL. 13, 3204) und die Zauberformeln des Marcellus aus derselben Sprache gedeutet. Aber die angewandte Methode scheint mir zu keinen haltbaren Resultaten zu führen; es wird einfach nach äufserer Wortähnlichkeit interpretiert. Auf diesem Wege hat man bekanntlich z. B. aus etruskischen Inschriften einst jeden beliebigen Inhalt herausgelesen. Eine kleine Probe mag das Verfahren illustrieren:

Das Fragment des Kalenders *ox.antia* | *pogdedortonin* | *quimon* wird gelesen: *ox*[*t*] *antia pogde dorton in quimon* und übersetzt: 'Aber dieses hier ist ohne es (d. h. diese Monatshälfte ohne die vorhergehende) in das Lustrum gesetzt worden' (p. 14 ff.).

ocht wird air. *acht* 'aufser, aber' gleichgesetzt, das etymologisch dem gr. *ἐκτός* entspricht. Man müfste also annehmen, dafs, wie im Irischen schwachbetontes *e-* zu *a-* geworden ist, so in dieser Sprache zu *o-*, und ferner, dafs *-os* abgefallen sei.

antia wird in *an* und *tia* zerlegt. Jenes sei gleich dem irischen demonstrativen und relativen Element *sa*ⁿ, das kühn in *s-an* zerschnitten wird; in *tia* vermutet Rh. ein lokativisches Wörtchen 'hier'.

pogde soll ein Pronomen *de* enthalten, davor eine Doppelpraeposition *pog* oder *poc* aus *po* oder *pa* = kymr. *o* 'von' und *oc* = ir. *oc* 'bei'.

dorton wird auf *dortton* oder *dordton* zurückgeführt und mit air. *du-rat* verglichen, das die Grammatica Celtica² p. 478 mit 'data est' übersetzt hat. Das beruhte aber auf einem Lesefehler, da an der Belegstelle Wb. 33b 8 die gewöhnliche Form *du-ratad* steht.

Bei *quimon*, angeblich 'fünfjährige Periode', schwankt Rh. (p. 5), ob es ein vollständiges Wort sei oder eine Abkürzung für *quinquimon*.

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Er vergleicht es mit lat. *bimus*, das man doch mit Wahrscheinlichkeit in *dvi-himos* 'zweiwinterig' zerlegt.

Auf diese Weise kann freilich kein Text der Deutung widerstehen. Aber auf eine solche Interpretation nun eine Zweiteilung der Stämme des festländischen Galliens in *Celtae* und *Galli* zu gründen, wie der Verf. tut, heifst eine Seifenblase als Fundament benutzen.

Auch in der Polemik kann ich ihn nicht glücklich finden. Auf dem Kalender steht in den verschiedenen Exemplaren des Monats *Dumann*.. je am 2. Tage: *samon prini loud, samon prin lod iu*[*os*], *samon prioudix iuos*. Daraus hatte ich Zs. II, 528 geschlossen, dafs an der dritten Stelle entweder *pr. loudix* oder *pri.* [*l*]*oudix* gemeint sei, da -*x* ein häufiger Auslaut auf dem Kalender ist. Diese Ergänzung wäre kaum einleuchtender, meint Rhys p. 25, als die Annahme eines Lehnworts lat. *iudex*. Das verstehe ich nicht. Zum schliefsenden -*x* ist die gallolateinische Schreibung *Atimetux* für Ἀτίμητος, *Alanux* (s. Holder) zu vergleichen, die darauf hinweist, dafs es irgend eine Modifikation des auslautenden *s* darstellt.

Seit meiner Besprechung des Kalenders ist die Sachlage bekanntlich gewaltig geklärt worden durch den Nachweis von Espérandieu und Dissard, dafs alle Fragmente zu einer Tafel gehören, die einen fünfjährigen Zyklus mit zwei Schaltmonaten enthielt. Hinzufügen möchte ich nur, dafs, da im ersten Schaltmonat (Fragm. 33) am 1. Tage Espérandieu CIA richtig als *Giamon*... liest, am 2. die Buchstaben SONNA das Ende des Monatsnamens darstellen, als dessen längste Form man bis jetzt SIMIVISONN kannte (Zs. II, 535); ob *Simivisonna* nun die volle Form ist, bleibt freilich zweifelhaft, da man einen Genitiv erwartet (p. 531).

Freiburg i. Br. R. THURNEYSEN.

Edward Gwynn, The Metrical Dindshenchas, Part II (Todd Lecture Series, vol. IX). Dublin. 1906. 2sh. 6d.

In dieser Fortsetzung seiner vor drei Jahren begonnenen Ausgabe bringt der Herausgeber achtzehn Gedichte mit Übersetzung zum Abdruck. Drei von diesen sind freilich nur verbesserte Auflagen von Gedichten, die schon im ersten Teil erschienen sind, wobei die Zeitschrift III, S. 429 gegebenen Fingerzeige benutzt sind. Doch ist immer noch einiges zu ändern. S. 4, L. 43 ist wohl der Alliteration wegen *úachalda* zu lesen. Vgl. den Mannsnamen *Uachalla*, S. 54. Auf S. 8, Z. 2 lies *immo* statt *'mo* und ebenda Z. 87 *détin* statt *déscin* und übersetze 'though she granted neither right nor law' (*détiu*, das altir. nomen verbale zu *damim*, mittelir. *damthain*). Hier haben wir ein gutes Beispiel, wie wenig der Überlieferung des Buchs von Leinster zu trauen ist, auf welches Gwynn in erster Linie seinen Text gründet. Diese schöne und alte Handschrift besticht uns durch ihr Äufseres und durch die Reinlichkeit ihrer mittelirischen Orthographie. Es ist aber nicht zu viel gesagt, dafs die in ihr

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enthaltenen Prosatexte und Gedichte fast durchweg einen arg verwahrlosten Text bieten, der oft selbst gegen viel jüngere Handschriften unvorteilhaft absticht. Bei älteren Texten wie der *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ist das längst anerkannt; aber auch Gedichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts und Prosa aus derselben Zeit wie z. B. die *Tecosca Cormaic* wimmeln von verderbten Lesarten, Verschreibungen und Nachlässigkeiten aller Art.

Im folgenden beschränke ich mich darauf, eine Liste von Corrigendis zu Text und Übersetzung aufzustellen.

S. 10, Z. 16, lies *náth* statt *nath*.
S. 12, Z. 38, statt *lorc* lies *Lorc*.
Ib., Z. 42, lies *trethan tonn* statt *trethan-tonn*; *tonn* reimt auf *tromm*.
S. 14, Z. 51, statt *hi tír* lies *iar fír*.
S. 14, Z. 52, statt *focheil* (LU.) lies *dotriacht*, welches durch das zweimal folgende *ní thoracht* gesichert ist.
Ib., Z. 54, lies *for leirg* (LU).
Ib., Z. 55, lies *lige n-úathaid*. Hier und an anderen Stellen stellen sich auch die Lesarten von LU. gegenüber den andern Handschriften als wertlos heraus.
Ib., Z. 58, statt *déad* (LU.) lies *dáig*.
S. 20, Z. 25, lies *cialla in cor*.
Ib., Z. 30, statt *brégrad* lies *bregrad* (: *ergnam*).
Ib., Z. 31, statt *rún* lies *rúin* (: *súil*).
Ib., Z. 43, statt *asa n-ésib loimm lúath lib* lies *asa n-essib, loimm lúath lib*.
Ib., Z. 46, lies *co n-úaill*. Ebenso S. 24, Z. 87. Statt *gáeth* lies *gáith*.
Ib., Z. 48, statt *báeth* lies *báith*.
S. 24, Z. 81, statt *lótar* lies *lotar* (ebenso S. 38, Z. 33), und in Z. 84 statt *combrúithe* lies *co mbrúithe*.
S. 26, Z. 15, statt *domna* lies *domnu* (: *formnu*, sic leg.).
S. 28, Z. 26, lies *ba héat fodroirgetar*. Hier reimt das zweisilbig zu lesende *héat* auf *gléalt* und allitteriert mit *fodr-oirgetar*.
S. 30, Z. 46, lies *ág* statt *ád* (vox nihili).
Ib., Z. 57, lies *tríath tuired* (: *Muired*, sic leg.).
Ib., Z. 66, statt *drongdide* lies *drongide*.
S. 32, Z. 69, lies *olc gním rogéne and sin*.
Ib., Z. 77, lies *son-ard se*.
Ib., Z. 70, lies *ére* (: *géne*).
S. 34, Z. 94, lies *tadchlaid túath*.
S. 38, Z. 42, lies *for bith ché*. Ebenso S. 40, Z. 54.
S. 40, Z. 65, lies *glan gné*. Das Gedicht hat durchaus einsilbige Versenden.
S. 42, Z. 3, statt *luid* lies *lui[n]d* (: *Chuind*).
Ib., Z. 9, lies *Brátha* (: *Dedtha*, sic leg.).
S. 50, Z. 28, lies *cétna-hort*.
S. 54, Z. 4, statt *Snithe* lies *Snithe* (: *tíre*, S. 56, Z. 31).
Ib., Z. 22, lies *co mbán-tolchaib*.
S. 58, Z. 10 u. 11, lies *ní síled* und *nodíled*.

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S. 64, Z. 1, lies *Cúldub*. Z. 10, tilge das Komma hinter *mass*.
Ib., Z. 11, lies *táith* (: *Áith*, sic leg.).
S. 68, Z. 25, statt *mét snúad* lies *métšnúad*, wie es das Metrum verlangt; es ist Attribut von *sruth*.
Ib., Z. 31, lies *taire* statt *táire*; es reimt auf *Aige*, welches kurzes *a* hat, wie der Reim *Aige*: *maige* oben zeigt.
S. 74, Z. 59, statt *nírlam* lies *nírlam*[*air*].
S. 76, Z. 68 u. 75, lies *Bod*[*b*]*mall*.
S. 78, Z. 11, statt *bat* lies *ba* und statt *ropat* in Z. 12 *roba*. Hier sind die älteren Formen handschriftlich gesichert.
S. 80, Z. 15, lies *tír cadla*, *cathir chrichid*.
S. 82, Z. 28, lies *ba* statt *bat*.

S. 2, Z. 9, statt 'kept' lies 'had brought up' (*roalt*).
S. 11, Z. 4, statt 'possessed thee' lies 'driven about on thee' (*immotrét* = *immot-réded*).
Ib., Z. 11, statt 'in sooth' lies 'readily' (*éim*).
Ib., Z. 20, statt 'he' lies 'it'.
S. 13, Z. 38, statt 'on his track' lies 'on Leinster' (*Lorc*).
S. 15, Z. 51, statt 'they are' &c. lies: 'verily, thou art not bereft of wealth: Conn the just of the hundred battles has come to thee'. Hier reimt *écradach* auf *cétchathach* und kann deshalb nicht für *ecratach* stehen. Es ist vielmehr = *é-crodach*. Conns Beiname bezieht sich auf die von ihm gelieferten hundert Schlachten.
Ib., Z. 55, statt 'proud' lies 'lonely' (*úathaid*).
Ib., Z. 58, lies 'because of the Truth'.
S. 17, Z. 73, statt 'kind' lies 'fair' (*cáin*).
Ib., Z. 75, statt 'let men' &c. lies: 'because they have not worshipped great God, — very hard for them! — they are in torment'.
S. 19, Z. 2, statt 'points' lies 'verses'.
S. 21, Z. 30, statt 'deception' lies 'beauty'.
Ib., Z. 33, statt 'refused' &c. lies 'expelled him from his keep'.
Ib., Z. 43, lies: 'from which he drained — a speedy draught for you — his drink for the host'.
Ib., Z. 46, lies: 'with pride of concord, wise men declare it'.
Ib., Z. 48, statt 'pair' lies 'deed' (*beirt*).
Ib., Z. 49, lies: 'on a fool's foolish errand'.
S. 25, Z. 95, statt 'when the eye' &c. lies 'when he broke the eye'.
S. 29, Z. 26, lies: 'that it was they that had delayed him'.
S. 31, Z. 66: *drongide* 'full of hosts, crowded'.
S. 33, Z. 70, da *ére* zu lesen ist, kann 'burden' (*aire*, *ere*) nicht die richtige Übersetzung sein.
Ib., Z. 77, translate: 'This then said the loud-voiced host whom Ruad, very rough of wrist, possessed'.
S. 35, Z. 94: *tadchlaid* ist ein Substantiv, von dem *túath* &c. im gen. plur. abhängt.
Ib., Z. 99: *nírbo thrú* 'she was not doomed to an early death'.

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S. 37, Z. 14: *de Lagnib lir* 'of the Leinstermen of the sea'; *lerda* ist ein stehendes Epitheton für die Provinz Leinster.

Ib., Z. 17, lies: 'What brought the man of Leinster yonder?'

S. 45, Z. 41, statt 'lamentation' lies 'pride'.

Ib., Z. 47, lies: 'as polished lore relates'.

S. 45, Z. 51: *greis* 'protection' hat kurzes *e*; wenn *grésa* die richtige Lesart ist, liegt wohl der gen. sing. von *gréss* 'Werk, Arbeit' vor.

S. 47, Z. 2, statt 'great was the day' lies 'many were the days' (*ba mór lá*).

Ib., Z. 11: *rath* hat im älteren Irisch noch nicht die Bedeutung 'luck', sondern vielmehr 'grace, endowment, gift'.

S. 49, Z. 34, statt 'among princes' lies 'beyond kings' (*dar rigaib*).

Ib., Z. 18, statt 'swift' lies 'comely' (*datha*). Siehe meine 'Contributions', s. v. *dath*.

S. 53, Z. 8, statt 'since' lies 'from'.

S. 55, Z. 22, statt 'onsets of women' lies 'fair hills'.

S. 59, Z. 12, statt 'she loved' lies 'she satisfied' (*nodíled*).

S. 63, Z. 1, statt 'silence' lies 'murmuring'.

Ib., Z. 4, tilge 'smooth'.

Ib., Z. 18: *tuga* bedeutet nicht 'roof-tree', sondern 'covering, roof'.

S. 65, Z. 4, statt 'with' lies 'of'.

Ib., Z. 8: *daiger-derg*, nicht 'red-knived', sondern 'flaming red'.

Ib., Z. 10: *fri fola frithbert* 'at bloody attack'; *fola*, gen. von *fuil*.

Ib., Z. 11: *sleg táith*. Hier ist *táith* der gen. von *táth* = W. *tawd*.

Ib., Z. 15: *ba greit gáid*, nicht 'he was the warrior who prayed', sondern 'he was a dangerous warrior'.

S. 69, Z. 29, lies: 'that is an ancient stream' (*sruithlind sin*).

S. 79, Z. 11, statt 'with the spear' lies 'with spears' (*im gú*).

S. 83, Z. 42: *Segsa snás*, nicht 'the Segais which flows', sondern 'the stream of the Segais'.

Ib., Z. 44: *tibit*, nicht 'they drain', sondern 'they beat upon'.

Liverpool. KUNO MEYER.

Mélanges H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Recueil de mémoires concernant la littérature et l'histoire celtiques dédié à M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville à l'occasion du 78e Anniversaire de sa naissance. Paris, A. Fontemoing (1906). VII + 289 pp. 8°.

Zur Ehrung für den verdienten Förderer der Celtologie in Frankreich, der bis in hohe Jahre an der Forschung teilnimmt und seit zwei Decennien die von H. Gaidoz gegründete Revue celtique herausgibt, haben sich vierzehn französische Gelehrte vereinigt, die jeder eine Gabe aus dem Gesamtgebiete der verzweigten Studien in diesem Buche darbringen. Einige Aufsätze betreffen das Altceltische. So prüft F. Lot die mit *uxellos* (*oscellus*), *oxima*, *oxisama*, *uccio*, *ucciacus* zusammengesetzten gallischen Ortsnamen, denen allen die bezeichnende Bedeutung

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des Hochgelegenen gemeinsam ist. E. Philipson sucht in den inschriftlich überlieferten iberischen Namen, die W. v. Humboldt vergebens mit Hülfe des Baskischen erklären wollte, die indogermanische Deklination festzustellen. C. Jullian führt aus, dafs der ligurische Stamm der Salyer, dessen Gebiet die Gegend um Arles war, sich seit ca. 400 v. Chr. mit den einfallenden Celten vermischt hat, bis seine Sprache auch die gallische wurde. A. Meillet erklärt die irische Genitivform *tuaithe* aus einer Doppelbildung von dem indogerm. Thema auf *-ā*, wonach der Genitiv teils auf *-ās* (wie noch im ir. *mná*) und teils auf *-yās* ausging; die letztere Form findet sich aufser im Irischen auch im Armenischen und Indoiranischen. J. Vendryes erklärt sich gegen die Annahme, dafs das altir. Adverb *cid* 'selbst, zugleich, auch' aus *ce*, *cia* und einer Copula zusammengesetzt sei; er hält es vielmehr für eine indogerm. Bildung, die im Sanskrit die gleiche Form *cid* hat. G. Dottin, der sich mit Vorliebe mit irischer Lautlehre beschäftigt, liefert diesmal eine Skizze der Geschichte der irischen Diphthonge, indem er darlegt, welche Geltung sie in den alten Glossen haben und wie sich ihre heutige Aussprache phonetisch entwickelt hat und wie sie zum Teil daraus geschwunden sind. M. Grammont behandelt die Metathese des *w*, die sich in den britannischen Dialekten mit einer gewissen Regelmäfsigkeit vollzieht, indem z. B. armor. *gloan*, korn. *gluan* aus wal. *gwlân* 'Wolle' und arm. *groac'h* aus wal. *gwrâch* (ir. *fracc*) 'Weib' hervorgehen. E. Ernault handelt von den verschiedenen Namen für 'Gott' im Bretonischen, und die mannigfaltigen Formen bieten ihm Gelegenheit auch andere phonetische Erscheinungen der Volksdialekte zu berühren. J. Loth bringt eine etymologische Auswahl, in der er meist ziemlich schwierige, Wörter der britischen Mundarten deutet; er mifsbilligt die Ableitung des w. *aches* von 'accessus' und des w. *brwydr* von ir. *briathar*; w. *enllyn* 'Zukost' leitet er von *lind*, uneingedenk des ir. *annland*. Auch Gegenstände aus den celtischen Literaturen werden in einigen der Aufsätze zum Vorwurf genommen. P. Collinet zeigt, dafs der Einflufs des römischen und des kanonischen Rechts auf die walisischen Gesetze nur sehr gering gewesen ist. Die Regel 'testis unus testis nullus', die Festsetzung des heiratsfähigen Alters der Mädchen auf 12, der Knaben auf 14 Jahre und die Rechte der Könige scheinen Bestimmungen der sonstigen westeuropäischen Rechte nachgebildet, doch ist es sehr fraglich, ob dergleichen schon in die ursprüngliche Gesetzsammlung Hywel Ddas aufgenommen war. P. Le Nestour fügt die disjecta membra eines mittelbretonischen Mysteriums über die Zerstörung Jerusalems zusammen, die Le Pelletier in seinem Wörterbuche aushebt. Es ergibt sich, dafs das verloren gegangene Drama nach dem Französischen über den Gegenstand gearbeitet war, von dem eine zweite Ausgabe 1510 erschien. P. Le Roux teilt aus Penguerns bretonischer Sammlung ein Volkslied über den Seemann Duguay-Trouin (1673—1736) mit; und einen Beitrag zur Geschichte des bretonischen Volksliedes liefert auch A. Le Braz. Die *gwerz* von der Marquise Dégangé, die der Verleumdung bei ihrem Gatten unterliegen mufste, ist nicht bretonischen Ursprungs, sondern es ist die Geschichte

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der Marquise de Gange, die um 1658 in Languedoc dem Verbrechen zum Opfer fiel, darin wiedergegeben. De la Villemarqué hat sich die Ballade nicht entgehen lassen, aber sie im Clerc de Rohan nach seiner Weise ausgeschmückt und mit einem serbischen Volksliede verquickt. S. Reinach bespricht endlich eine von Caesar überlieferte Nachricht, wonach es dem gallischen Krieger verboten war in seiner Kriegsrüstung seinen minderjährigan Sohn öffentlich zu empfangen; er erkennt darin ein altceltisches *geis* oder *tabū*.

H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux. Paris, H. Champion 1906. VIII + 203 pp. kl. 8⁰.

Das Druidentum ist eine Einrichtung der *Q*-Celten, die etwa 1000 Jahre vor unserer Zeitrechnung die britischen Inseln in Besitz genommen und sich in Irland bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten haben. Grofsbritannien aber wurde einige Jahrhunderte v. Chr., wie Orts- und Personennamen überall zeigen, von den *P*-Celten erobert, das sind die Gallier, zu denen auch die Belgae, Atrebatii und Picti gehören; sie brachten den Besiegten für die bis dahin üblichen Bronzewaffen die Eisenwaffen, nahmen aber von ihnen den Druidismus an. Dieser stand der römischen Herrschaft feindlich gegenüber und mufste vor ihr schwinden, nicht nur in Gallien, sondern auch in Britannien, wo er indes nördlich vom Vallum Antonini bis ins 6. Jh. Stand hielt. Noch länger gab es Druiden bei den Iren. Wenn die *gutuatri* der Gallier etwa den Priestern oder flamines der Römer und die *uāti* den Wahrsagern oder Auguren entsprechen, so scheinen die Druiden die pontifices gewesen zu sein. In Irland bildeten sie eine Körperschaft, aber sie waren keine Mönche; sie galten als Wahrsager, scheinen aber eine vielumfassende Philosophie gelehrt zu haben, unter deren Sätzen sich auch die Unsterblichkeit der Seele und die Seelenwanderung befanden. Der Glaube an Naturgötter wird durch die alten Eidesformeln der Iren beleuchtet und unter ihren tierförmigen Gottheiten ist die Schlachtgöttin, die Krähe *badb*, die bekannteste; wie sich Götter in Tiere verwandeln, dafür zeugen die Táin bó Regamna und Cophur in dá muccida. Dies sind die Hauptpunkte, die der Verf. in seinem Buche behandelt; mit den Mitteln der Wissenschaft wohl gerüstet, pflegt er in die celtische Prähistorie kühner als irgend ein andrer vorzudringen, sodafs man darüber vergifst, dafs die klassischen Zeugnisse über die celtische Mythologie spärlich und verworren sind und dafs die irischen Märchen zwar manches ahnen lassen, aber nicht den Wert geschichtlicher Wahrheit haben. In einem Schlufsworte wendet sich der Verf. gegen Caesar, der seine Commentarien nicht mit 'Gallia omnis', sondern mit 'Gallia comata' hätte beginnen sollen, mit Ausschlufs der 'togata' und der 'braccata'. In der walisischen Bardenabstufung *derwydd-vardd*, *ovydd* und *priv-vardd*, die übrigens in ganz moderner Zeit ersonnen ist, vermutet der Verf. die alte strabonische Dreiteilung, sodafs der *ovydd* dem *uāti* entspräche; bei den Barden aber ist der *ovydd* zweifellos der Ovidius, der Meister in der Ars amandi.

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V. Tourneur, Une monnaie de nécessité des Bellovaques. Bruxelles, imprimerie Polleunis & Centerick 1906.

In einem Funde gallischer Münzen, den man 1905 zwischen Reims und Chalons s. M. gemacht hat, finden sich neben Stateren, die man den Moriani zuschreibt, Goldstücke in Kugelform von 1½ cm Durchmesser, die keinen andern Stempel als einen vierstrahligen Stern tragen. Diese Kugelstatere von 7,20 Gramm Gewicht sind in unvollkommener Weise mit Silber legiert und der Verf. schliefst, dafs sie von der Völkerschaft der Bellovaci stammen und eine Art Notgeld bildeten, wie sie es vielleicht herstellten, als sie in den Kriegen Caesars, mit den Morini verbündet, Alesia zu Hülfe eilten (de bello gallico 7, 76).

J. Vendryes, Mélanges italo-celtiques (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris XIII). 25 pp. 8⁰.

Ein etymologisches Allerlei aus dem Gebiete der celtischen Sprachen, wovon die folgenden Einzelheiten hervorgehoben seien. Lat. *terrestris* ist durch das Suffix *tero-* (*tro-*) von *terra* oder genauer von dem neutralen Stamme **tĕros* abgeleitet, der sich im ir. *tír* erhalten hat. Die gallischen Ortsnamen auf *ō* oder *ōn* (wie Aballo 'Avallon', Arausio 'Orangenstadt', Avennio 'Avignon' etc.) entsprechen griech. Bildungen wie *ἀμπελών, δαφνών, ἀκανθεών, Ἀντρών* u. a. Gall. Rigodulum ist aus **rigo-durum* 'königliche Festung' entstanden und Nemours geht auf *Νεμωσσός* zurück, mit *rs* für *ss* wie Marseille (Massilia) u. a. Das Suffix der Verbaladjectiva *-to-*, das sich in ir. *gnáth* 'gewöhnt', *ro ort* 'er wurde geschlagen', *orte* 'geschlagen' u. s. w. findet und von dem die britannische Bildung auf *-etic* abgeleitet ist, findet der Verf. auch im Gallischen, wo es jedoch oft als *-ti-* erscheint. Altir. *nach* statt *na* 'noch' weist der Verf. auch aus Wb. 17 b 18. 20 nach. Für das altir. Interrogativpronomen stellt der Verf. fest, dafs während im Mask. und Fem. *ce, cia* (lat. *quei* st. *quo-*) sowohl pronominal als adjectival ist, im Neutrum (quid? *τί*) ir. *cid* in der ersten und *ced* in der andern Bedeutung üblich ist; auf den Stamm *quo-* würde ir. *coich* weisen, ebenso wie *can* 'unde'. Das noch in Ortsnamen erhaltene bretonische *kougōn* 'Grotte' ist w. *gogof* und dies wird mit dem ir. *cúa* 'hohl' zusammengebracht. Die irischen Stämme *derc, driss, draigen* gehen alle drei auf die Wurzel *dhergh-* zurück, die am deutlichsten im griech. *τρέχνος* 'junger Sprofs' (st. *θρέχνος*) vorliegt.

G. Herbig, 'Keltoligurische' Inschriften aus Giubiasco (Anzeigen für schweizerische Altertumskunde Nr. 4, 1905—1906, p. 187—205). 8⁰.

Ausgrabungen, die man in Giubiasco bei Bellinzona im Kanton Tessin vor einigen Jahren gemacht hat, haben Tongefäfse mit kurzen Inschriften zu Tage gefördert, die jetzt im Landesmuseum zu Zürich befindlich sind. Die Schriftzeichen gehören dem nordetruskischen Lokalalphabete von Lugano an, das auch zwei mit Wahrscheinlichkeit als gallische angesehene Inschriften gebrauchen. Die sonst im Gebiete der celtischen Ligurer gefundenen Denkmäler sind aber kaum celtisch, da

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sie namentlich die Genitivendung *-ui* zeigen. Der Verf. betrachtet auch die Inschriften von Bellinzona als ligurische, bezeichnet aber das Ergebnis, zu dem ihn seine mit vieler Sorgfalt geführte Prüfung des leider wenig reichen Materials gelangen läfst, mit Nachdruck als ein vorläufiges.

Kuno Meyer, The Triads of Ireland. Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1906. (R. I. Academy, Todd Lecture Series vol. XIII.) XV + 54 pp. 8⁰.

Trécheng breth Féni 'die Triaden Irlands', etwa 250 an der Zahl, sind ein altes Werk, das im Gelben Buche von Lecan und einem halben Dutzend jüngerer Handschriften überliefert ist und nach der Sprache, wie der Herausgeber ausführt, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jhs. stammt. Dafs die Form der Triaden, die übrigens nur einen Teil der gnomischen Literatur der Iren bilden, in der biblischen Sprache ihren Ursprung haben, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein. Das Genre ist weit mehr und bis in die Neuzeit von den Walisern gepflegt worden, denen man die Erfindung wohl absprechen mufs. Aus den biblischen Vorbildern erklärt sich auch, dafs Triaden bei den meisten christlichen Völkern vorkommen: man braucht nur ihre Sprichwörter nachzuschlagen, um z. B. mehr als hundert deutsche beisammen zu finden. Die irischen Triaden, deren Übersetzung keineswegs leicht war (die Iren selbst haben schon Glossen dazu geschrieben), sind mannigfaltiger Art, topographisch, social, moralisch. Wenn man sie aus der gesamten Literatur bis in die Neuzeit zusammentragen wollte, so würde es ein grofses Werk geben. Vielfach haben sie im Sprichwort Wurzel gefafst und auch im Volksliede erscheinen sie, sowohl in Schottland als in Irland. So heifst es in einem irischen Volksliede *Tri ní dochím trés an ngrádh, An peacadh, an bás is an phian*; und in einem albanogälischen Gedichte heifst es: *''S trì ni thig gun iarraidh, An gaol agus eagal, 'S gun leithsgeul an tiadach*; die Triade *iochd is gràdh is fiughantas* kommt in mehreren Gedichten vor (Mackenzie, Beauties p. 81; Glenbard Collection p. 44).

Kuno Meyer, The Death-tales of the Ulster heroes (R. I. Academy, Todd Lecture Series, vol. XIV). Dublin, Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1906. VI + 52 pp. 8⁰.

Von den Erzählungen über den Tod (*oitte*) der Helden von Ulster sind zwei schon behandelt, eine (Fiamain) ist verloren gegangen und die übrigen fünf, die zum Teil nur in der Edinburger Handschrift erhalten sind ebenso wie die hinzugefügte über Cet mab Magach, werden in dieser Sammlung von Prof. Meyer mit der von ihm gewohnten Sorgfalt ediert, übersetzt und sachlich und sprachlich erläutert. Von diesen Stücken ist der Tod Conchobars aus O'Currys Materials p. 637 ff. am bekanntesten, aber der Herausgeber hat zu dem Texte in LL. noch drei andere Versionen aus jüngern Handschriften gestellt.

T. K. Abbott, Further notes on Coney's Irish-English Dictionary. (Hermathena, vol. XIII, p. 332—353.) 1905.

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Der Verf., dem man schon eine Liste von Nachträgen und Verbesserungen zu Coney verdankt (CZ. 5, 426), liefert einen weitern nützlichen Beitrag zu dem Sprachgebrauche der irischen Bibel. Er kommt zu dem Resultate, dafs O'Donnells Neues Testament aus dem Griechischen übersetzt ist, dafs aber dem Alten Testamente Bedells, das hier und dort vor der Drucklegung durch Marsh verbessert wurde, die englische Version zu Grunde liegt. Der Verf. ist auch die Apokryphen Bedells durchgegangen, deren Manuskript ebenso wie das des Alten Testaments in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Cambridge aufbewahrt wird.

Alfred Schulze, Zur Brendanlegende. (Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie XXX, 257—279.) 8°.

Der Verf. betrachtet das Verhältnis der lateinischen Navigatio Brendani, deren Handschriften bis ins 10. Jh. zurückreichen, und das irische Leben des Heiligen im Buche von Lismore, von dem die lateinische Vita im Codex Salmanticensis eine Kürzung ist. Umsichtig verficht er mit innern Gründen gegen Zimmer die Meinung, dafs das irische Leben die Übersetzung einer ältern lateinischen Vita ist, deren Spuren er auch in dem lat. Leben des Machutus, eines Schülers Brendans, erkennt. Dieses Denkmal, das dem Ende des 9. Jhs. angehört, ist veröffentlicht in dem Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société archéol. du Départ. d'Ille-et-Vilaine XVI, 137 ff. Die darin eingeschobene Meerfahrt Brendans ist für den Verfasser ebenso ein Zeugnis für die gemutmafste ältere lat. Vita mit der Meerfahrt wie ihre Erwähnung im Heiligenkalender des Oengus.

R. Priebsch, Quelle und Abfassungszeit der Sonntagsepistel in der irischen 'Cáin Domnaig'. (The Modern Language Review II. 1907, p. 138—154.)

Die unlängst erfolgte Veröffentlichung der irischen Version der Epistel Jesu über die Sonntagsheiligung (*Cáin domnaig*) durch J. G. O'Keeffe (Ériu 2, 189 ff.) gibt dem Verfasser Anlafs die von ihm behandelte angelsächsische Fassung (über die wir CZ. 3, 195 berichtet haben) damit zu vergleichen. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dafs beide etwa der Mitte des 9. Jahrh. angehören und dafs der Northumbrier, obschon ihm ein lateinisches Original vorgelegen habe, doch mit dem irischen Bearbeiter in nahe Verbindung getreten sei und von ihm einzelnes angenommen habe.

F. N Robinson, A Note on the Sources of the Old Saxon Genesis (Modern Philology IV. 2, October 1906). 8 pp. 8°.

Die Darstellung der altsächsischen Genesis, die die Schuld des Sündenfalls durch Lügen der Schlange mindert, scheint dem Verf. aus einer apokryphen Schrift ähnlich der Vita Adae et Evae und der Apokalypse Moses geflossen, deren Einflufs auch im 'Saltair na rann' erkennbar wäre.

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Phil. de Félice, L'autre monde, mythes et légendes. Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice. Paris, H. Champion 1906. 193 pp. 8⁰. (6 fr.)

Der tief wurzelnde Glaube an die Gerechtigkeit, den die gegenwärtige Welt nur zu oft zu Schanden macht, hat die Menschheit seit den ältesten Zeiten dazu geführt, die Vergeltung von dem Leben nach dem Tode zu erwarten. In dieser Vorstellung sind die Ägypter vorangegangen, die Griechen schlossen sich an und zur höchsten Blüte gelangte sie im Christentume, das eine lange Reihe Visionen des Jenseits entstehen liefs, von der Apokalypse des Petrus und dem Gesicht des Paulus bis zur Göttlichen Komödie, deren Dichter von seinen Vorläufern allein den Paulus erwähnt. Doch wir stehen in Gefahr uns ins Weite zu verlieren, wenn wir dem in der Eschatologie der Völker bewanderten Verfasser folgen. Sein eigentliches Thema ist das Fegefeuer des heiligen Patricius, das bis in die Neuzeit hochberühmt war. Er schildert uns die düstere Höhle auf einer unwirtlichen Insel des Loch Derg aus eigener Anschauung. Er unterrichtet uns weiter in dankenswerter Weise über jene lateinische Vision des Cisterziensers H. von Saltry (c. 1189), die neben der des Tnugdalus im Mittelalter am bekanntesten war, hat sich aber die Geschichte ihrer Verbreitung in den verschiedenen Kultursprachen noch vorbehalten. Der Verf. erkennt in dem Helden der Vision Owein miles den irischen Elfen Oengus oder Mac Óc. Hierin trete ich ihm nicht bei, denn das irische Wunderland hat mit der christlichen Schilderung des Jenseits nichts zu schaffen. Die Iren excellierten im Elfenmärchen, aber die Hölle haben sie nicht erfunden. Eher wären, aufser Fursaeus, Adamnán etc., die irische Vision Laisréns und die Gedichte über die letzten Dinge im 'Saltair na rann' zu erwähnen gewesen.

V. H. Friedel und K. Meyer, La vision de Tondale (Tnudgal) Textes français, anglonormand et irlandais publiés. Paris, H. Champion 1907. XX + 159 pp.

Der Zufall fügt es, dafs wir hier sogleich ein verwandtes, uns noch näher angehendes Werk anzeigen können, mehrere Übersetzungen der eben genannten Vision des Tundalus. Das lateinische Original wurde von einem irischen Klosterbruder Marcus im Jahre 1149 in Regensburg niedergeschrieben und war bald weit verbreitet. Das Jahr der Abfassung stellen die Herausgeber gegen den erhobenen Zweifel fest. Der Verfasser war in Munster zu Hause und kannte die Ereignisse, die seine Heimat in jener Zeit beunruhigten. Er erwähnt Cormac den König von Desmond († 1138), seinen Bruder Donnchad mac Muredaig († 1144) und seinen Verbündeten im Kriege gegen Connacht, Conchobar O'Brien († 1142). Die Wanderlust hatte ihn nach Regensburg geführt und er fand vermutlich Aufnahme im St. Jakobskloster, das der Bischof Hartwich um 1120 für die zusammenströmenden Schotten geweiht hatte. Von der Vision des Iren veröffentlicht nun V. H. Friedel nach Handschriften des 14. Jahrh., von denen die eine in

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London, die andere in Paris liegt, zwei französische Übersetzungen, und nach einer Handschrift im Trinity College zu Dublin das Bruchstück einer anglonormannischen Bearbeitung in Versen. K. Meyer druckt zwei irische Versionen ab. Die ältere in H. 3. 18 TCD., einer Handschrift des 17. Jahrh., ist die Übertragung des lateinischen Textes durch Maurice O'Mulconry, den wohlbekannten Compilator des Buches von Fenagh, aus der Zeit von 1511 bis 1519. Die Sprache ist also früh neuirisch, hat aber, wie der vom Herausgeber beigegebene Index verborum zeigt, mancherlei Altertümliches. Der zweite leichter verständliche Text findet sich in Ms. Stowe C II 2 RIA. und gehört dem 16. Jahrh. an; er erweist sich als eine Überarbeitung O'Mulconrys, dessen Stil dadurch in lehrreicher Weise beleuchtet wird.

R. H. Fletcher, The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, especially those of Great Britain and France (Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. X. Boston 1906). VI + 313 pp. 8°.

Der Verfasser bespricht die Chroniken, die die arthurische Legende enthalten, also die lange Reihe jener Geschichtschreiber, die sich an Gildas und Nennius angeschlossen haben. Von den nächsten Nachfolgern legt William von Malmesbury in seinen Gesta regum Angliae 1125 ein bemerkenswertes Zeugnis ab für die Popularität, deren sich Arthur unter den Briten damals erfreute, aber der eigentliche Gewährsmann ist der etwas spätere Gottfried von Monmouth, über dessen Quellen der Verf. eingehend handelt; daſs der famose 'liber vetustissimus' des kühnen Fabulators eine Fiktion ist, erscheint auch ihm glaubhaft. Auf Gottfried folgen gegen 200 Chroniken des 12.—16. Jhs., in lateinischer, französischer, englischer und schottischer Sprache, teils in Prosa und teils in Versen. Von den Gedichten sind der normannische Brut von Wace und der englische von Layamon die bekanntesten. Der Verf. hat den weitschichtigen Stoff mit groſsem Fleiſse zusammengetragen; er legt dar, was die einzelnen Werke Besonderes haben, wem sie folgen und wie sie von einander abhängen. Von dem sachlichen Inhalte gibt ein ausführlicher Index übersichtliche Auskunft.

A. L. C. Brown, The Knight of the Lion (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America XX, 673—706). 1905. 8°.

Der Verf. hatte vor einigen Jahren über das Märchen von Iwein geforscht (CZ. 4, 582) und war für seinen in allem Wesentlichen celtischen Ursprung eingetreten. In der vorliegenden nachträglichen Studie hebt er hervor, daſs die walisische Fassung in den Mabinogion in mehreren Punkten eine ursprünglichere Farbe bewahrt habe als Chrestiens Gedicht, und ist der Meinung, daſs auch der Löwe als Führer in die andere Welt den alten celtischen Sagen keineswegs fremd sei. Er verweist namentlich auf Tochmarc Emire, wo auch Cúchulinn ein Tier 'wie ein Löwe' dienstbar ist. Der Löwe möchte also schon in dem Märchen vorgekommen sein, das Chrestien vorgelegen

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hat. Das ist wohl zuzugeben, doch weist ein Löwe, der in einem celtischen Volksmärchen vorkommt, nicht auf ein Land hin, wo man ihn aus der Anschauung kennt?

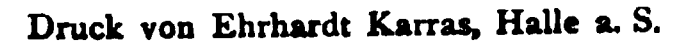
H. Zimmer, Randglossen eines Keltisten zum Schulstreik in Posen-Westpreufsen und zur Ostmarkenfrage. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1907. 124 pp.

Es handelt sich darum eine wunde Stelle am Leibe des Deutschen Reiches zu sanieren und der Verfasser tritt mit praktischen Ratschlägen hervor. Indem er die mifsliche Lage betrachtet, in die die Volksschule in den polnischen Gebieten Preufsens durch den Sprachenkampf zeitweilig gelangt ist, legt er dar, wie man ähnliche Schwierigkeiten in Irland, Wales und der Niederbretagne überwunden hat. Hier zeigt sich die genaue Kenntnis des öffentlichen Lebens jener Länder, die sich der Verfasser auf Reisen und durch die Verfolgung der einheimischen Tagespresse erworben hat. So schliefst sich diese Schrift Zimmers an seine früheren über den Panceltismus, die wir CZ. 3, 435 erwähnt haben.

H. Gaidoz, Pour le centenaire de Gaspar Zeufs fondateur de la philologie celtique. Paris, Juillet 1906. 32 pp. 8⁰.

Um das Gedächtnis des allverehrten J. K. Zeufs zu begehen, der am 22. Juli 1806 das Licht der Welt erblickte, wiederholt Prof. Gaidoz den von ihm verfafsten Nekrolog, den er einst in der Revue celtique vol. VI gegeben hat, und fügt einige zeitgenössische Besprechungen der Grammatica celtica hinzu. Das Büchlein ist mit einem Bildnis des Forschers geschmückt, das das jetzt in der Münchener Akademie befindliche Ölgemälde wiedergibt. Nachdem dieses inzwischen gereinigt worden ist, wurde für das diesem Hefte beigegebene Bild auf Veranlassung K. Meyers eine neue Aufnahme gemacht. Diese Überlieferung seiner äufsern Erscheinung wird ein wenig ergänzt durch die bestimmten Angaben seiner Reisepässe, die in seinem Nachlasse in der K. B. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München aufbewahrt werden (CZ. 3, 202).

Berlin, im Januar 1907. L. Chr. Stern.



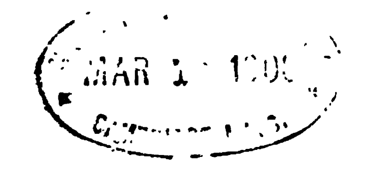
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ZEITSCHRIFT

FÜR

CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

KUNO MEYER UND L. CHR. STERN

VI. BAND, 2. HEFT

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Mitteilungen für die Redaktion bittet man an
Prof. Kuno Meyer, 41 Huskisson Street, Liverpool, England, oder an
Prof. L. Chr. Stern, Berlin W. 57, Bülowstrafse 45, zu schicken.

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MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.

(Fortsetzung.)

Colum Cille cantavit hoc canticum.

(Laud 615, S. 113.)

1 For[1]) fáesamh, a Mhuire, d*om*aisilbem[2]) uile óm fult gom dá fonn,
a máthair Rīgh nime, ar ēcnairc ar fine rolá fortacht forn.
2 Rocloithear mo ghuidhe is móag co*n*gaibe do līn daoine trén,
ar lūagh aighes aighe Maire roda*m*aire f*or*do*m*raibhi a sén.
3 Rosēna mo śéttu rob f*or*findu sétu ceim[3]) thīas fo nim,
robbé oc ma c[h]abhair a hitc[h]i domf*or*air māthair Ísu ghil.
4 Romsnādha a horāid fó bíth rodancaraid Maire i*ngen* ūag,[4])
rob lúir*ech* dom anmuin, domremho ar tedhmaim, nīmthairle in lūagh.
5 Nīmthairrle a ngal*ur* fili[5]) gusan amar ar ndithoman cách,
hi suidhiu, hi lighiu is Muire go ngaire do*m* c[h]ob*ur* g*ach* trāth.

6 Atach ind so atroithich Col*um* Cill*e* co m-máthair nĪsu ar ind lúaidri rorat do Colum Cille. Nach aon dia tiberthá in brothc[h]án sa asmperam ó ragaibt*her* ind mbennach*ad* sa foir trés *nō* sebtimó bith slán de manabt*ur* .i. b*er*bht*hur* cūadh do t*hro*mthoit lemnachta ib*ur* talm([6])) aire 7 es bec a ain iphthi compí sāithech 7 dopp*er*ar ēttach tromm foir *con*doticc aldus. Bidh sl*án* iarum sí. D*eus* vo ...

[1]) *Lies* fort
[2]) *Lies* domaisilbim
[3]) *Lies* cēini?
[4]) uádh *MS.*
[5]) *Lies* file
[6]) *Lies* talmaidiu?

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Oracio Colum Cille .cc.

(Ib. S. 115.)

Dumfett Cristt cuntt cumhachta. co Rīgh inna n-uili n-ard. aiteoch naomthrinōitt. tri nert dreconta. ūasalrí nodomfriserbh adhbartaidhi. snāidhfe snāidhsium. saorsam carsam cāemhacht. cuiriss dím cluu idhan. frithchuires dím accra olcu amhuinsi
5 cotomimthegat lūirecha uile leasa ūadh. ar thruime meanman ar crūas ar romhaithe ar tlaitheltraib gaibthi guth 7 aicned. Nímromhúchat nīmradhmillet nīmindrisit arurcc a tíachra 7 a n-amainsi. Uamh trághat hi muir. maidhet hi tal*main*. nímthísat nímtacmhaisit a n-athc[h]a a miscsin a n-adhbartaighe.
10 moightiumh dia dánaibh saoraibh. slánuightium contt cēill ciun*n* curp cnámhaibh ruisc tengadh slāne arlabhra guth. nīmromhūchat nīmradhmill*et* nīmforbriset nimn*er*t uile earcoél— nibbat form churp contt cēill coimsighe cotomn*er*t naomt*hri*nōit róathar hi toil Dé 7 a thimna hi niurt athar 7 aobm*aic* 7 aobspirda naoimh
15 dusnicc dím meircci muirecha mertnecha di clūais mo dhá ó nō di rusc mo dá ṡú[i]l. dim c*ē*t aisle dim c*ét* ḟethi dim c*ē*t cnámha. madh fer dotghné soaith for a ferd*aib*. madh ben dotghné soaidh for a band*aib*. madh inghen dotgnē soaidh for a genus dusnic dím feis nEir*enn* fós fess nAlb*an* feiss sūadh feiss drūadh feiss
20 cerda feiss cuthchoire feiss corrguine feiss sēdhguine feiss cech duine bí doní olc 7 amhnus frim c*hor*p 7 mh'anmuin atśnías*at* a neimhe 7 a mbraona for cúlu atsnigh gāith muire atsnigh tontt trāchta. Día athair rium m*ac* dom coimēt spiratt naomh dom inśorchughadh. amhein amhén.

Zwölf Arten der Reue.

(Rawlinson B. 512, fo. 143 b 2.)

.XII. cinēl na haithrighe, edōn: sāethar īar n-ūaignis, grādh īar fūath, umla īar ndīmus, genmnaighecht īar ndrūis, cobsaigh[e]acht īar n-utmaille,[1]) āine īar crāes 7 intinn maith īar
30 formad, ernai[g]thi īar maithnechtaighe,[2]) bochta īar sai[d]bris, trōcaire īar n-ētrōcaire 7 maith īar n-ulc 7 cet.

---

[1]) udutmaille *MS.*
[2]) maitnechtaidhe *MS.*

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Man soll das Abendmahl nüchtern empfangen.

(H. 1. 11, fo. 151 b.)

Arole senntond dicōid do c[h]omnai iar ndit[h]at dī. Iar ndul .ū. hi cumaidh cāich don bannscāl doralai in[1]) cruimthir ind naom-mbairgin ina gin. Hitracht ind mbairgin for cūlai for inn discea.[2]) Cuiris di*diu* in fecht tān*ais*ea a fubhdomhuin[3]) a beōil hī 7 hitracht for cūla doriisi. Cuiris in crump*er* in treas fecht 7 atracht edarbūas, cu riacht for lār in corp urais būi[4]) forsin clais. Imcomaircis ind cruimthir risi don tsentuind. Roindis dō au*tem* cu rob iar sēire donānaicc 7 rel.

Māel Īsu cecinit.

(Eg. 111, S. 15; Add. 30, 512, fo. 44 a 1; H. 1. 11, fo. 154 b.)

1 A Choimdiu, nom-chomēt[5]) etir chorp is anmain,
etir iris n-imglain co ndigius[6]) fon talmain.
2 Comēt dam mo śūle, a Īsu meic Maire,
nacham-derna[7]) santach aicsin cruid neich aile.
3 Comēt dam mo chlūasa nār' cloistet fritt[8]) ēcnach,
nār' ēistet co rognath[9]) for bās, for bith bētach.
4 Comēt dam mo thenga[id] nār' ēcnad ar duine,
nār' cāiner araile, nār' bāider tre luige.
5 Comēt dam mo chride, a Chrīst, ar du bāide,[10])
nār scrūtar[11]) co trūaige[12]) dūthracht nachat-clāine.
6 Nī raib miscais foë nā format nā dallad,
nā dīmmus nā dīmes nā ēilned nā annach.
7 Comēt mo broinn mbuilid nār līntar[13]) cen mesair,
co rop dēniu a tosaig a bith isin tesaig.[14])
8 Comēt dam mo lāma nā rigter fri debaid,
nār chlechtat[15]) īar sodain adchuingid fo mebail.
9 Comēt dam mo chossa for bith builid Banba,
nā digset i[16]) fosta fri tosca cen tarba.

---

[1]) ig *MS.*
[2]) *Lies* deisc
[3]) *Lies* fudomain
[4]) *Lies* ar a ais co mbūi
[5]) namcomed *MSS.*
[6]) condigiu *H.*
[7]) nacha*n*derna *H.*
[8]) fri *EA.* frith *H.*
[9]) ragnath *H.*
[10]) dubairde *H.*
[11]) scrutair *H.* scútar *E.*
[12]) truade *EA.*
[13]) lintair *AH.*
[14]) tesaid *EA.*
[15]) clechtaid *H.*
[16]) a *MSS.*

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10 Nīrbam utmall anbsaid, a meic mo Dē deithnig,
co nā farcbur m'inad, co rop dliged deithbir.
11 Comēt mo ball ferda imm genus co nglaine,
ētrad nī rom-bāde, nīm-thairle, nīm-thaire. 7 rl.
12 Nīm-reilce i cair chenna[1]) dond ochtar ard airdeirc,
a Chrīst, tair dom dochum dia tofunn, dia tairbirt.
13 Nom-erbaim duit[2]) uile dom dītin[3]) cen doidnge,
ar do rath co romēt nom-chomēt, a Choimdiu. A. C.

Ein Traum Colum Cille's.

(H. 3. 18, S. 60a.)

Fīs atchonnairc Col*um* Cilldea. Indalleis būi f*or*leblaing Aodha mic Ainmirech. Fōchtaidh Aodh menmarc inntsaml*aig*thi frisna ruibhni 7 frisgart Colum Cildea, conid ann asbert:

Tarfas dam-sa dul for *sét,* itbér is ní himarbréc,
focluinim cluibhne cin chol, is é romb*ud* for comror.
Ruibne roratas f*or* cāi, fuiglim is ní fuigell gāi,
is é mu m*en*marc itceas condorala for ruidhles.
Is é mu chubhus cin chlaón, cidh sochaidhi nō cidh aón,
coniscumhaing mu Rīgh rān mu b*eith* ic timtach cin tár.
T. rl. finit.

Sprichwörtliches.

(Additional 30, 512, fo. 33 a 2.)

Vgl. Senbriathra Fithail, LL. 345 c.

Ferr dála inā deabaid,
Ferr teiched inā tairisi,
Ferr sobarthon inā imad,
Ferr sídh inā soc[h]og*ad*,
Ferr cara inā conmīr,
Ferr cīall inā cæmchruth,
Ferr ithe ina cobadh,[4])

---

[1]) cenna *H. Lies* chennda; cair ch. *Hauptsünde.*
[2]) doit *EH.*
[3]) dhiden *EH.*
[4]) *Wohl verderbt aus* ferr aithe inā opad. *Vgl. LL.*

Ferr fairi[1]) inā iar*raid,*
Ferr foigidne inā imrisain,
Ferr ana inā ancis,
Ferr rath inā rīag*al,*[2])
Ferr rēide[3]) inā rogaos,
Ferr buidi inā dīgb*āl,*
Ferr bec inā éra,
Ferr cara inā cuirm,
Ferr sobés inā doilgid 7 rl.

Ib., S. 31 b 2.

Vgl. Senbriathra Fithail, LL. S. 345 d.

Dligid ecna airmitin,
Dligid gó cairiugud,
Dligid rath rīaradh,
Dligid fuidir[4]) frith[f]olta,
Dligid maith móradh,
Dligid díbhi dim[m]olad,
Dligid óg eladha,
Dligid altrum imfochaid,[5])
Dligid maighistir sogaire,
Dligid fændledach forógra,
Dligid ēcconn imchoimét,
Dligid ath*air* somíad,
Dligid māthair míne,
Dligid mer a múnad,[6])
Dligid cú a hastadh,
Dligid dall a dídin.

Maith dán egna, ferr dán forba, doiligh dán lāech[d]acht. Nī suthain a mbí, ifernnaig a mairb. Nī thimuin athair dia mac. Mairg dianad dān lāech[d]acht.

Ib., fo. 31 b 2.

Āine anma is chuirp co cert, cōicc uilc ina coimidecht:
ferg, brōn, dīmus, — dīan in dál, — deinmne im bīad is at[h]imrād.

[1]) *Lies* aire
[2]) riarugud *LL.*
[3]) reige *MS.*
[4]) pudhair (!) *MS. Vgl. LL.*
[5]) immaithigh *MS. Vgl. LL.*
[6]) anmunn *MS. Vgl. LL.*

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Lobet den Herrn.

(23. N. 10, S. 78.)

1 Laudate Dominum[1]) de celis, in fūair do doma,
laudate eum in exelcis, ite connoga.
2 Canum ālli etorport, fillem congluine,[2])
adram in Ardrīg, coimsid[3]) na ndūla.
3 Donfē Fīada findneme for aite rōetu,
uidrīne occ*us* oisīne isatmuindt*er* dæna.
4 Adchīu gedat[4]) c*ē*tam*us* nā dignad fo diud,
fil ann ina certfarra[d] teimnēn cona triur.
5 Tāinic in trāth gab*ála*, in tirt is comlan*n*,
tinōilid f*or* ndamāna, laudate Dominum.[1]) Lau. d.

Sechzehn Teile der Dichtkunst.

(Laud 610, fo. 92 b 2.)

Vgl. Irische Texte III, SS. 29 und 120.

[Im]gabāil ēmeltusa .i. iss*ed* 7 is é cend in fir 7 is sí cend na mná.

Sochraidi rāid [.i.] is hí in gobur, ar rop ēmilt a rád is hé in gobur 7 is hí in gobur.

Dílmaine .i. in lestar usci do rádh, ar rop é a haicned in lestar cosin uisce do rád.

Tucait deoch*raigthe* is sí, is hé, issed.

Nī fili nād fiastar sé hernaili déc na filidechta co n-aisnéis anma athar Athirne: saigid 7 ascnam 7 hūaim do rind 7 cominsma, comgne céille 7 brosna sūad 7 duinedīglaim 7 sreth immais, cōir molta 7 cubaid comfotta 7 fidrad frecomail 7 ord slonte 7 imgabāil ēmeltussa 7 sochraidi rāid 7 dīlmaine rāid 7 tucait dechraigthe .i. commad isind iarcomarc in focail toissech am*ail* rogab lassin filid:[5])

Dondchad dia fich domun 7 rl.

.i. co rop Dondchad rissin fordūnad.

---

1) *Lies* Domnum.
2) *Lies* ar nglúine?
3) coimsigh *MS.*
4) g (*oder* t?) *und* t *auf Rasur.*
5) filē *MS.*

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Ascnam .i. co a leth .i. don ḟainne son bic.

Hū[a]im de rind .i. co rop do rind na cethramthan do raith araile.

Cominsma .i. insma ind īarcomairc isint ṡillaib thoissig nammá, amal roṅgab 'do' .i. 'Dondchad'.

Comge céille .i. co rop inand cíall dia n-ais[nēis] ó thossach co diaid ind raind .i. nā raib clóen and ⁊ rl.

Danklied eines Schwerkranken.

(Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, Handschrift A (9).[1])

1 Atlochar duit, a mo Rí, do-gnī ar sochar ar bith cē,
ō domrala il-ligi leōin sē mīs fo deōid cusanē.
2 Atō mar chimid i cip do tarrachtain imid n-uilc,
sūas beres m'anmain inocht, mo chorp is*in* talm*ain* tuit.
3 Domratad i slabra[i]d sunn, maith dom anmain as gach am,
bec mo nert, am scīth· bun's cind,[2]) indar lim fomrīth co fann.
4 Fearr lem, a degmic Dē dēin, cidh lēir in treblaid rom-t[h]rāig,
inā fledhōl im t[h]īr tūaidh *nō* degōr[3]) cin lūaigh fom lāim.
5 A lōg mo chuil is mo cealg m*a*d romgab muin mō cech mairg,
domfaraill, nī dūairc in t-(o)rt, bēim nād borb dot abainn aird.
6 At*ū-sa* m*ar* bīs dall dub, is mo t[h]āeb co fann re fraigh,
monūaragān, a Dē dil, mise trūaghagān in[4]) taigh.
7 Testa mo neart, nūal ce*n* cleith, a Athair na slūagh, nam-saich,
romlāis i cuimrech i croich amuich i tīr Muimneach maith.
8 Matat co mēt teimil truim mo dā rosc i ngeimil[5]) grinn,
adsæilim, a Rī na rann, beith*er* tall co hæibind ind.
9 Is ē mo samail acht bec mar bīs luch gab*ail* ar gruig,
ic a croth*ad* fo c[h]rub c[h]ait, ní n*a*ch ait, atloch*ur* duit.
10 Uch! n*o*cha n-ēirgim cen cneid, nocha tēigim fo guth cluic,
nī gairit[6]) m'oth*ur* ar m'olc, a Dhē, anocht atloch*ur* duit.
11 Mun badh tac[h]rād, a Dē, duit, atb*er*ainn astan ce*n* at,
imo*m*cenise arad rod, mōr lem a fod at i*n*tat. A. l.

---

[1]) *Eine sorgfältige Abschrift dieses und der folgenden Gedichte aus derselben Handschrift verdanke ich der Güte des Herrn J. G. O'Keeffe.*

[2]) = buinscionn, *Contribb.* is buinscionn do labhrann sé, *Arch.* III, S. 246.

[3]) de*th*or *MS.*

[4]) *Lies* im.

[5]) ngeimel *MS.*

[6]) gairrid *MS.*

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Ermahnung den Leib zu kasteien.

(Ibidem.)

1 A c[h]uirp, notc[h]aith fri crābud! dēna maith, nā bī i mbāegul!
derb biaidh co lūath cin labra i lepaidh talman t'ænur.

2 Is ē do t[h]ēchta tongu,[1]) cath frit c[h]rēchta 's frit c[h]aire,
guidh in Rí[g] rēill nach faicther co tī d'aitreb do t[h]ighi.

3 Trebaire[2]) is tīr i-tāthar nī gnīm ceanaidi at-cīther,
crābud ar bith nī bæthar, maith in sāethar dia snīthar.

4 Crābud croidhi glain genmnaidh in denmna sāmad sobraidh,
cāiniudh cach cinadh caingnig[3]) co ndēraib saidbrib[4]) solmaibh.[5])

5 Srīan frit broind, būaidh ria mbannaibh, srīan frit c[h]ridhi crūaidh cumail,
srīan do tabairt fri tengaidh cen meandair is cīall cunnail.

6 Is sēt cert cāem co cuibdhi techt co Dīa nāem norn-anghi,
rochtain cosin Rí[g] nemdha acatāt sealba sai[d]bri.

7 Saltrad ar demon ndimbraig[6]) [7]) nā rab marcach ar t'anmuin,
hē do rath in c[h]uirp chredlaig, cath fri cach n-erbaidh amlaidh.

8 Ernaighthi, āine it aiseul re clāine ar cach conair,
co rīs in saidhbri suilid iar ndai[d]bri duilig[8]) domoin.

9 Druim fri mnā mætha mīne, dāigh nidat gætha a ngāire,
lāim fri lochta co lēire, fēili is bochta co mbāine.

10 Betha crāibdech co cuibdhi, aicned[9]) āilgen cen ainble,
is drēim dīadha cin dimda cēim cīalla idhna ainmne.[10])

11 Atcīam erchra na ndāine, cia mairit tealcha ar tīre,
is bec nach fās cach fēili bās co ndēine gach dīne.

12 Is dēnta dūn ord īarum, betha nach borb 's nach bāeghal,
lucht an talman ac trāghudh, slabrudh diar snādhudh sāeghul.

13 Sgarum fris gach[11]) mbæs mbunaidh, nā carum crāes nā cinaidh,
saltram for tarbaib tomair,[12]) cobair diar n-anmuin idhain.

---

[1]) gongu *MS.*
[2]) .i. gliocus
[3]) caingnid *MS.*
[4]) saibri *MS.*
[5]) .i. ésguidh
[6]) ndimbraidh *MS.*
[7]) *darüber* neimeg.
[8]) duilidh *MS.*
[9]) aignidh *MS.*
[10]) [.i.] foigidne
[11]) *Mit* fris gach *vergleiche* nīmgeb formach fris nach sen, *Otia* I, S. 124, § 13.
[12]) *unterstrichen und darüber* domuin

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14 Ifern[1]) denn,[2]) dōer an dīthrub,[3]) romeall mōr lōech co[4]) lūathc[h]ur,
carcair crūaidh corr crom casrach, loc lonn lom[5]) lasrach lūachdub.
15 Mairg lingis lēim in leth-sain, mairg cingis in rēim rod-sain,
mairg bias isin mbriaidh mbrisc-sin, romiscnidh liaig in loc-sain.
16 Lēic ūait do lot[h]rad lūarda! lēic do c[h]odl*ad* is do c[h]æmda
ingaib ifern[6]) searb sīanach, rothī nem nīamach næbda!
17 Not-imb*er* frisin maith-sin ar fis imaid an uilc-seo,
ar an Athair n-ard n-amra cathaig co calma, a c[h]uirp-seo!
18 Fot*rā*caib, a c[h]uirp congbaid,[7]) gnīm co n-āltaib uilc adbuil,
t'athair o tacmud meabr*aig* erbaidh adbal fon talm*ain*.
19 Do māth*air* maith co mīne, do dā brāthair co mbāine
tucsat fo tuinn uill ūire co ndūire a ndruim fri dāeine.
20 Docūaidh i n-ūaig[8]) giarb esb*aid* nech iar mbeth*aid* glūair glasglain,
erchra in fir[9]) cubaidh cosmuil dob*eir* osnaidh fom asnaibh.
21 Ermōr ar cæm 's ar carat robād*ar* co sær sealat,
fūaratar tīr nā togat, fīr co lobat, co leaghat.
22 Nī luga legfa feisin, *no*cot-fia seachna sosaidh,
iar do brūdh, iar do brisiud[10]) biaidh cin clisiudh fo chosaibh.
23 Comaill a n-ecna n-uclan,[11]) bī co becda am*ail* bochtān,
bidh snādhudh for sēt sercnæm crāb*ud* certc[h]āem i corpān.[12])
24 Fogēbat plāgha pecthaig,[13]) ar it lāna do lochtaib,
a n-anman[14]) duba i ndāire, ferr leo cæime dia corpaibh.
25 Cidh tend do bērla bladhach, cid at sēg[d]a seang subach,
not-īsat dæla duba, līnfat[15]) cruma do c[h]urach.[16])
26 Cach soim is cech doim seachtair, cach æn fo mbī coim colcaidh,
is talum moirtc[h]enn martair carcair coitchenn dia corp*aibh*.

---

[1]) *Diese Strophe findet sich auch auf den oberen Rand von Harl. 5280, fo. 22 geschrieben.*
[2]) ifirn deang *MS.*, ifernd dend *H.*
[3]) in ditreb *H.*
[4]) is *H.*
[5]) na loc lom *H.*
[6]) ifirn *MS.*
[7]) congbaib *MS.*
[8]) anuaidh *MS.*
[9]) fir *MS.*
[10]) brisidh *MS.*
[11]) *Lies* óglán *oder* = ud-glan?
[12]) a corpain *MS.*
[13]) pecdaidh *MS.*
[14]) anan*m* *MS.*
[15]) linfad *MS.*
[16]) *S.* 3. curach, *Contribb.*

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27 Iar teacht don[1]) domun dronnfinn, iar ca*ch* rob*ud* cert cluinim,
cen trīst ōm c[h]urp geal glanfinn m'anim[2]) i[3]) n-ucht Crīst cuirim. A. C.

An Crīnōc.

(Ibidem.)

1 A C[h]rínōc, cubuidh do c[h]eōl, cin co fat fīrōc, it fīal,
ronmōsam tūaidh i[4]) tīr Nēil tan dorōnsam feis rēidh rīam.
2 Rob hī m'æs tan ro[f]ōis lem, a bē nīata in gāesa grinn,
daltān clīabglan cæm nāt cam, macān mall secht mblī*adan* mbind.
3 Bāmar for bith Banba bailc cin ēilniudh anma nā cuirp,
mo lī lasrach lān dot hseirc, am*ail* geilt cin aslach uilc.
4 Ērlum do c[h]omairli cōir dōigh nos-togham-ne in cech tīr,
is ferr rogrādh dod gæis gēir *'nā* comrādh rēidh frisin Rīgh.
5 Ro[f]ōis re ceathrur īar sein im dīa[i]dh cen nach methladh mer,
dofedar, as beōdha in bladh, at glan cin phecad re fer.
6 Fodeōidh dom-rūachtais a-rīs iar cūartaib sgīs, gleō co ngæis,
dodech*aid* temel tart[5]) gnūis, cin drūis is dered[6]) dot āeis.
7 At inmuin lem-sa cen locht, rotfīa mo chen-sa[7]) cin cacht,
nī lēicfi ar mbādhadh i[8]) pēin, fogabum crāb*ud* lēir lat.
8 Lān dod labra in bith būan, adhbul do rith tar cach rīan,
dia seichmis cech dīa do dhān, roseismis sl*ān* co Dīa ndīan.
9 Dobere do timna nī tōi do c[h]āch co himdha ar bith cē,
sīthlai dūin uile in cech lō, nī gō guide dīchra Dhē.
10 Dorata Dia debradh dū[i]n are rit ar menman[9]) mīn,
rob[10]) rolaind frinn[11]) gnūis Rīgh rēil īar n-ar lēim ōr colainn crīn. A. C.
11 Rogatar ūaim cech sal snēid, doratar nem dam 'na diaid!
romgabat fir richid[12]) rēill tan ragat[13]) īar cēim ōn *chri*aidh!
A. Cr. c.

---

1) = din
2) mana*m* *MS.*
3) a *MS.*
4) a *MS.*
5) *tar* do *MS.*
6) deridh *MS.*
7) mocennsa *MS.*
8) a *MS.*
9) me*n*main *MS.*
10) robo *MS.*
11) rinn *MS.*
12) rithigh *MS.*
13) radhat *MS.*

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Verstand geht über Schönheit.

(23. N. 10, S. 112.)

1 Nīmgeib format fri fer find, fiad chāch a chruth cith ūagḟind,[1]
ar is derb nī ferrde de, a chīall dīa mba teimnide.

2 Cruth cen chēill, dōiriu[2]) cach cor, is neime i[3]) n-ōrlestar,
is ne*mi* dian serb[4]) cach sruth, is crann cāin co mīthorud.[5])

3 Nī hingnad a beith cen rath, duine drechmas co ngeldath,
mebal fotuinn fosluide, cid fīada fuilt ḟindbuidi.[6])

4 A chruth is cāiniu[7]) sētaib minb*ad* lān d[i] ilbrēcaib,[8])
is luchra grēine do fraig, cruth rochāin[9]) co ndrochālaib.

5 Is blāth for laith, is trūag sēt a chruth līnas cech lānbrēc,
fīad c[h]āch is nathir i[10]) cris, nī do c[h]arait nī dūthriss.

6 As tine ṡindaig sechtair, fīad c[h]āch is blāth selestair,
lān menge a corp co mbāine, cia rothibe[11]) findgāire.[12])

7 La dēcsin a chrotha gil la cach n-ōin is indeithbir,
mina tegma,[13]) sūaichnid[14]) sin, cēill n-āith n-airētraim n-imglain.[15])

8 Is ed so rombīa de, la cach n-ōin bid cuitbide,
duine tīamda techtas cruth cen c[h]ēill glain[16]) dia ḟursundud.[17])

9 Duine nonerb*a* dia chruth cen nach cēille comslonnud
is cosmail lemm, nī mess buirb, fri borrfad[18]) nō side builg.

10 Nīmtha sin duine teimen co nglanc[h]ēill, cid imthemel,
nīnlen robāes, ferr cach rath, brēc nā fogāes nā fobra[th].

11 Cid dam focerdta roga, nogegainn mo chōimthoga,[19])
nī gelc[h]ruth tēite tar rēir, ferr lium teimne co ndagchēill.[20])

12 Duine techtas cēille cruth sloinnet cen merba merugud,
ocus nā len menm*a* mōr, is findruine fri fīrōr.

---

[1]) uaghfion
[2]) daoire
[3]) a
[4]) seasp
[5]) mithorad*h*
[6]) fionbuidhe
[7]) caoine
[8]) ilprecaiph
[9]) rocaoin
[10]) naithair a
[11]) rotipe
[12]) fiongaire
[13]) degm*a*
[14]) suaithnid
[15]) imglaoin
[16]) glaoin
[17]) f*ur*sand*ud*
[18]) porrfad
[19]) caomtoga
[20]) go ndagceild

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13 Mad āille lat dala cur dam-sa arnad imracul,[1]
is lestar n-ōir [as] lān d'fīn cīall glan la cruth nach anmīn.
14 Do duine temen is glē bat cara, bat cocēle,
fri findruine, fāth is prap, co brāth nīmgeib[2]) a format. N. g. f.

Die böse Schwiegermutter.

(Additional 30,512, fo. 33a m. inf.).

Is dobrān re minīascach, seobacc re hénaibh sléibhe,
catt re loch*aid*, cú re muic b*en* mic is māthair chéile.

Die Tonsur allein tut es nicht.

(British Museum, Additional 33,993,[3]) S. 7b m.)

Corōin do chur isi[4]) cenn, munba deóin le Rígh na rann,
bia in t-anum co hainmech de, munbo cairnech[5]) in craidhe.

Zeichen des Alters.

(Brüsseler Handschrift 5100, S. 6.)

Is ē airrdhe na críne: díbe, delus is déine,
buille sæbh forsna sūile, lámh for na glúine ag éirge.

Schreiberbitte.

(Ibidem.)

For cubhas cāich léghfas lēir *ocus* fēgfas senadh sīr,
tabradh bennachtain in Ūain[6]) for anmain an trūaigh roscrīb.

---

[1]) iomracal

[2]) ni geip

[3]) *Pergamenthandschrift aus dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. Sie enthält u. a. auf fo. 1a—1b* Táin Bó Regamain, *fo. 1b—2b* Táin Bó Dartada, *fo. 2b—3b* Siaburcharpat Conculaind (*Fragment*); *fo. 4a—5b* Tochmarc Etáine (*Fragment*); *fo. 5b—7a die irische Version von Maundeville* (*s. Zeitschrift II, S. 1*), *fo. 7b—8a* Auraicept nó Tecusc Morainn, *ferner eine Anzahl Gedichte auf einzelne Stämme und Familien.*

[4]) = isa

[5]) = coirnech '*mit einer Tonsur versehen*'.

[6]) .i. agnus Dei



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Mac Coissi cecinit.

(Ibidem, S. 6.)

Der Dichter tröstet Derbail, die Tochter Tadgs, über den Verlust ihres Sohnes Aed.

1 Abair dam-sa re Derbail, tagair re hinghin Taidg tūaith,
nā dēnadh díthre di ...,[1]) nī lē féin an frīthe fūair.
2 Nā ferad debaid re Dīa, ré Ríg belaigh betha cé,
adradh don tslicht for atu ...[2]) ... donneach nar lē.
3 Lēigedh an rīgan a rec[h]t, tr[ēiged] bith brecht is a bruc,
gē cāine gach ben a mac, antí dorat as ē ruc.
4 Car doilge [le] inghin Taidg éc Aodha aird, aidhble uird,
inā d'Echtaigh a bás bróin Corbm*aic* h*ūi* Cuinn ō [Maig Luirg.]
5 Oc*us* is luga roleth cumha dar Saidb, soillsi a dath,
lā iar tuitim Eogain uill *ocus* Airt m*aic* [Chuinn] hi ccath.
6 Nochar īsligh Bēbinn blāith fāidh a guil gnāith risin ngēicc,
dar' marbh Cūc[h]ulainn gr*inn* ... a mac Fræch for Linn finn Féicc.
7 Nocha lugha rocaoi in ben Cāintigern da treb da ś...
bás Mongāin i nGartūir glain don ail doteilcc Artūir air.
8 Nocha ferr le rígn[ai] rāin bās Lægaire meic nāir Nēill
in bhail itá lecht in læich roselt ō gæith is ó ghr[éin].
9 Nīr ferr le Fe[d]lim in mbeirt easbaidh Eirc, immain lé a mac,
dar' thuit mac Coirpri ina f[uil] le Conall ar Muigh Bregh balc.
10 Ō'tcūalaid Écuba in gnīmh, de nocha derna snīmh s[ūaill],
don rachēim rucc Echtair án dar' gabh fa gāibh Aichēil ūair.
11 Cidh mōr do māithribh m*ac* rīgh rorāthaigh ce*ch* gnīmh cen gliaidh,
fada atāthar ar a ráin dāil a māthar ina ndiaidh.
12 Nach cūalaidh Derbail dar Dīa nach mō le Crīst cāidh co ceól,
gémad grúg leis gach rígh rán nā do ládh a drūcht don feór?
13 Nī mō leis blāth droigin duibh *ocus* cāch do chur 'na chin,[3])
it*ir* tuile is trāigh is tor inā duille da chor d'fidh.
14 Lēiccedh a daghmac do Dīa, bud hé fīach da n-adhradh í,[4])
mēt grādha a m*eic* lennaig lē bud é méd a chennaigh dí.

---

[1]) *Durch Abstoſsen des Randes sind die Zeilenenden meist unleserlich geworden.*

[2]) atuin (?) *mit* c *über* n (?).

[3]) *i. e.* chinn

[4]) dí *MS.*

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15 Tabradh cro[i]s Crīst dar a hucht, adradh don Rīgh darab ced,
seachnadh seach ifreann ngarbh ngrod go port na n-apstal
'S na n-abb. Abair.[1])

Corbmac Cuilennain cecinit.

(YBL. S. 420 b, H. 3. 18, S. 37, 23. G. 3, S. 37, 23. G. 25, S. 13, 23. N. 11, S. 179.)

1 Eochair chéille coistecht, eochair śeirce sāmud,[2])
eochair ecna umla, eochair chundla crābud.

2 Eochair ratha rochruth, eochair sochra[3]) saidbre,
eochair nóibe[3]) nāire, eochair āille ainmne.

3 Eochair ferge fūasait, eochair athchoir ēchta,[5])
eochair sainte soirthius,[6]) eochair thoirrchius[7]) tēchta.

4 Eochair gníma gaisced, eochair amsa[8]) ailech,
eochair mire[9]) mellgal, eochair engnam[10]) enech.

5 Eochair úaisle étach, eochair chádais cennacht,[11])
eochair dúaisi[12]) dúana, eochair búada bennacht.

6 Eochair feichim[13]) ferann, eochair aile[14]) opad,
eochair chomais coinnmed, eochair choidben cocad.

7 Eochair[15]) díbe diultad, eochair seilbe seccad,
eochair ferta féile, eochair péine peccad.

8 Eochair táma taisse, eochair timme teched,
eochair úaisle áisse,[16]) eochair báisse brefel.

9 Eochair tnútha[17]) trebad, eochair dotla dúarcus,
eochair cumainn[18]) cuidbde, eochair suirge súarcus.

10 Eochair fessa foglaim, eochair éta anble,
eochair cirte[19]) comrainn, eochair dograing[20]) daidbre.

11 Eochair liúda lúardacht, eochair congair cuitriud,
eochair forrāin forlonn, eochair comlonn[21]) cuitbiud.

---

1) Slicht an liubair rúaidh innsin
2) e. sesaim sásdacht *G*
3) sochair *Y*
4) naeimhe *Y*, neime *H*
5) e. echuir dachta *H*
6) saidbrius *Y*
7) thoirchius *Y*
8) amsach *Y*
9) mille *G*
10) d'engnam *G*
11) cennsacht *G*
12) dúasa *H*
13) feichimh *Y*, feiche *H*
14) aille *G*
15) *Diese Strophe fehlt in Y*
16) aoisi *G*, ísle *H*
17) tnúide *H*
18) comain *Y*
19) ceirte *H*, ceille *Y*
20) dodhraing *Y*
21) comhluinn *G*

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12 Romdītne[1]) Dīa díles   ar ifernn féig feochair,
nā rop ass[2]) mo pīanad   glass ro hīadad[3]) d'eochair.   E.

Die acht Horen zur Bekämpfung der Todsünden.

(H. 3. 18, S. 44.)

Vgl. Wh. Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, S. XVIII.

1 Ocht n-airic[h] go ngolaige   rongléat go grīan
na hocht trátha toghaide   dia ndíchar co dīan.
2 Prím fri cairib comsidi,   t*er*t fri feirg na fáth,
medōnlāi sūairc soillside[4])   fri hētrad ngér ngnáth.
3 Nōin fri haigid n-accoba[i]r   ōs mūr talman tinn,
esparta sūairc socomail   ūaind fri toirsi timm.[5])
4 Compl*éit* fri snīm sechmalla*ch*,   isí in comroinn cōir,
iarmērge ūar lethrannach   fri mōidmuigi mōir.
5 Tiugnāir m*ei*c Dē dīlgethuigh   fri dīmmus nderg ndocht,
co ronsaora, a ríghbrethaig,   a Isu, ar in ocht.
6 Is tuidecht dar [ ]rīag*ail*,   bid bithbūan a olc,
a ndēnat na fūathc[h]lēirigh   na trī trāth da hocht.

Hinterlassenschaft eines Mönches.

(Ibidem, S. 10 a.)

Iargrinde (nō iargrine) gach manaig īar n-ēgaib 7 a dícelt .i. a brat trī leth n-uinge 7 léne lethe n-uigge 7 a c[h]aindten foirpe 7 a c[h]erchaill clūimhe 7 a geimhin[6]) claisi 7 a c[h]ris cuip*re* 7 a dá ass 7 a dí eochra 7 a dī lāmhann 7 a fidhb*ac* 7 a feac 7 a slūasat 7 a c[h]omain[7]) 7 a mías 7 a ardán 7 a c[h]olpach firind ing*ri*si 7 iuman screpaill[8]) 7 a saillm*éth* do sainmesaib 7 a c*hét*bairgein l*eth*mech, dā dubhlestur *deac* do cormam i *n*dé *secht*muine *nō* dia cris corma.

Gute Ratschläge.

(Ibidem, S. 37.)

1 Dobēr[9]) comairle dom charait,   da nderna hī, bud é a les:
nā tagra a dáil co fergach,   nā bīdh sé co cáintech bras!

---

[1]) romaince *H*   [2]) i *H*
[3]) cen iadad *H*, dá iadha *G*, gá iadhadh *G*
[4]) soillsigi *MS.*   [5]) tinn *MS.*
[6]) *Lies* geimen   [7]) = cummain, *Contribb.* S. 564.
[8]) scrp- *MS.*   [9]) doberainn *MS*

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2 Nā déna[1]) imurbāigh i n-airecht, dēna oirichill ar do c[h]is,
nā bī mur bidhb*aid* don eclais, nā bí egnaid dimbuidhech dít.
3 Bidh co mín michuir ret c[h]airdibh, gab got c[h]omarsain mad fann,
conguibh gráin re do bidhb*aid*, nā dēna fingha[i]l nā feall.
4 Dēna einech *acus* engnam, adhair dot thrīath da mbē i treas,
dēna comann re lucht fedma, ūair dogēbhair tarbha as.
5 Nā bī go trodach ar slúag*ad* nā ar marg*adh* nā i tighibh n-óil,
minic trithu nech do marbad, is ferr duit adradh don cóir.
6 Nā togh fēin duit inad cādhuis um thrāth cota, is é do les,
is ferr duit b*eith* ar sgāth muine nā do chur roim duine as.
7 Da mbé ursgartad ar fledhaib[2]) ēirig-si[3]) roim cāch co grott,
nā sīr-[si] don fleid[4]) a tuill*em* acht m*ad* *cuir*th*er* cuir*iudh* ort.
8 Nā sgáil rūn nā cogar airdrīgh, congaib agut é go docht,
is ferr duit b*eith* ina ngrādaib, oir is de bus sādha[i]l ort.
9 Nā tabair biadh acus doichell do duine céin b*e* i corp,
da tucair a haithle fergi, nī dílfa sin seim saighde ort.
10 Bí co foighitech 'má cluinfe, gemad anait let 'ga rádh,
ferr duit nech *aile* ar na cintaibh, nā hinguib, nā hindsaig[5]) ágh.
11 Bī go hairech it*ir* nāimdib, bec aní trina tic olc,
nā cotail ar fagh[b]āil robuid dia tegm*ad* drem fol*aid* ort.
12 Nā dēna fiadnaise brēige, gabh agat charuit gan ceilg,
nā bī cogothach ar duine, nā tab*air* luighi tre feirg.
13 Nā hindis fēin m*aith* da ndingne, léig do c[h]āch a aithris ort,
nā déna aithrechus 'ma caithfeir, m*in*a caithir é co holc.
14 Dén rēir do māthar is t'athar madh āil let fēin b*eith* co búan,
nā han ag atach Rīgh n*imi*, dogēbhair mur dlighi ūadh.
15 Tabh*air* a chís féin don C[h]oimdhe, nā fuir*ig* re iar*aidh* ort,
dēna fúisitin gan iar*air*, caith fo thrī 'sa bliadain corp.
16 Bidh co humal ésc*aid* indr*aic*, nā rub ughdar indisin sgél,
dēn[6]) mo c[h]omairle mur aderim, duit doberim is dob*ēr*. Dob*ēr*.

---

[1]) dénadh *MS.*
[2]) fleghuib *MS.*
[3]) eiridhsi *MS.*
[4]) fleigh *MS.*
[5]) *Über dem* g *ein Strich.*
[6]) dena *mit punctum delens unter dem* a.

Liverpool. KUNO MEYER.


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THE IRISH LIVES OF GUY OF WARWICK AND BEVIS OF HAMPTON.

(Continuation.)

[Bethadh Bibuis o Hamtuir.]

1. [p. 348a] Bui iarla saidhbir, socarthanach a Saxanaibh doshinnrudh diarba comainm Sir Gyi o Hamtuir, 7 dochaith se da trian a aisi 7 a aimsiri re gaisced 7 re gnathirgail; 7 ni roibhi bancheile aigi risin re-sin. 7 Tugudur a aes gradha mur comurle dó ingen righ Albun do thabairt mur mnai. 7 Is amlaidh robui an ingen-sin, 7 rogradh adbulmor aici do mac an imper Almaindigh .i. Para a ainm-sidhe, 7 dobidh sei-sin di-si mur sin. 7 Gidhedh is i fa comurli le righ Albun a thaburt d'iarla o Hamtuir ar egla a laime 7 a dighult*us*, uair ni roibi acht sruth Biroigi eturra, 7 gurb eidir le hiarla o Hamtuir a les no a n-aimles do denum. Tug iarla o Hamtuir ingen rígh Albun, 7 dorindi a banais iarum, 7 thug leis hí da chathraigh fein; 7 nír chian di gur ba halacht hi, 7 dorug gein minalainn mic, 7 tucadh Bibus d'ainm fair, 7 tugadh da oilemain e do Sir Saber .i. ridiri crodha fa derbrathair don iarla, rl-.[1])

2. Aroile la dia roibi in cunndais cruadcuisech-sin aga fothrugudh ina seomra 7 docunnaicc si a delbh fein 7 adubairt: 'Is truagh dhamh', ar-si, 'senoir crichthach,[2]) crolinntech ar caithemh forgla a aisi 7 a aimsiri do bheth mur cheile agum 7 mo cheile comain-si 7 mo cetgradh d'feruibh in talman .i. in

---

[1]) l. *et reliqua.*
[2]) l. *crechtach?*

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t-imper óg Almaindech gan bancheile fós dom serc-si 7 dom sirgradh, 7 da fhedur', ar-sí, 'is gerr co n-ingen a thoil 7 a sirmían'. Tug an oigrighan-sin sguiger da muindtir fein cuici, 7 dogab minda ruin[1]) fair, 7 do- [348 b] lig a coibhsena fris 7 doghell na h-uili mhaith dó 7 dul uaithi a techtuirecht coruicci in imperi, 7 a rad ris beth deich cet[2]) ridiri derbtha da morteghlach fein a furais fiadhaigh iarla o Hamtuir indara la do shamrud. Dala in sguigir roimigh roimhe asa haithli co cathraigh an impir, 7 fuair in t-imper innti, 7 roinnis a thosca 7 a techtairecht do co hincleith. 7 Ba luthmenma lasin imperi na scela-sin; 7 roghell co n-ingned mur adubradh ris, 7 adubairt co n-ingned ridiri don sguiger fon am-sin. Tanicc in sguiger tarais a cenn ingine righ Albun. 7 Ba mait[h] leisi a menma ona scelaibh sin, 7 dorug as mur sin co tosuch samraidh, 7 dolig si galair guasachtach bregi da hinnsuigi fon am-sin, 7 adubairt co roibhi si a n-guasacht bais. Rofiarfaigh in t-iarla cred tanic ré no in roibe furtacht uirre. Adubairt an drochben celgach, mailisech, 'Ata, madh ail let-sa', ar-si, '.i. mo saith d'fheoil occullaigh allta domuirbfighi a furais an cuain do thabairt dam', ar-si. 'Dogebuir-si sin', bar in t-iarla, 'uair rachad-sa a maruch gun mouindtir[3]) d'faghail in cullaigh-sin duit.' 'Na beir ænduine let', ar-si, 'acht do gilla con cud fir[4]) cloidhim, uair ni fhuil egla do muir na do thir fort, uair dogendais do sluaigh-si garta seitrecha selga, 7 dobrisfidis fiadhac na furaisi na pailisi comdaigin claraigh ata ina timcill, 7 dofiucfigi an furais gan fhiadhach.' Imtus iarla o Hamtuir ar maidin iarna marach docuaidh isin furais co n-uathadh muindtiri maræn ris, 7 doligedur an gadhur 7 dolabur[5]) asa haithli. 7 Docuaidh in t-iarla ara cinn ar in conuir 7 ni rairigh ænni no co facaidh in t-imperi ina dochum co ndrecht ndana, [349 a] ndasachtach, ndifhuluing, ar n-iadhad ina urthimchell; 7 rocaithsid frais fergach, firneimnech da n-armaibh ar ænsligidh ris. Tuc in t-iarla lamtapadh læchda, lanarrachta fora cloidim 7 dogab do beimeannaibh bithnertmura fur muindtir an imper, co torcuir cet[6]) læch lanchalma don cetruathar leis. 7 Docuaidh iar-sin mur a facaidh an t-imper, 7 tug builli bithchalma do gur trasgair asa dilait e 7 cromuis air

[1]) Perhaps *mind a ruin*, 'an oath of her secret'.
[2]) MS. *.x. c.*
[3]) l. *mo mhuintir*.
[4]) Reading uncertain.
[5]) l. *dolodur*?
[6]) MS. *.c.*

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iar-sin dia[1]) choscairt 7 dia cnamgerradh. Dochuadur na hAlmainnig eturra co harrachta, 7 dorugadur in t-imper on toruind-sin, 7 docuredur ar ech allata, ardermach é, 7 roiadhadar a timchill an iarla, 7 romarbudur a sdét, 7 robui in t-iarla da chois, 7 urluighi arrachta, ainntreannta, irgalach, 7 comach cnaimgerrta aigi aga tabairt ar muindtir an imperi. Is ann-sin adubairt in t-imperi: 'A iarla o Hamtuirr', ar-se, 'tabur thu fein budhesta, 7 dogebuir h'anum'. Adubairt in t-iarla: 'Da tugthasa ced imthechta damh 7 mo ben 7 mo mac do breith lium, doberuinn mé féin duit.' 7 Dogell in t-imperi sin do, 7 roiar a cloidim aran iarla asa haithli, 7 tug an t-iarla sin do. 7 Anuair fa-rainic in cloidim a láim an imperi aingidhi, etroccuir, tug beim bedgnimach bais don iarla gur thesc a chenn da coluind, 7 docuir techta leisin cenn cum ingine righ Albun mur sed suirgi, 7 fa luthairech le cenn a fir d'faicsin mur sin. Adubairt Bibus o Hamtuir, 7 se a cinn teora bliadan ann-sin, 'A merdreach, mailisech, míthæmannach', ar-se, 'is truagh in gnim doronuis .i. in t-æniarla is ferr robúi sa cristaigecht do marbadh let; 7 rachaidh siud co holc duit fós'. Rolonnaighedh 7 roluathfer[g]aighedh in righan rena mac 7 rocuir fo pein a anma ar Sir Saber bas do thabairt do Bibus. Adubairt Sir Saber co tibradh, [349b] 7 dorug leis co prap hé, 7 dochoimil [usc 7 ola] de, 7 docuir sin delbh dochraidh, doaithennta fair. 7 Docuir edach deroil, drochdatha uime, 7 docuir an glenntaibh fiadamla fasaigh do comét muc é. Conidh i adhaigh[3]) iarla Hamtuir sin.

3. Dala in imperi iarum, tainic roime sa cathraigh cona muindtir, 7 rohullmuighedh fledh bainnsi do; 7 in tan rob ullamh in fledh, dorinded aithfreann posta doibh. 7 Docuadur iarum do chaithem na baindsi; 7 rodailedh in fledh forra, 7 roeirigh seiseilbe 7 sarmenma isna sloghaibh. 7 Dobi Bibus o Hamtuir an lá-sin faris na mucuib ar comgar na cathrach, 7 doruc crain acu bainb, 7 domarbudur buachailli na muc cuid dona banbhuibh, 7 robadur aga n-ithi do grísaigh, 7 dobi Bibus aga ithi leo. Adubradar[4]) na buachailli: 'Mor an metachus duit, a Bibuis, beth a cuidiugudh na mbanb-sa linne, 7 banais do

[1]) *dia* is corrected from *do* in the MS.
[2]) MS. *.iii.*
[3]) l. *aidhedh.*
[4]) MS. *A. ƌ.*

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mathar aca caithem a ndunadh h'athar 7 do shenathar aniugh?' Roimig Bibus uatha leis-sin, 7 docuaidh co dorus na cathrach, 7 docuala[1]) se greadan 7 garta grenacha na gasraighi ag ol na fleidi. Tanic Bibus co dorus na cathrach, 7 roiar oslugud; fochtuis in doirrseoir cuidh búi ann. Adubairt Bibus ba hé muiccidhi Sir Saber. Adubairt in doirrseoir gur maith in dil esanora e tri iarraidh teacht sa cathraigh. 'An licfir astegh mé?' ar Bibus. 'Ni licedh', ar-se, '7 da mbeinn amuig docurfinn a aithrechus ort techt dh'iarraidh osluicce.' Adubairt Bibus: 'Da mbeithe-sa amuig agum-sa', ar se, 'docurfind a aithrechus ort gan mo ligen astegh.' Dofergaighedh in doirrseoir trit-sin 7 tanic do[2]) marbadh Bibuis. Dotoguib Bibus in caman cromcennach cuill, robi aigi ag timain na muc, 7 robuail builli co brighmar a mbathais an doirrseora de, 7 ba marbh in doirrseoir de-sin. Dochuaidh [350 a] Bibus asteg in tan-sin amesc na sluagh 7 docunnuic se in t-imper, 7 atbert fris do guth ard, fhollusglan: 'A tigerna imperi', ar-se, 'is felltach, furmudach in gnim doronuis .i. in t-iarla uasal, oirbidnech do marbadh gan fhochuin do mian na merdrighi meblaighi, miceirdighi sin fur do gualainn'. 7 Adubairt: 'Ber do meirdreach let ad crich 7 ad cathraigh fein, 7 fag m'oighreacht 7 mo cathair dam-sa, uair is me Bibus, mac iarla o Hamtuir'. Rofurail in t-imper Bibus do ceangal 7 do cruadhcuibrech. Iarna clos-sin do Bibus, roglac a caman co calma, cruadhnertmur, 7 robuail tri builli aran imper de innus gur bris 7 gur bruid in cumdach clochbuadhach, cengailti robui fura cenn an imperi, 7 gur dhoirt a fhuil co falcmar, 7 rotrascair fon mbord é. Is ann-sin roeirgedur teghlach 7 tromtinol in imperi do malairt Bibuis. Dala Bibuis iarom roeirigh roime co dana, dethtapaidh, 7 domarbh dronga dibh lena chaman, 7 docuaidh asin cathraigh amach. 7 Tarrla Sir Saber ina coinne do, 7 adubairt: 'A Bibuis', ar-se, '.i. is truagh an gnim doronuis .i. dul sa cathraigh congairigh, ar egla h'aithennta innti, 7 co tiuradais bas duit da festais cia thú. 7 Dogendais an cetna rium-sa da mbeth a fis[3]) acu co mairinn tu'. Adubairt Bibus: 'Is maith in gnim doronus', ar-se, 'oir is doigh gur dilus m'athair 7 gur marbus in t-imper'. Iarna clos-sin do Sir Saber dorug se Bibus

[1]) Perhaps rather to be expanded *docualaidh*. It is not written out fully anywhere in these texts.

[2]) MS. *do a*, with *do* above the line.

[3]) *a fis* above the line.





leis 7 rofhoiligh e ina caislén fein. Roimderg 7 roaithisigh in t-imper ingin righ Albun 7 adubairt gur gell si bas do tabairt do Bibus, 7 con derrna-si brég ara gelladh. Doraidh in righan: 'Doberim-si mo briathur', [350 b] ar-si, 'gur sailes co fuair se bas'. Is ann-sin tanic ingen righ Alban amach, 7 adubairt re Sir Saber: 'A treturaigh, fhallsa', ar-sí, 'adubrais co tucuis bas do Bibus, 7 to[itfir fein] con do mnái 7 do mac arson in gnima dorindi Bibus'. 7 Dogabadh Sir Saber iar-sin 7 a ben 7 a mac .i. Tirri, 7 dobadar aca cur cum bais. Iarna clos-sin do Bibus tainic amach a fiadhnuse na righna 7 adubairt: 'A righan rechtmur, roaingidhi, særter Sir Saber let 7 a ben 7 a mac ann a neimchin, 7 dentur do thoil féin dim-sa, osa me dorinde in gnim.' Dogabadh Bibus iar-sin, 7 rosærad Sir Saber cona mnai 7 cona mac, 7 adubairt ingen righ Alban[1]) re dis ridiri da muindtir do marbadh 7 comurtha a claiti do thabairt cuici. Dorugadur na ridiri Bibus leo dia milliudh, 7 robensat a etach de, 7 anuair docunncadur gnuis alainn, furbailigh inn oig-maic, rogab truaighi 7 tromneimeile iat 7 adubradar na ridiri: 'Is truagh duind', ar-siat, 'bas inn oig-mic neimcinntaigh-so do beth ar ar n-anmain'. Adubairt Sir Saber: 'A ridiri uaisli, trocureacha', ar-sé, 'denaidh-si co maith .i. racaidh in mac risin luing paganta ata ag fagbail in cuain, 7 berdid sin an oirrter in domuin é, 7 ni fuighter a scela co brach aris'. 7 Dorinrudur[2]) amlaidh, 7 dorucadur na ridiri edach Bibuis iarna gerradh lena n-armaib lan d'fuil coruigi in righuin. Conidh e-sin loinges Bibuis.

4. Dala na luingi inar cuiredh Bibus, nir an si noco rangadur d'iath tóictech, tromconaich na Meirmidonda moire sa Greig. 7 Robui paganach poinnighi, primarrachta ina rig furan crich-sin .i. Eirmin a ainm-sidhe. 7 Dobronnsad furenn na luingi Bibus don righ, 7 rofiarfaigh Ermin scela de, cuidh e budein 7 ca tir do. Adubairt Bibus: 'Mac d'iarla Saxanach [351 a] mé', ar-sé, '7 romarbadh m'athair a fell, 7 dogentaighi me fein mur an cetna da mbertai orum'. Adubairt in rí: 'Creid dom deib-si', ar-sé, '7 dober-sa m'ingen do bancheile duit, 7 dodén oighri dit ar mo tigerntus'. Adubairt Bibus nach treiccfed a tigerna fein .i. in t-athair nemdha, ar maithus na cruinne co comlan. Dala

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[1]) *righ Alban* added in the margin.
[2]) l. *dorinnedur*.

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Bibuis iarum robúi se secht[1]) mbliadna a gillacht ech don righ. Aroile la dia nde[ch]adar[2]) sescad ridiri do muindtir Ermin do gnim a n-ech 7 Bibus maræn riu. 7 Adbert ridiri dibh: 'A Bibhuis', ar-se, 'in fidir tú créd é uaisliu an læ aniu isin crich 7 isin cæmferunn a rugadh tú?' Adubairt Bibhus: 'Ni cumuin lium créd í uaisli an lǽ aniugh ann, uair ataim secht[1]) mbliadna o d'fhag an tal*am* a rugud me, 7 secht[1]) mbliadna ele m'áis da fagbail'. Adubairt in ridiri: 'Ní mur sin dam-sa', ar-se; 'is cumain lium créd an uaisli fuil aguibh-si aran la aniu, uair is comainm na haidhchi aréir da rucadh in dia da creidi-si. 7 Is iat ar seinnsir-ne docroch hé, is la nodlag ainm an læ aniugh aguib-si a crichuib Saxan'. Adubairt Bibhus: 'Is truagh lium-sa', ar-se, 'gan nert agum a digailt oruibh-si a admail curob iad bur [sinsir][3]) tug pais dom tigerna'. Adubradar[4]) na ridiri paganta: 'Da mbeth nert agud-sa, dodenta sin', ar-siat, '7 os againne atá, dodenum an cetna rit-sa'. Docruinnigedur in da trichad ridiri ar ænslighi docum Bibuis dia malairt. Iarna faicsin-sin do Bibus dob*en* se a cloidheam don ridiri roba nesa dó dibh, 7 dobuail é fein de co nderna da n-orduin de. 7 Robuail fa na ridiribh iarum, 7 romarb uile iat acht æntriar nama docuaidh le luas a n-ech mur a roibhi in rí do chosaid in gnima-sin. Docuaidh Bibus ina seomra [351 b] co ferg n-adbuil tre gan dil a shainnti d'faghail dona paganachaibh. Docuadur an triar ridiri sin, docuaidh[5]) as o Bibus le cosait cum an righ, 7 ro-innsidur Bibus do marbadh na ridiri. Docuir an rí techta arcenn Bibuis, 7 roiaradur na techta leo é acenn in rígh. Dotho-gaibh Bibus a cenn ona édach, 7 robadur a shuili ar merlasudh ina cinn le ruamanntacht na rofergi. 7 Adubairt Bibus: 'Da mad ridiri no lucht gaisgidh dotiucfad leisin techtairecht-sin, ní liccfind eladhach betha beo dibh, 7 ni fiu lium echt anuasal na gillannrach do marbadh. Tangadur na techta coruigi in rig; roinnsidar nar fæm Bibus leo. Adubairt Sisian, ingen Ermín, co rachadh féin d'agallaim Bibuis, 7 docuaid co ndróing móir d'uasalmnaim maræn ria, 7 roaigill si Bibus do briathraibh

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1) MS. .7.

2) MS. *deadar*.

3) MS. indistinct.

4) MS. *A .d̄.*

5) *docuaidh* appears to be a mistaken repetition of *docuadur*, and I have omitted it in translating.

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blasta, binngloracha. 7 Dothurn sin ferg Bibuis, 7 tainic leisin righain acenn in righ, 7 roinnis d'Ermin in t-adhbur trinar marbh se na ridiri. Adubairt in righ: 'Maithmid duit marbadh na ridiri', ar-se, '7 dobermid cairt do shidha duid, uair tuicmid in tan ata in grad úd agud aran righ nach facais riam curub mó na sin do gradh orum-sa, uair is mé in ri docunncais'. Conidh amlaidh-sin dosæradh Bibus ar marbadh na ridiri.

5. Aroile lá iarum robúi Eirmín a n-oirechtus ar céde na cathrach, connfaca ridiri da inns*aighi* 7 ech seng, salach, suaiti fái, 7 dothuirrling aran fod a fiadhnuse in rig, 7 robennaigh do. Fochtuis in rí scela de, 7 adubairt in ridiri: 'Atait scela mora', ar-sé, '.i. cullach naimdeamail neme ar techt ad crich-si 7 ad cæmferunn, 7 daine 7 innilli imdha ar toitim les. Cuirtenna 7 caislein aga trascairt cum talm*ain* co tromnertmur 7 ní hincomrac fer in talman tromfoidigh[1]) risin pest naimdeamail, nemcarthanaigh-sin, 7 is iat-sin mo scela', [352 a] ar an ridiri. Doraid in rí co tiubradh se fonn 7 feronn, ór 7 airged 7 na huili m*ai*th donti dotraethfadh in bést[2]) bithgranda, bedgnimach-sin, 7 ni fuair fer a freastail ara theglach na ara tromshochruidi. Dala Bibuis iarum, ar faghail uaingis dó dorug eideth 7 arm 7 ech leis, 7 docuaidh d'iarraidh in cullaigh neme. Dobi Sisian in tansin ar barr a grianain 7 docunnaic si Bibus ag dul do comruc risin pest nemi, 7 adubairt Sisian: 'Is truag mo chuit de sin', ar-si, 'uair is tú fer is annsa lium d'feruibh in talman, 7 ní fiu lium scela do innsin duit ar romét m'oigrechta 7 mo maithusa fein, 7 nach fes damh cred i h'uaisli-si na h'athairdecht. 7 Gideth da marbha in cullach thú, dogebh bas co bithurrlum dod cumaidh, a Bibuis', ar-si. Docuaidh Bibus iar-sin coruigi in furais ana ndubrad ris in cullach do beith, 7 tug builli brigmur, bithcalma fur in mbarr mbuabuill robúi aigi, 7 nír cían dofacaidh ina comduil in cullach cráesmór, cuibfhiaclach, cruadhcomlannach, 7 suile dubha, doimne, duaibhsecha, dofhechsana ina cinn, 7 mailgi[3]) mora, modardha osa dercuibh, 7 lasair lonnrach, loinderrdha ag techt tri polluibh a srona co seitreach, sirchalma, 7 asa gin gnúsgorm, grainemail, 7 cæba cruaidhrighni, crefoigi aga cur asa cosaibh co coilgdhirech aigi; 7 dairgi[3]) dainngni, dímóra,

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[1]) MS. *tromfoidigh.*
[2]) The spelling with *b* is carried out in the adjectives.
[3]) Capital initial in MS.

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7 cairrgi comora cloch aga ngerradh co cruadhnertmur, co fortill, firarrachta aigi ag lúathlimadh 7 ag lanlímhugudh a fiacal arcinn in comluinn 7 in cathaigi-sin; 7 tulca[1]) tromthalman 7 cairrgi comora cloch aigi aga dilgen do gach leth do dronn a shuic 7 a srona. Docunnaic Bibus in cullach ina dochum; doleig spuir co spraicemail isin sded, 7 dochuaidh co segmur, socraidhech a coinne in cullaigh. [352b] 7 Tug sathadh sanntach sleghi for in cullach, 7 docuir ina craes hi, 7 dorindi in cullach blodha beca, brisdi, buanrebhtha do crann na sleghi iarna cogaint co cícarach dó. 7 Donocht Bibus a cloidhem co cetfadach iar mbrisedh a shleghi, 7 dorindi urlaidhi ainmín, ainnsergach risin cullach co ttorcur leis marbh gan anmain a furcinn in comhluind. 7 Doben a cenn de asa haithli, 7 docuir arcenn a sleghi é, 7 dochuaidh ara sdét 7 rodermuid a cloidhemh aran fód arar clai se in cullach, 7 dogluais roime cum na cathrach. 7 Robadur da ridiri dec do muindtir Ermín a coimét na furaisi in la-sin, 7 docunncadur Bibus ag fagbail na furaisi 7 cenn an cullaigh aigi ar imchur. Adubradar na ridiri: 'An feicidh in treturach, celgach, cristaighi ar marbadh in cullaigh nemi? 7 imrem bás air, 7 berim cenn an cullaigh linn cum in righ, 7 abrum curub sinn domarbh é, 7 dogebum ar mbreath fein on rí'. Docuadur da ridiri dec na furaisi a coindi Bibuis dia malairt 7 dia mormarbadh, 7 ní roibi d'arm ag Bibus cum a cosanta acht fedh laime laich do crann cruaidh, craisighi, 7 domarbh se seiser dona ridirib do tri builli don crann-sin. Docuadur seiser ele as dibh le luas a n-ech mur a roibh in righ, 7 doronsad cosaid in gnimasin. Robui Sisian, ingen Ermin, ac feithem in comhraic-sin aga dhenum, 7 docuaidh si mur a roibi a hathair 7 roinnis do mur dofhelladur ridiri coimeda na furaisi ar Bibus 7 mur domarb se seiser dib le bloidh bic do crann sleghi, 7 doshær sin Bibus .i. in lethscel dogab Sisian do.

6. Fecht n-æn dia roibhi Eirmin ar faithci a dúnadh docunnuic drong do ridiribh ac techt ina comdhail 7 litreacha fo selaib acu, 7 roindsedur na litreacha co roibhi Bramon .i. rí na Damaisci ag [353a] techt [d'iarraidh Sisian ingine Ermin] d'ais no d'ecin. Is ann-sin rofiarfaigh Ermin do Thosian[2]) nar cet le

[1]) Capital initial in MS.

[2]) l. *Shisian*? The form in the text might be due to the influence of the name *Josiane* in the English original.



a tabairt do Brámon .i. do ri na Damaisci; adubairt Sisian nar cheat. 'Crédh in t-adhbur?' ar in righ. 'Is é is adbur dam', ar-si, '.i. curob me is oigri ort-sa, 7 da faghtha bas comad e in fer dobeth agum-sa dobeth na righ isin crich-so tar h'eis, 7 damad e Bramon roba ferceile dam ni hannsa crich-so [do]-anfadh se acht a císcain do breith leis ina thir fein 7 an tir-so do cur a tarcaisne tre gan rí dobeth a comnaidhe innti; 7 is e sin in t-adhbur nach cet lium mo thabairt do Bramon'. Adubairt an rig: 'Cred ele do denum?' ar-se. 'Dodenuir co maith', ar-si '.i. dena-sa ridiri do Bibus o Hamtuir, 7 budh moidi leis a menma é, 7 tabur cennus do sluaigh dó, 7 cuir romud a tosuch catha e, 7 dom doigh-si dodenase gnim greannmur gaiscidh, uar docunnac-sa e ac marbadh in cullaigh neime 7 an t-seisir ridiri le fedh laime do crann sleghi. Dorindi Ermin iarsin ridiri do Bibus, 7 tuc Sisian sciath 7 cloideam 7 ech dó, Arindel ainm in eich 7 Morglæ ainm in cloidim. Tanicc iarsin ri na Damaisci cona mórsluagaibh d'innrudh 7 d'argain na Meirmidoine. Docuir Ermin a sluagh ar enslighi 7 dochuaidh se a coinne Bramoin. 7 Docuaidh Bibus a tus in catha co feramail, firarrachta, 7 torcair catha 7 ceta leis co luath. 7 Docomruicc sé re ri na Damaisci iar marbadh dó in crai catha robui aga imcoimét, 7 rogab se in ri amesc a muintiri, 7 docuir cengal 7 cuibrigthi air, 7 dorug a n-airginaib broide 7 gabala é, 7 tuc do righ na Meirmidoine e dia coimed. Roimp*a* [353 b] Sir Bibus iarsin re sluaghaibh na Damaisc 7 rogab[1]) a cur a n-air, 7 fuair se dias do muindtir Eirmin aga ndicennud a sluaghaibh na Damaisci, 7 rosærad leis iat, 7 torcuir in drong robui aga ndicennudh les. 7 Dolenadur in da ridiri sin Sir Bibus a haitli a furtachta. Tareis coscair 7 commaiti in catha sin tanic Bibus cnedach, crechtach, comurtach tara ais co cathair na Meirmedoine. Adubairt Ermin re Sisian Sir Bibus do breith le da leiges inan[2]) grianan fein. Conidh amlaidh sin docuir Sir Bibus in cath-sin ar righ na Damaisci, 7 *reliqua.*

7. Dala righ na Meirmidoine iarum, doboin sé a uili maithus mur fhuasgladh as righ na Damaisci, 7 fregra cisa 7 cana ar fedh a betha 7 comurle Ermin do denum ar gach ni. Dala

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[1]) 7 *ro* is repeated in the MS.

[2]) l. *ina*?



Sisian, ingine Ermin, dorug si Bibus le da leigus, 7 docuir na suidhi ar colba a himduigi he, 7 adubairt ris: 'A Sir Bibuis', ar-sí, 'ní fuarus fein re t'agallaim tú coruigi so, uair is tu mo rogha nuachair 7 mo cetgradh d'feruibh an betha, 7 is tú is ail lium do beth mar ceile agum'. Adubairt Bibus: 'Ní cubaid rit beth agum-sa', ar-sé, 'uair ní fuil isin cruinne co comcoitcenn fer nach fuil a saith do mnai innud; 7 a rigan', ar-sé, 'ní fuil inme na ardflaithus agum-sa', ar-sé, 'acht mina faghar le nert mo loinne é, 7 is uime-sin nach dingmala duit-si misi mur fir', ar Bibus. Adubairt in rígan co frithir, fergach: 'A amais anuasail 7 a muidh modurdha, micerdaigh, 7 a innarbtoir dibligi, deroil, drochbertaigh, is iargulta, anuasal in fregra tuguis orum; 7 fag in cathair so, 7 imig romud fur loinges mur is gnath let, 7 dober-sa manera (?)[1]) bás do tabairt duit'. Adubairt Bibus co foiginneach: 'A rigan', ar-se, 'co roibh maith h'anora agud! 7 G[ideth] [354 a] ni hanuasal mese, uair as mac d'iarla uasal mhe as ferr robi[2]) isin domhan ina aimsir, 7 is i ingen righ Alban mo mhathair. 7 An t-inadh a fuarus in masla 7 in t-imdergadh-sin gan adhbhar, fuigfed gu firaibeil he, 7 in sded 7 in cloidhemh thugais dam a tuarasd*ail* bid siad agad fein budhdheast*a*'. Rofhagaibh Bibus in tor co comfergach, 7 docuaidh a stabla na n-ech. Adubairt in righan ar turnad a treinfergi: 'A Bonafais', ar-si, 'is aitrech lem-sa a ndubart re Bibus; 7 da faga se in tellach-so, ni ba buan mo betha-sa da eis; 7 erigh 7 tabur cugum e, 7 dober a breath fein do ina esonoir'. Roimigh Bonafas a cenn Bibuis, 7 roiar cum na rigna he, 7 rogell a breat fein on rigain do; nir fæmh Bibus dul leis. 7 Robui bratt uasal do sida glegel, glangresach fa Bibus, 7 ilimud do [tinlaice?][3]) oir 7 do legaib lanmaisecha loghmura ar na cengal 7 ar na cumdach furan cæmetach-sin, 7 tug Bibus do Bonufas e arson a aisdir. Tanicc Bonufas tarais a cenn na rigna, 7 roindis di gur diult Bibus techt dia hagallaim, 7 adubairt Bonufas ilimud maithesa re Bibus, 7 adubairt nar duine anuasal tug an brat uasal-sin do fein, 7 nar cubaid olc do rad re [f]er[4]) in taburtuis 7 in tinn-laice-sin. Roeirigh in rigan iar-sin, 7 docuaidh si mur a roibi Bibus, 7 adubairt ris: 'A Bibuis', ar-si, 'is aithrech lium a

[1]) Reading doubtful; something is apparently omitted.
[2]) *robi* repeated in MS.
[3]) MS. very obscure.
[4]) *f* indistinct in MS.



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ndubart rit, 7 dogebuir do breat fein ann; 7 da madh ail let misi do posadh, dogebuind baistedh 7 docreidfinn don Dia da creidi-si'. Adubairt Sir Bibus: 'Gabhaim-si mur-sin let', ar-se, 7 dogab a lam ina laim, 7 dopogsad a ceile asa haithli, 7 dochuaidh Bibus le isin tor iarum, 7 docuiredh l*eigh*us 7 lesugudh air gur ba slan iar n-othrus. 7 Robadur ag eistecht risin posad-sin in dias ridiri rosæradh o bas le Bibus isin cath roime-sin, 7 dochuadur [354 b] mur a roibi in ri, 7 roindsidur scela in posta-sin do, 7 adubradar[1]) ris bás d'imirt ar Bibus. Adubairt in righ gur mor cumain Bibuis fair, 7 nach cuirfedh fein cum bais e, 7 gideth adubairt co cuirfedh a n-inadh baiss[2]) d'fagail e. Is ann-sin do sgribadh litir d'Eirmin 7 iss*ed* robui innti, bas d'imirt ar Bibus. 7 Adubairt in ri re Bibus dul leisin litir-sin cum righ na Damaisci. Adubairt Bibus: 'A thigerna', ar-se, 'ni misi techtaire is cnesta do dul leisin litir-sin co Bramon, uair is me romarb a muindtir, 7 robris cath fair, 7 rogab e fein, 7 roben a uili maithus de mur fuascailt as, 7 tug fa cis duid-se'. 'Ni misdi sin', ar Ermin, '7 ni ba heguil duit-si ænni ann, 7 is tu is tairisi lium-sa d'feruibh an betha, 7 na ber h'ech na do cloidem let, 7 na scail in litir noco roichi-si Bramon .i. ri na Damaisci; 7 ber mul socair, sogluasta fud'. Dala Bibuis iarum, rogluais roime co ceimdirech, 7 nir cian do ac siubal na conaire co facaid an falmaire feramail, firarrachta fur in conair ara cinn, 7 se ag ithi a dineir .i. tri culbur 7 buidel d'fhin milis 7 bairgen geal. Robennaigh Bibus don oilirtech, 7 rofreaguir in t-oilirtech e mur an cetna, 7 dothairg pairt don diner do Bibus. Rotuirrling Bibus, 7 aduaigh a cuid don diner, 7 rofiarfaigh Bibus scela don oilirtech ca tir dó, 7 cred in t-aistir robui fair. Adubairt in t-oil[i]rtech: 'Ridiri Saxanach me', ar-se, 'Sir Tirri m'ainm, 7 mac do Sir Saber me, 7 a lorgairecht Bibuis o Hamtuir ataim, uair is clann da derbrathair sinn nar ndis .i. Bibus 7 misi. 7 Dobenadh a tigerntus uili dom athair acht æn tor daingin difogluighti ina fuil sé fein, 7 tanag-sa do siubal in domhun d'iarraidh Bibuis o tantuir',[3]) ar-se, '7 an fuil enfocal da sceluibh agud-sa?' ar-sé. 'Ata', ar Bibus, 'uair ni mo na da aidchi o cunnac-sa e, 7 is inunn mét 7 delb [355 **a**] do 7 damh-

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[1]) MS. *a. d̃.*

[2]) This word is divided by a hole in the MS.

[3]) l. *Hamtuir.*

sa'. 'Tuicim airsin curob tu fein he', ar Tirri. 'Me', ar Bibus, '7 impuidh-si tar h'ais mur a fuil h'athair, 7 tabur nert do laime leis, 7 is gerr co mbiad Bibus farib'. Adubairt Sir Tirri: '[Tabur (?)][1] in litir-sin ad laim da leighedh damsa, uair is minic docuiredh sgribend a millti fein le techtuire'. Adubairt Bibus: 'Is doigh lium-sa', ar-se, 'nach ferr do leithoir litreach tu-sa na mé fein, 7 ni ber ag tigerna ara mbiadh amurus[2]) agum fell orum'. Doceilebuir Bibus do Tirri, 7 roimigh Tirri a crichaibh Saxan. Dala Bibuis iarum, roimigh roimhe, 7 nir cian dó co facaidh cathair na Damaisci uadha, 7 robui deich mili fichet[3]) uadha hi in tan-sin. 7 Is amlaidh robúi in cathair-sin, 7 secht[4]) murtha daingne, dobristi ina hurtimcill do ballaibh cruadh-daingni cloch, 7 tri fichit[5]) troigh idir in da balla dibh, 7 tri fichit[5]) troig ar doimne isna diguib doimne, duaibsecha, doimtechta, 7 robui idir na ballaibh-sin srut ruadh, roburta, 7 muir mer, moranfaidh ag imtecht fo cuairt isna loguibh lethna, lanmor[a] sin. 7 Barca bronnfhairsinge 7 longa luchtmura 7 lestar lanaible ag imtecht arna gaethaibh gaibtecha, greannmura sin. 7 Droitced togbala a dul isin cathraigh-sin, 7 peilir poindighi, primarrachta prais aga imfulang, 7 deich[6]) cluicc cainntecha, cíchanacha fur in droithcet-sin .i. cuig cluicc ar gach tæbh de. 7 Da saltrad urduil ind éin[7]) dein, dasachtaigh, risi-raiter[8]) in dreollan, for in droichid-sin, doboinfidis na cluig-sin co cathaisech, congairech innus co cluintighi ar fedh na cathrach gair greannmur, geranach na clocc caismertach-sin. 7 Dofreagradais oig ainntreannta 7 curaidh comlonncruaidhe na cathrach co détla, dethtapaidh cum an droichid le garthaibh na clog. 7 Robui tor taithnemach, toirtemail arin cend fa nesa don cathraigh don droitced, 7 dealbh dragain duaibsig, drochd*atha*, arna buain ar tæb in tuir sin. 7 Da lig lanmora, loghmura mur shuilib aigi, 7 comla lethan, lanmór do [355b] pras re dorus in tuir sin, 7 is trit in dorus-sin dogabthai a dul isin cathraigh. 7 Rob imda clocha cristail 7 carrmogail 7 lega lanmaisecha, logmura, cengailti co cerdamail le hor na hAraipi a fuindeogaibh 7 a seinistreachaibh na cathrach-sin. Dala Bibuis immorro, roleig spuir co spraicemail isin sdet, 7 rocuir na rith for an droichid

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1) Indistinctly written.
2) l. *bia th'amurus? amrus?*
3) MS. .*x. mili .xx.*
4) MS. .7.
5) MS. .*xx.*
6) MS. .*x.*
7) MS. very indistinct
8) l. *risin-raiter.*

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hi, 7 robenadur na cluic co cainntech, congairech, 7 roeirigh in ri cona mórtheghlach cum an droithcid. 7 Adubairt in ri: 'Ata nert namat ar techt aran droithced, no duine drochoilunta ecin'. Tainic in ri co lathair, 7 rothuirrling Bibus aran fod a fiadhnuse in righ, 7 dorinde umla do, 7 tug in litir ina laim, 7 roleigh Bramon litir. 7 Adubairt: 'Doden-sa gach ni adeir in sgribenn-so', ar-sé, 'uair is tu-sa Bibus o Hamtuir, 7 is tu rogab misi, 7 romarb mo muindtir, 7 roben fhuasgailt asum, 7 tug orum freagra 7 umla do thabairt do duine fa mesa na me fein'. 7 Adubairt Bramon: 'Tabur biadh do Bibus', ar-se, 'uair ni cubaidh oglach tigerna maith gan anoir do denum do'. Dorughadh Bibus do halla in righ, 7 tucadh biadh do, 7 robadur aga fiarfaige diaroil[1]) créd in bas doberdis dó. Adubairt drong dib a losgadh co lanaibeil; adubradar[2]) drong ele a crochadh co congairech; adubradar[2]) drong ele a tarraing a ndiaig ech; adubradar[2]) drong ele a cur a prisun da pianad. Adubairt Bibus: 'Is nar sin', ar-se, 'i. in nech dothiucfadh le techtairecht do cur cum bais, 7 is amlaidh is maith dibh misi do cur tar an cathraigh amach, 7 trealam catha do tabairt damh, 7 sluaigh na cathrach uili do beth ina trealam catha am timchell, 7 a mbeth uili gum ledrad 7 gum lanbualadh ar ænslighi, 7 is lugha d'adhbur gotha dibh-si misi do marbadh mur sin na mo marbadh ann-so'. Adubairt aroile dona sluaghaibh: 'In uair fa fuaruis-[s]e sinne roime-so ar fairsinge na feronn docuris ár ar muindtire; 7 dodenta in cetna anois, da faghtha amuigh sinn'. Is annsin doluigedh [356a] an læchradh láncalma ar muin Bibus conar ba luaithi saithchi brighmur bech os bechlusaib naid sluaigh dana, dimsacha na Damaisci a cengal 7 a cuibrech an curadh crodha, ceimdighaind. 7 Docuiredur Bibus iar-sin ina cime crapaillti a prisun peannuidech da pianad, 7 dorug Bibus bata bunnremur leis isin prisun, 7 robui saile siltech, sirbhruadh ac techt fa dhó sa lo con n-aidhchi isin prisun-sin. 7 Anuair fa suighedh Bibus dobidh in sail[e] coruigi a smeig do, 7 inuair dobid[3]) ina hesam[4]) doroithed in saile remur a lairgi, 7 robui cris arrachta iarnaighi, coimlethan re muinel miled, cengailti ina medhon, 7 carrtha comdaingin cloichi cengailti don luib lanmoir-sin re druim Bibuis. 7 Tangadur draccuin duaib-

[1]) l. *diaroile.*
[2]) MS. *a .d.*
[3]) *in saile coruigi a smeig do* 7 *inuair dobid* inserted in margin of MS.
[4]) Expansion doubtful; I take it to be for *ina shesam.*

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secha, diablaidhi, 7 naithrecha naimdemla neme, 7 piasta poindighi, primarachta as cuil 7 as tæbuibh in prisun, 7 rogabadur ag ledairt 7 ag lanmarbadh in læchmiledh. Is ann-sin roathaigh Bibus in t-athair nemda da furtacht on pein-sin, 7 rocuimnig se in bata dorug leis isin prisun, 7 dogab se urluigi agarbh, ainiarmartach arna huilpiastaib gur marb uili iat le cumachtaibh Dia. 7 Doboin [n]athair[1]) neim feoil 7 croicind na malac cle do greim. Dala Bibuis iarsin, robúi se secht[2]) mbliadna aga muchadh isin maindir mordai[n]gin-sin, 7 is*ed* fa betha dó frisin re-sin .i. lethad baisi bigi d'aran anmann eorna indara la, 7 is*ed* ba deoch dó .i. saile sirbhruad, *et reliqua*.

8. Aroile la dia roibe Bibus isin prisun-sin[3]) ar cradh a cuirp re gorta 7 re cumgach, rosgrech se ar Dia in tan-sin, 7 adubairt: 'A ændia uilicumachtaigh, dorinne nem 7 tal*am* gan t-sætur, 7 del*ugh*uis[4]) la 7 aidhchi re ceile, 7 dober linad 7 tragadh arna marannaibh, 7 dorindi na huili ni do neimfni, is truagh nach bás doberid damh-sa co hobunn o pein 7 o pennaid in prisuin-so ina fuilim re secht[5]) mbliadhnaibh. 7 Doci tú, a tigerna, nar treices do creidem fein fos ge taim coic[6]) bliadhna dec a tal*am* na paganach; 7 a thigerna', ar-se, 'is aithnid duid co fuiginn inme 7 ardflaithus mor [da][4]) treiccinn do creidem-sa; 7 a thigerna nemdha', ar-se, 'foir orum intan is mithi [356b] let féin'. Dolabur in t-aingel osa cinn, 7 adubairt: 'A Bibuis', ar-se, 'bíth menma maith agud, 7 bidh craidhi laidir, uair roeist Dia re do geran, 7 is gerr co fuigir furtacht'. Is ann-sin rofas soillsi mór isin prisun o timteracht an aingil, 7 docuaidh a r*ad*arc 7 a rathugudh asin dragun, 7 domarbadh an dragun le Bibus. Dala na deisi ridiri robui a coimét in prisun, docualadur irnaighti 7 adhmoladh Bibuis fur in duileman, 7 adubairt æn dibh reroile: 'In cluinid in treturach fallsa, fichmisgnech, ag adhmoladh an treturaigh docrocadar ar sinnsir-ne, 7 é aga moladh mur Dia? 7 Doberim fom breithir co racha me sis do bualadh énduirn fur do gin gnusgorm, grainemail'. Docuaidh

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1) Haplography in MS.
2) MS. .7.
3) MS. repeats *da roibi Bibus isin prisun.*
4) MS. very indistinct.
5) MS. .7.
6) Numeral indistinct in the MS.

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in ridiri co rechtmur, roarrachta isin prisun, 7 iar rochtain co Bibus dó, doben Bibus a cloidem asa durn dia aimdeoin, 7 robuail do dhorn ina muinel, 7 ba marb é. Rofiarfaigh in ridiri ele: 'Cinnus edrud 7 an cristaidhi?' ar-se. Adubairt Bibus: 'Ata se com cirrbadh co mor, uair is treisi é na me'. Docuaidh indara ridiri san prisun d'furtacht a companaigh, 7 dobuail Bibus do cloidem e co nderna da ordain de. Dorinde Bibus irnaighthi 7 adhmoladh cum Dia arson na mórmirbuili sin, 7 tug se bogbertugudh air a medhon a iarnaigh, 7 dothoitedur na geimlecha co grodurrlum de ar gach tæbh, 7 roeirigh ina shesum ar lar in prisun, 7 roglac in rop rodaingen 7 in cadhla cruaidhrigin cnaibi le tangadur na ridiri isin prisun 7 roimig leis suas ar urlar in halla. 7 Dofuair in dorus obela, osgailt, 7 tapur ar lasadh do gach tæbh de a medon aidhci do t-shinnrud, 7 sluaigh in dunadh uili ina colludh. 7 Docuaidh Bibus asa stabla na n-ech, 7 romarb se na tri fichit[1]) gilla robúi a coiméd na n-ech d'ænbuilli le sail lethain, lanmoir robui fo chosuibh na himdh*aidh*, 7 rogab a rogha don echraidh. 7 Docuir eideth daingin, dobrisdi uime, 7 docuaidh for an sdét, 7 roimigh roime co dorus na cathrach, 7 roiar oslugud roime, 7 adubairt gur eláidh in cristaidhi robui secht[2]) mbliadnaib accu a laim. 'Is truag sin', ar an doirr*seoir*, [357 a] '7 lenaidh co luath [e]', 7 dolig sé Bibus amach in tan-sin, uair ba doigh leis co rabudur sluaigh na cathrach uili ina diaigh; 7 is mur sin roimig Bibus gan cronug[3]) asin cathraigh. Dala sluaigh na cathrach, nír cían d'aidhci gur airighedur Bibus ar n-elod, 7 a lucht coimeda arna marbadh; 7 dogabudar a n-eich, 7 dolenudur é, 7 dorugadur air ar maidin. Robui ridiri uasal do muindtir rígh na Damaisci ar tus in t-sluaigh, 7 ech roluath fai, 7 Grainndel[4]) ainm in ridiri-sin; 7 tug Grainnder a comtrom fein d'ór aran ech-sin, 7 Treinnsiuis ainm in eich. 7 Doruc sé le luas a eich ar Bibus, 7 adubairt co tiurad bas dó. Roimpa Bibus, 7 docomruic ris co neimnech, naimdemail, nemcarthanach, 7 tug Bibus sathudh sleghi an[5]) Grainnder 7 docuir tri na corp gan comruind hí, 7 ba marb Grainnder de-sin. 7 Dogab Bibus a ech .i. Treinsiuis, 7 docuaidh uirre asa haithli. 7 Dorug ri na Damaisci cona sluaghaibh ar

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1) MS. *.xx.*
2) MS. .7.
3) l. *cronugudh*?
4) l. *Grainnder*.
5) l. *ar*.

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Bibus fon am-sin, 7 domarbh dronga diairme 7 drechta dermala dib. Is ann-sin roiadar sluaigh na Damaisci ina urtimcill, 7 dogabudur aga ledairt 7 aga lanmarbadh. 7 Le furtacht Dia roleim Bibus[1]) a ech[2]) tar aill móradbuil mara, 7 robúi sruth ruadh roburta 7 cuan cainntech, cruadanfaidh don tæbh araill don carraic, 7 nír éidir le bethadhach isin cruinne a snam. 7 Doleim ech Bibuis isin mbrainde mborbruadh co bithurrlum 7 dosnam si in cuan co ceimdirech, 7 dochuaidsi tar an sruth co seitreach, sircalma. Ceithri huaire fichet[3]) robui Bibus cona ech ag dul tar an muir-sin, 7 iar ndul a tír do Bibus dothoit se da each le hanmainde a b*ruinn*e 7 le mét a gorta. 7 Doguidh sé Dia co dichra, duthrachtach dia comfurtacht on gorta-sin, 7 domol se co hadbul in t-athair nemdha, 7 tain- [357b] icc nert nua do les-sin. 7 Dogab a ech aris, 7 dochuaidh uirre, 7 dogluais roime in conuir co ceimdirech, 7 docunnuicc [cathraigh][4]) uadha, 7 docuaidh da hinnsaigi, 7 ar rochtain doruis na cathrach do docunnuicc in righan rathmur, rouasul ar barr in tuir os cinn doruis na cathrach, 7 robennaigh Bibus di, 7 roiar biadh uirre anoir[5]) an Athar Neamda. Adubairt in righan: 'Tarra astegh', ar-si, '7 dogebuir do lordæthain bidh 7 digi'. Docuaidh Bibus astegh iar-sin, 7 dotuirrling Bibus isin halla riga,[6]) 7 dosuidh ar bord, 7 docuiredh biadh ina fiadhnuse. 7 Nír cian dó mur-sin co facaidh in fomoir feramail, fírgranna 7 in t-athach tarrlethan, tromnertmur ina dochum, 7 rofech se fur Bibus, 7 docunnaic a ech[7]) Grainnder. 7 Adubairt co níata, naimdemail: 'Is i so Treinnsiuis, .i. ech Grainnder mo derbrathar, 7 a treturaigh', ar-sé, 'is é a goid dorinnis'. Adubairt Bibus: 'Ní hé a goid dorinis', ar-sé, '7 gideth romarbus inté aga roibhi si, 7 dobenus in t-ech ar ecin de'. Iarna clos-sin don athach tuc se buille bithnertmur do glædhe greannmur, guasachta cum Bibuis, 7 rocrom Bibus fon mbord, 7 dolig an buille tairiss. 7 Dogerr an fodhmoir fedh laime læic don bord os cinn Bibuís. Dobidg Bibus on bord leis-sin, 7 dorith sé cum an athaich, 7 doben an

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[1]) *b.* in margin of MS.

[2]) l. *asa ech*, as in earlier instances?

[3]) MS. *.xx.*

[4]) Indistinctly written above the line.

[5]) l. *a n-anoir.*

[6]) l. *rigdha.*

[7]) l. *each*?

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glædhe da ain*n*deoin de, 7 dobuail builli aran athach de con derna da ordain da corp. Doheigedh isin cathraigh leis-sin, 7 docuaidh Bibus fura sded 7 dorugadur lucht na cathrach air, 7 domarbh se dronga dibh, 7 roimig roime dia n-aimdeoin. Dala Bibuis iarum, robúi se ag sírsiubhal in domun soir roime no co rainicc se san India a cenn patriarcca in t-srotha .i. in trias [358 a] rí do rightib na hIndia, 7 is e is papa acu. 7 Roan Bibus bliadhain na oglac aigi, 7 ni tarrla ris an bliadhain sin comrac curad na cathmiled, athaigh na baibhe, leomain na lipairt, draguin na uilpiasta n*eme* archena nar thuit leis re fedh na bliadhna-sin, 7 dob imdha athnudh 7 edail tuc se do patriarca risin re-sin. Adubairt Bibus co fuicfedh se an India, 7 co mbedh se sel ele ac siubal an domun siar gach ndirech. Adubairt patriarca: 'Na himigh', ar-se, '7 dober-sa righacht duit 7 do rogha mna sa tal*main*-so, 7 an agum'. Dorindi Bibuis a faisidi re papa na hIndia, 7 roinnis do co roibi ingen do righ paganta a cert aigi. Adubairt patriarca ma bí, nar dilus do-san ben ele do beth aigi, minar-truaill si a hóghacht le paganach; 7 ma rindi, nar coir do-san a beth aigi. Imtusa Bibuis iarum roceileabuir se do patriarca, 7 dogluais roime siar gach ndirech, 7 nir an co rainic Rodus; 7 robui bliadhain ele a fochair priora Roduis, 7 is adhbul a met dothoit leis an bliadhain-sin do paganachaib in bliadhain-sin, 7 is mor d'Eirristinibh 7 d'Iubulaib torcair leis an bliadhain sin, 7 dob imda athnudh édala tuc sé don prioir in bliadhain-sin. 7 Dothairg in prioir tigerntus mor do, 7 anmuin aigi, 7 rodiult Bibus sin, 7 dorinde faiside risin prioir, 7 roinnis do ingen do ri paganta do beth a cert aigi, 7 dob inann[1]) fregra tuc an prioir fair 7 patriarca. 7 Roimigh Bibus roime as sin, 7 dorug se gell gaisgid gacha tiri 7 gacha talman dar-imig sé don doman an da bliadhan-sin.

9. Dala Sisian, ingine Ermin, anuair far-cuiredh Bibus le litreachaibh cum rí na Damaisce rob fada le robúi ina fegmuis, 7 docuaidh si mur a roibhi a hathair 7 rofiarfaigh [358 b] de ca roibi Bibus. Adubairt Ermin: 'Truagh sin, a righan', ar-sé, 'uair rocuir sa Saxan techta ara cenn, 7 dothabaigh se a tigerntus aran imperi dó; 7 tuc se a ingen mur mnai do Bibus, 7 ata sé anois ina iarla a Saxanaibh. 7 Fós ní hintæbha na

[1]) *inann* corrected in the MS. from *ingin*?



daine coimhigche, uair is triall cum an inaidh fein donid fadeoigh. 7 Dothairges-sa moran tigerntuis dó do cinn anmuna agum, 7 dodiult dam, 7 roimigh roime'. Dala Sisian immorro, robui si co bronach do cumaidh Bibuis, 7 gidh fos nír creid sí radha a hathar, uair fa doigh le nach dingnadh Bibus breg re. 7 Nir cian iar-sin gur cuir Ybor .i. ri na Damaisci techta d'iarraidh ingine Ermin do banceile. Docuaidh Ermin mur a roibhi an ingen, 7 roinnis di co tangadur techta da hiarraidh do ri na Damaisci; '7 dober-sa do tú', ar-se. Adubairt Sisian: 'A athar', ar-si, 'doden-sa do thoil-si'. [I]ar-sin [1]) docuir Ermin le techtaibh Yboir techt arcend na rigna fo cenn becain aimsiri. Iarna clossin do t-[S]isian,[2]) dorindi si cris alainn orsnaith 7 do sida somaisech, 7 docuir si annsa cris co glicc, gæsmur leisin glicus nGregach nach fedfaidis fir in talm*an* a buain asa hoghacht in cein do beth in cris tairsdi. 7 Docuir don tæbh astigh da hedach e uimpi. Tanicc Ybor iarum coic [3]) mili dec do sluaghaibh dia tabairt, 7 tugudh do hi, 7 dorinnedh a mbanais, 7 tucadh ech 7 cloidhem Bibus dó le .i. Morglae 7 Airinnel a n-anmanna. *Et* docuir Ybor in cloidhem tairis, 7 docuaid aran ech, 7 o ro aithin Airinndel narb e Bibus robui fuirre, dorith si co hainmin, anacarrach, 7 rofuadhaig é le binle [4]) 7 le borrfadh tre glendtaibh doimne, dua, [359 a] duaibsecha 7 tre cnocсuibh corra, cenncæla 7 tre ailltibh arda, agarba, 7 is uaill nar marbh si é. 7 Docuiredh in t-ech iar-sin a soiler chaisléin, 7 laitisi iarnaidhi ina timcell, 7 nír lam æñduine a glacud o sin amach no co tainicc Bibus iar cein moir.

10. Dala Bibuis o Hamtuir, iar fágbail Roduis dó nír sguir co rainic cricha na Meirme[d]oine moire a crichaibh glanaille, gormtsrothacha na Gréige. 7 Tarrla nech fris aran conuir, 7 rofiarfaigh Bibus scela na criche-sin, 7 co sunnradach scela Sisian. Adubairt an t-oglach: 'Ata sidh 7 saime 7 socracht isin crich-so', ar-sé, '7 ata Sisian ina mnai ag righ na Memroine re noi [5]) mbliadhnaibh. Is brónach rogab Bibus na scela-sin cuigi,

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1) MS. *arsin*. Perhaps due to repetition of *arsi* by the scribe.
2) No space for *s* in the MS.
3) MS. .*u*.
4) l. *binbe*?
5) MS. .9.

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7 nir scuir iarum co rainic[1]) cricha na Memrointi ar comghar cathrach Yboir, 7 tarrla oilirtech ris ar fagbail na cathrach, 7 rofiarfaigh scela de. Adubairt in t-oilirtech: 'Is annsa cathraigh ud ata an ænben is ferr isin cruinne co comcoitcenn .i. Sisian, ingen righ na Meirmeoine,[2]) b*en* Yboir ri na Memroine, oir fir in domhun do dul sa medhon lae cuici, doberudh biad 7 edach, or 7 airgid doibh. 7 Is é ní adeir si re cois gach derci dib-sin: 'Bith sin aguibh a n-anoir Dia 7 ar anmain Bibuis o Hamtuir'; 7 ní tucenn ænduine in briathar-sin uaithi'. Adubairt Bibus: 'A oilirthigh, ar-se, 'tabur iasacht na deisi boichte-sin agud dam-sa', ar-se, '7 cunnaim mo deisi ridiri agud no co ticer tar m'ais'. Adubairt an t-oilirtech nach tiubrad; adubairt Bibus: 'Tabur do dheisi bocht dam', ar-sé, '7 dober mo deisi ridiri duit [359 b] da cinn'. Doronsad amlaidh. 7 Docuir Bibus edach an oilirthigh uime, 7 docuaidh roime co dorus na cathrach, 7 docunnaicc an righan ro-alainn, 7 a cenn amach tar fuindeoigh in tuir. 7 Is*ed* adubairt do guth geranach: 'A Bibuis', ar-si, 'is truagh lium a fhad atái, 7 tairnicc buadha mo cresa, 7 is ecin dam toil Yboir do denum budhdesta'. Is ann-sin robennaigh Bibus di, 7 rofreagair si é 7 rofhiarfaigh de ca roibh se. Adubairt Bibus: 'Dobadhus ag siubhal in domuin', ar-sé. Rofhiarfaigh in righan de in facaidh se énfocal do scelaibh Bibuis o Hamtuir an ænniad dar-gab sé. Adubairt Bibus: 'Docunnac-sa é, 7 ni fuil acht teora aidhchi o shin e'; 7 roiar Bibus derc foran rigain, 7 adubairt Sisian: 'Tarra astegh', ar-sí, '7 dogebur derc, 7 beir ad prioir ar bochtaibh na cathrach-so aniugh'. Tanicc Bibus astegh, 7 tainicc Sisian na comdhail, 7 dorug le é coruige in soiler a roibhi Airindel, 7 dorinde sí sitir aga faicsin iar n-aithne di, 7 robúi sí ag lighi[3]) a laime. D'fosguil Bibus na laitisi, 7 tanicc in t-ech amach, 7 dorith si ar fúd na cathrach. Adubairt Sisian: 'Truagh sin', ar-si, 'uair ni bertar aran ech úd co brach aris'. Dogair Bibus in t-ech cuigi, 7 tanicc co grod, 7 robúi si aga ligi, 7 docuir astegh aris hí, 7 rofhech in righan air,[4]) 7 dothoguibh sí in t-at pill da cend, 7 roaithin é ge robúi esbaidh na malach clé fair o cunnuic si roime e. Doraidh in

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[1]) *co rainic* repeated in MS.
[2]) l. *Mermedoine.*
[3]) MS. *luigi* with *u* expunged.
[4]) The MS. has *oir* written in above the line, apparently between 7 and *dothoguibh.*

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righan: 'Is tu-sa fein Bibus', ar-si. 'Is mé co derbh', ar-sé, 7 roinnis firinde gach énní di. 7 Adubairt Sisian: 'A Bibuis', ar-sí, 'imigh amach asin cathraigh, 7 tarra a cenn an righ sa medon lae, 7 indis dó co robuis annsa Baibiloin 7 gur gabud in tír-sin uili acht cathair [360 a] na Baibiloine amain, 7 co fuilid imud sluaigh ina timcill. 7 Abuir gurub é rí na Baibiloine[1]) docuir arcenn Iboiri thú dia furtacht on ecin-sin, uair is derbrathair d'Ybor e; 7 rachaidh se da furtacht, 7 fuicfidh se an cathair-si co huaingech 7 is mur sin dogebum-ne faill cum imtechta'. Docuaidh Bibus asin cathraigh iarum, 7 tainic sa medon læ innti, 7 docuaidh a fiadhnuise in righ, 7 roinnis do gur gabudh in Baibiloin acht an cathair mor amain, 7 'tanacc-sa co hincleith ar do cenn-sa do cumnad do d[er]brathair'. Docreid in ri sin, 7 docuir tinol ara muindtir co hænlathair, 7 rofhagaib coimét a cathrach ag ridiri uasal dia muindtir, 7 roimigh fein roime cona sluaghaib. Doraidh Sisian: 'A Bibuis', ar-si, 'is amhghar atamaid anosa, uair ata cloch buadha acan ridiri ud dofagudh a coimét na cathrach, 7 ni fuil ni danentur[2]) isin cathraigh-so nach foillsigenn si do'. Dorinde Sisian deoch cumachtach leisin nglicus nG*re*gach, 7 docuir si techta arcenn in ridiri, 7 tanicc co prap, 7 tuc in deoch shuain dó, 7 dochoduil se asa haithli, 7 nír fheidir a dusacht co cenn ceithri n-uaire fichet.[3]) Conidh amlaidh-sin fuair Sisian uainges imthechta.

11. Dala Bibuis iarum, docuir-se Sisian ar culaibh Bonafais .i. a seombradoir fein o ba lenub hi co ham na huaire-sin, 7 docuaidh fein ar Airinndel, 7 dogluaisidur rompo asin cathraigh gan airiugudh mur sin. Dala Yboir .i. ri na Memroine, nír cian ag siubal na conuire é in tan tarrla oilirthech ris, 7 fochtuis scela de ca roibh se. Adubairt in t-oilirtech: 'Dobadhus isin Baibiloin', ar-se. 'Scela in tiri-sin agud', ar an righ. 'Is maith a scela', ar-se, 'uair [360 b] ata sidh 7 saimhe 7 socracht isin tir ud, 7 is tren ar gach tal*main*, 7 ni tren ental*am* uirre'. 'Is fir sin', ar an ri, '7 is derb lium curob é Bibus o Hamtuir siud tanicc a richt oilirthigh dar melludh, 7 dom dóigh doruc se in righan leis, 7 impuide duinn a fritheing na conuire cetna'; 7

[1]) MS. *babaibiloine*.
[2]) l. *da n-dentur*.
[3]) MS. *.xx.*



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ní fuaradur in rigan na Bonafas isin cathraigh. 7 Dolenadar ara lorg iad, 7 dorugadur orra, 7 roimpa Bibus riu, 7 roma[r]bh drechta dermala 7 dronga diairmigi dibh, 7 tarrla glend domhuin, duaibsech riu, 7 enslighi cumang coille a dul ann. Roimpa in ri cona muindtir uadha fon am-sin d'egla a muindtir do marbadh do Bibus a cumgach an glenna, 7 dothuirrling Bibus ar lar an glenna. 7 Adubairt Sisian: 'A Bibuis', ar-si, 'fagh bíad duind, uair rolín gorta sinn'. Adubairt Bibus, 'A righan', ar-se, 'ni gar duind biadh d'faghail annsa fasach-so, uair is fada daine 7 cathracha buain'. Adubairt Sisian: 'Docualusa', ar-si, 'co fagaid na ridiri croda biadh arna fasaighib le febus a lamaigh'.[1]) Rofagaibh Bibus Sisian 7 Bonafas ann-sin, 7 docuaidh fein d'iarraidh amanntuir urcuir, 7 tarrla damh osgardha allta fris, 7 tug roga n-urchair do 7[2]) docuir fedh laime læich don t-sleigh trena corp, 7 ba marb e, 7 tuc cethrama leis de cum Sisian. Dala righ na Memrointi dobadur da leoman límfhiaclacha ar bethugudh aigi, 7 ní gabadh nert sluaigh na sochraiti riu, 7 dolig se ar lorg Bibuis iat, 7 tangadur na leoghain mur a roibhi Sisian, 7 roeirigh Bonufas, 7 docomruig riu, 7 romarbhudur na leoghain é, 7 aduatar é féin 7 a ech. Tanicc Bibus iar-sin co lathair, 7 rofhuagair Sisian do o bí in t-ech luath aigi teithedh roim na leoganaibh; 7 ní mur sin dorinde Bibus, acht techt co lathair. 7 Dobadur na leoghain ag ligi chos [361 a] na righna; 7 dorith leoman dibh a coinne Bibuis, 7 docunnaibh Sisian an leoman ele ar cois tosaigh, 7 roan aici gan t-sæthar. Agus romarb Bibus an leoman docomrac ris dibh, 7 rofuagair do[3]) Sisian an leoman ele[4]) amach cuigi, 7 roiar Sisian cumairci don leoman robúi aici, 7 robagair Bibus fuirri, 7 adubairt gurb ecin di a ligen amach uaithi. 7 Dolig si in leoman cum Bibuis, 7 domarbh Bibus indara leoman, 7 dothuirrling asa haithle, 7 dorinde teine, 7 doberbh feoil fiadha, 7 tug a lordæthain feola 7 firuisci don righain. 7 Docuaidh ara ech iar-sin, 7 rofhagaibh in glenn, 7 robui drumann slebhi aird, adfhuair aga imtecht aigi. 7 Nir cian dó co facaidh ina diaigh in fomoir ficha, foirniata, firgrana, 7 in t-atach ainmín, anaccarrach, 7 bile bunnremur, barrlethan, re gualaind; 7 nir luaithi damh allta roim conairt

[1]) *a la* of *a lamaigh* in the margin.
[2]) MS. repeats 7.
[3]) MS. *dho*.
[4]) l. *do ligen amach*?

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na san rit dian, dasachtach, dorindi in fodhmoir andiaigh Bibuis. Dofech Sisian tara hais, 7 docunnaic si in t-athach ag techt isin toraigecht-sin. Doraidh Sisian: 'A Bibuis', ar-si, 'docim-si trenfer righ na Mermeointi ad docum, 7 is aithnid dam-sa é, 7 ni hincomrac sluaigh na sochraiti ris re mét a nirt 7 re febus a laime. Adubairt Bibus rei-si: 'Tuirrling'; 7 dorin[1]) co prap, 7 docuir Bibus in t-ech a coinne an athaigh, 7 tug an fomoir builli borb, bithnertmur cum Bibuis, 7 dosechain Bibus in builli, 7 docuaidh se fon mbile cum an fathaigh, 7 roiadh a da laim uime, 7 tuc cor furtill dó, 7 dotrasgair e. 7 Docengail Bibus in t-athach co fírdaingen, 7 anuair dob ail leis a cenn do buain de roiar Sisian a anum don fomoir 7 e fein do beth na oglach aigi o sin amach re fedh a betha; 7 tuc Bibus a anum do mur si[n]. Roimgedur rompo [361 b] na triur, 7 dorangadur coruigi in muir, 7 ní roibi long acu. 7 Docunncadur longa uadha furan muir, 7 doglædh Esgobard orra ag iarraidh luinge, 7 nir freagradur é. 7 Roimigh in fomoir co firrachta[2]) in muir, 7 roiadh a da laim fan luing roba nesa dó, 7 dosailedur in foirenn curob astegh isin luing rob ail leis techt, 7 ni hedh dorone acht an long d'impodh druim tarais, 7 a roibi innti do muchadh [a med]ain[3]) in aigein, 7 an long do tabairt cum Bibuis. Docuadur isin luing iarum, 7 dogabhudur ag siubal na senfairrgi co sanntach, 7 dogabudur cuan cluthar, comdaingen a Coilín a crichuibh Saxan. 7 Dobi derbhbrathair athar Bibuis ina espoc isin cathraigh-sin. 7 Tanic in t-espoc a comdail Bibuis, 7 dorindi anoir 7 urgairdiug[udh] dó. Rofiarfaigh Bibus in roibi gleo cocaid na cennairci a crichaib Saxan in inbaidh-sin. Adubairt in t-espoc: 'Ata guasacht 7 gabudh adbulmor isin tir-si anois', ar-sé, '.i. da diuice dimsecha dobí san Almain, 7 dobadur tricha[4]) bliadhan a cogadh re ceile, 7 dothoitedur a sluaigh 7 a sochraiti eturra ar gach tæbh frisin re-sin. 7 Dorinnedur fasaigi doimne, doeoluis da tirthaibh 7 da talm*anaibh* uili [7 nir] fed in t-imper na'n papa reitech eturra. 7 Docuadur fein iarum fadeoig do comruc re ceile, 7 dodhelbh Dia aræn iat le himud a peccad a rechtaib da dragun duaibsecha, diablaidhi, 7 roeirgedur a n-airdi os nellaibh 7 dothoirrling dragun dibh astigh isin Roim. 7 Dogabh

[1]) l. *dorinne?*
[2]) l. *firarrachta.*
[3]) Bracketed letters indistinct in the MS.
[4]) MS. *.xxx.*

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ag marbadh na Romanach 7 ac fasugudh na cathrach. 7 Doguidh in papa cona cleircibh in t-Athar Neamdha d'fur[t]acht doibh on guasacht-sin, 7 dorindi Día sin doibh .i. roanmaindigh Día an dragun, 7 docleangladar[1]) na Rómhanuigh he, 7 dochuireadar [362 a] a soiler caislein fa dhroichead na Róma he, 7 ata se ceangailti ann-sin. 7 Dotuirling in dragún eli dibh isin tir-se, 7 ní fuil se acht secht mile as so, 7 rofhasaigh se morán don crich-so, 7 domarb ilimud da ndáinibh 7 da cethraibh, 7 ata a uamun oruinde co n[d]ingna sé fasach do crichuibh Saxan uile. Nir cían iar-sin co fuair Bibus uainges on espoc, 7 roimigh co hincleith asin cathraigh, 7 in fomoir maræn, 7 docuadur coruigi in furais ina roibi in dragun, 7 docualadur sgrech uathmur 7 beicedhach agarb on dragun. 7 Adubairt Asgobard: 'Ar maithus na cruinne co comcoitcenn nach anfad fein risin péist naimdemhail, nemcartanaigh-sin', 7 doteith an t-athach asin furais, 7 rofagaibh Bibus ina ænar. Dala Sir Bibuis iarum, nír cían dó co facaid cuigi in dragun duaibsech, dodelba, 7 dolig Bibus spuir co spraicemail isin sdét ina comdhail, 7 tug sathadh sanntach sleigi isin dragun, 7 nir derg air. 7 Docuir an dragun tonn do sgethraigi uaine fo suilibh Bibuis, 7 nir fhagaib sin nert mná seola and. Dochuaidh in uilpeist tairis don t-sracudh-sin, 7 docuaidh[2]) isin tibra bui re thæbh, uair ba rogha leis a bathud tara slugudh don dragun; 7 ar ndul fon tibra dó tanic a nert fein do co furtill, firarrachta. 7 Roeirig aris a comhdail na peiste, 7 tugh sathudh sleigi innti, 7 nir derg uirri. 7 Docuir in dragun indara tonn uime, 7 nir fagaibh nert naidhen ann, 7 docuaidh aris fan tibra cetna, 7 ba hoghlan é ag ergi eiste. Teora fecht do mur sin ag dul fon tibra iar mbualadh na sgeithi uaine, 7 ba hoghlan e ag ergi. 7 An cethrama[3]) tonn robuailsi air, and*ath*, geal ro- [362 b] bui, 7 nir loigidi e sin ar traethadh nemi na huilpiasta, 7 tug Bibus sathudh sleigi uirrthe, 7 docuir an t-sleig trithi, 7 do dicennudh[4]) i iarum, 7 doben a cenn di. Dala Asgobard, docuaidh se roime co Coilin, 7 roinnis don espoc gur marbadh Sir Bibus leisin dragun. 7 Docuaidh in t-espoc 7 sluaig na cathrach a proseisiam a cenn cuirp Sir Bibuis; 7

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[1]) l. *doceangladar*.

[2]) MS. *dobcuaidh*, with *b* expunged.

[3]) l. *cethramadh*.

[4]) A verb of motion may be omitted here, — 'he went, dismounted, to behead it'.

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dobenud cluig na cathrach co comcoitcenn mur anoir do Bibus, 7 ní clos ænní isin cathraigh acht ængair clog 7 comhurc 7 caismirti. 7 Is ann docunncadur Bibus ina comdail, 7 cenn in dragun ara sleigh aigi, 7 in t-sleg re gualainn, 7 é fein a nglaic dilaiti a steit. 7 Doligedur na sluaigh gartha luthaire ar faiccsin Bibuis, 7 domoladar co mor in gnim gaiscidh-sin, 7 dochuadur le céile annsa cathraigh, 7 robúi Bibus fa anoir indti. Conidh e comrucc Bibuis risin dragun-sin.

12. Dala Bibus iarum, roimig roime sa Fraingc, 7 robúi sel innti, 7 rofagaibh Sisian a cathraigh daingin, 7 Asgobard da cæmna 7 da coimét. 7 Docuaidh Bibus docunnadh do Sir Bir[1]) .i. a oidi 7 derbrathair a athar a crichaibh Saxan. 7 Nír cian do Shisia[n] iar n-imthecht do Bibus co tainic iarla saidhbur, sarnertmur dar comainm Miliss iarla da hiarraidh do bancheile iar tabairt grachra[2]) di; 7 roguidh hi 7 rodiult sisi do. Adubairt iarla Milis co mbeth si d'ais no d'ecin aigi. Adubairt Sisian nach bét, 7 co roibh é a díl coimhéta uirrthe; 7 rofiarfaigh in t-iarla cred in coimét robui fuirrthe. Adubairt in righan ba he Asgobard. Nir cian iarsin co tarrla in fodhmoir don iarla, 7 tuc litir na laim, 7 adubairt gurb e Bibus docuir an sgribenn cuigi da breith anns oilen, 7 dobí teora mili on cathraigh fur muir. Docuaid in fomoir furan oilen, 7 iarla Milis dia innlucud, 7 robui caslen daingen isin oilen, 7 docuir an t-iarla [*End of* 362 b] — [363 a *a line and a half unreadable*][3]) tarais isin cathraigh cetna, 7 roinnis do t-Sisian co roibhi in t-athach [... ina] carcair coimeta. 7 Adubairt in t-iarla: '[A Sh]isian', ar-se, 'is ecin duit mo thoil-si do denum festa'. Adubairt Sisian: 'Is tu-sa mo rogha-sa d'feruibh in talm*an* da fagaind po[s]ta tu; 7 ni bia fer nemposta agum dom deoin co brach'. Adubairt in t-iarla co posfad se iar marach hi. 7 A mucha na maidni do pos in t-iarla in rigain, 7 dorig [ ] 7 [...] haidhci iarum luigi leisin rigain. Adubairt in rigan: 'A iarla Milis', ar-si, 'in ceird-sin dob ail let-sa do denum ni haithnit dam-sa re co ro-so, 7 guidim tu-s[a] gan enduine do ligen a n-entigh rind anocht'. Doraidh

[1]) l. *Sir Sabir.*

[2]) I do not understand *grachra*. Should it be corrected into *grá*[*id dí*]*chra*?

[3]) A considerable portion of this last page is almost unreadable in the MS.


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[in t-]iarla nach licfedh, 7 docuir a roibhi astigh amach, 7 dodun an dorus, 7 robui fein ag buain a eduigh de. Ro eirigh Sisian ina [sesum], 7 roglacc corda cruaidhrighin cnaibi, 7 docuir snaidh[m] retha fair, 7 docuir durchar[1] (?) fo cenn iarla [Milis]; 7 robui sail arrachta tarrsna os cinn urlair in t-seomra, 7 do[2]) Sisian in corda tar [in sai]l, 7 tuc tarraing [air rena braigid], 7 dobuail cul a cind [don sai]l-sin co furtill, firarrachta, 7 rothacht [e] am|laidh]-sin. 7 Dolig toitim do, iar sgarad a anma fris, 7 do coduil fein asa haithli. Dala muindtiri iarla Milis ar ma[idin] iarna marach, robadur ag aines 7 ag urgairdiugudh foran iarla mur ba gnath le lanmain oig. Adubairt fer dib gurob maith do-[th]aitin[3]) miniugudh na maigdin[e] risin iarla. 7 Adubairt fer ele gur coir [c... isi][4]) 7 cocairecht do cur da denum don iarla na b[eth] na coll[adh] in tan-sin tareis a fuair se do t-shæthar na haidhchi. Adubairt in [363 b] rigan: '...',[5]) ar-si, 'ni iarfaigh-se cocairecht oraib, uair is marb e ... [d]igail m'esanora-sa, 7 [doberim do m'breithir] curob ferr [lium bás] d'faghail na beth mur [mnai don] iarla'. Doligedur a muindter ... [7 eidme] ar ... [ca]ined a tigerna, 7 tangadur [sluaigh na cathrach] uili co lathair. 7 Dogabadh in rigain leo, 7 dofagadur ar ceide na [cathrach] hi, 7 dorindedur [teine tre]athan-ruadh, tromlasrac di ... dia losc[ud]; 7 roiar si mur athcuinge forra sacar[d do] ligen [a]ici co ligedh a coibhse[na ... 7] tu[c]adh sin di. Is ann-sin [...]ic in fo[gh]moir .i. Asbogard,[6]) 7 e [... mur a roibi] a laim, in te[ine duaibhsech], taithnemach [ar] faidhci in dunadh, 7 rosmuain ina menmain coroibhi ecoir, andligaidh aga denum furan righain. 7 Dogab [buile] borbdasacht [e], 7 robris glais 7 geibhinn 7 cumdaigi cloc 7 claraigh in caislein, 7 docuaidh amach, 7 docuir a adhaigh [for] tuind treathanruaidh, 7 dogab ag snamh co sanntach, sircalma. 7 Docunnuicc an loingin ar lar na linne, 7 iasguire na deredh ag marbadh [eisc], 7 do[cuaidh in] fogmoir astegh isin luing, 7 ni rairigh in t-iascuire ænni noco facaidh se in duil dodhelbha 7 a [...] agarbh, aniarmartach ag ergi [asin muir] moranfaidh, 7 e ag te[cht] asteg ... isin

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1) Reading and translation both uncertain. The word may be *duschar*.
2) Verb omitted.
3) MS. indistinct.
4) The word looks like *cailisi* or *cuilisi*.
5) Nearly a line is unreadable.
6) l. *Asgobard*.

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luing;[1]) 7 rogab ua[man ... in t-ias]guire, uair roshail se gur ... [if]firnn [e]. Do lei[m ... ro]baidhedh e. Dala Esgobard iar-sin, rogab se ag inrudh na luingi [le lamaibh ... ibh], 7 rogab cuan, 7 do[rith] roime cum na cathrach.

The Life of Bevis of Hampton.

1. [p. 273] There was a very rich and charitable earl in England whose name was Sir Guy of Hampton, and he passed two thirds of his time and of his life in warfare and in constant strife; and he had no wife at that time. And his friends counselled him to take to wife the daughter of the King of Scotland. And it was thus with that maiden: she felt strong, passionate love for the son of the German Emperor, Para by name, and he felt the same toward her. Howbeit, it was the plan of the King of Scotland to give her to the Earl of Hampton for fear of his might and his vengeance, because there was nothing but the stream of Berwick (?)[2]) between them, and it was possible for the earl of Hampton to help him or harm him. The Earl of Hampton took the daughter of the King of Scotland, and celebrated his wedding then, and carried her with him to his own city. And it was not long before she was with child, and gave birth to a fair, gentle son, and Bevis was given him for a name, and he was committed for his education to Sir Saber, a brave knight who was the earl's own brother.

2. One day this hard-spirited countess was bathing in her chamber, and she saw her own form, and said: 'It is a pity', said she, 'to have for my husband an old man, scarred and wounded, who has spent the best part of his life and his time, and my beloved companion and first love of all the men in the world, [p. 274] the young German Emperor, to be still without a wife because of his love and longing for me; and if I can', said she, 'I will soon grant him his wish and his long desire'. The princess summoned a squire of her retinue, and took from him an oath to keep her secret,[3]) and made her confession to him, and promised him every gift if he would go with a message from her to the emperor and tell him to have a thousand chosen knights of his great retinue in the hunting forest of the Earl of Hampton on the second day of summer. As for the squire he proceeded after that to the city of the emperor, and found the

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[1]) *isinlu* written twice in the MS.

[2]) Not mentioned in any other version I have seen. It appears to be 'Berwick' which is the name of a border shire and town, but not of a river.

[3]) Or perhaps, 'took secret oaths of him'.


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emperor, and told him secretly his message and commission. And the emperor was joyful at this news; he promised to do what had been told him, and said that he would make the squire a knight at once. The squire returned to the daughter of the King of Scotland. And her spirits were good at that news, and she continued thus until the beginning of summer; and at that time she pretended that a perilous disease had attacked her, and said that she was in danger of death. The earl asked what had befallen her, or whether there was any help for her. The wicked, false, malicious woman said: 'There is help for me, if it pleases thee', said she; 'namely, to bring me my fill of the flesh of a young wild boar which thou wouldst kill in the forest by the shore', said she. 'Thou shalt have it', said the earl, 'for I will go to-morrow with my retinue to capture that boar for thee'. 'Take no man with thee', said she, 'but thy dog-boy and thy sword-bearer, for thou hast no fear of anything by sea or land, and thy hosts would raise great cries of the chase, and the wild creatures of the forest would break the strong palisades of wood that are around them, and the forest would be left without game'. As for the Earl of Hampton, the next morning he went into the forest, and a small company along with him, and they let loose the dog and followed after it. And the earl rode forward on the path, and noticed nothing until he saw the emperor approaching, after having first closed around him with a bold, brave, irresistible troop; and they discharged an angry, venomous storm of weapons upon him at once. The earl took a quick, warlike, bold grip upon his sword, and dealt the emperor's troop violent blows, so that a hundred brave knights fell before him in the first onslaught. Thereupon he went where he saw the emperor, and he gave him a bold blow so that he knocked him from the saddle, and then he bent over him [p. 275] to kill him and lacerate him.[1]) The Germans went between them bravely, and bore the emperor off from that tumult, and put him upon a famous, high-leaping horse. And they closed around the earl and killed his steed; and the earl was on his feet, and brave, fierce and valiant was his fight, and bloody the discomfiture he brought upon the emperor's force. Then the emperor said: 'Earl of Hampton', said he, 'give thyself up now, and thou shalt receive thy life'. The earl said: 'If leave were given me to depart, and to take my wife and my son with me, I would yield myself up to thee'. And the emperor promised him this; and after that he asked the earl for his sword, and the earl gave it to him. And when the sword reached the hand of the wicked, pitiless emperor, he gave the earl a destructive, deadly blow, so that he parted his head from his body; and he sent a messenger

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[1]) I take this to be *hysteron proteron*, and not to refer to mutilation after death.

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with the head to the daughter of the king of Scotland as a token of love, and she rejoiced to see her husband's head like that. Bevis of Hampton said, and he at the end of his third year: 'O wicked, unhappy harlot', said he, 'it is a piteous deed thou hast done, to kill the best earl in Christendom, and that will turn out ill for thee yet'. The lady[1]) was angry and enraged with her son, and she commanded Sir Saber on peril of his life to put Bevis to death. Sir Saber said that he would do it, and he took him quickly away with him, and rubbed him with grease and oil, and put an ugly and unrecognisable semblance upon him. And he put a wretched garment of poor color about him, and set him in the wild glens of the desert to keep swine. Thus was the violent death of the Earl of Hampton.

3. As for the emperor then, he proceeded to the city with his retinue, and a wedding-feast was prepared for him; and when the feast was ready, a wedding-mass was celebrated for them. And after that they went to enjoy the banquet, and the feast was served among them, and revelry and high spirit rose among the hosts. And Bevis of Hampton was with the swine near the city that day; and one of the sows had a litter of pigs and the swine-herds killed part of the pigs and were eating them by a fire, and Bevis was eating with them. The swine-herds said: 'Great is thy cowardice,[2]) Bevis, to be sharing these pigs with us, while [p. 276] thy mother's marriage-feast is being celebrated to-day in the castle of thy father and thy grandfather.' Bevis left them at that, and went to the gate of the city; and he heard the revelry and the lively shouts of the young men enjoying the feast. Bevis came to the gate of the city, and asked to have it opened. The gate-keeper asked who was there. Bevis said that he was Sir Saber's swine-herd. The gate-keeper said that he was well deserving of dishonor for asking to enter the city.[3]) 'Wilt thou let me in?' said Bevis. 'I will not', said he, 'and if I were outside, I would make thee repent of coming to ask admittance'. Bevis said: 'If thou wert out here with me', said he, 'I would make thee repent of not letting me in'. The gate-keeper was angry at this, and came to kill Bevis. Bevis lifted up the crooked hazel staff that he had for driving the swine, and struck the gate-keeper a hard blow with it in the back of the neck, and the gate-keeper died from it. Bevis went in among the hosts, and saw the emperor, and said to

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[1]) Here, as in the case of Felice in the 'Guy', the translation 'queen' is hardly appropriate. The wicked princess is usually referred to in the Middle-English versions of the 'Bevis' as 'lady', or 'countess', and in the Anglo-Norman as *dame*.

[2]) I take *metachus*, of which I know no other instance, to be the same in meaning as *metacht*.

[3]) That is, for the impudence of his request.



him in a high, clear voice: 'My lord emperor', said he, 'treacherous and envious is the deed thou hast done, to kill the noble, honored earl without cause for the sake of that slanderous, wicked harlot beside thee'. And he said, 'Take thy harlot with thee to thine own land and city, and leave me my heritage and my city; for I am Bevis, the son of the Earl of Hampton'. The emperor gave orders to bind and fetter Bevis. When Bevis heard this, he seized his staff bravely and firmly, and smote the emperor three blows with it, so that he broke and shattered the tight-bound crown of talismanic stones that was on the emperor's head, and shed his blood copiously, and knocked him down under the table. Then the retinue and heavy troop of the emperor sprang up to attack Bevis. As for Bevis then, he sprang up bravely and swiftly, and killed many of them with his staff, and went out of the city; and Sir Saber came to meet him and said: 'Bevis', said he, 'sad is the deed thou hast done, to enter the clamorous city, for fear of thy recognition there; and they would put[1]) thee to death, if they knew who thou art. And they would do the same to me if they knew that thou art alive'. Bevis said: 'It is a good deed I have done', said he, 'for it was fitting for me to avenge my father and to kill the emperor'. When Sir Saber heard this, he took Bevis [p. 277] with him and concealed him in his own castle. The emperor blamed and reproached the daughter of the King of Scotland, and said that she had promised to put Bevis to death, and that she had been false to her promise. The lady said: 'I give thee my word', said she, 'that I thought he had met his death'. Then the daughter of the King of Scotland came out and said to Sir Saber: 'False and traitorous man', said she, 'thou saidst thou hadst put Bevis to death; and thou shalt die thyself, with thy wife and thy son, because of the deed Bevis has done'. And Sir Saber was taken after that, and his wife and Tirri, his son, and they were about to be put to death. When Bevis heard this he came out into the lady's presence, and said: 'Violent and wicked lady, have Sir Saber with his wife and his son released in their innocence, and do thy will with me, for it is I who did the deed'. Then Bevis was taken, and Sir Saber was released with his wife and his son; and the daughter of the King of Scotland ordered two knights of her retinue to kill him and to bring her proof of his murder. The knights took Bevis with them to be killed; and they took off his clothes, and when they beheld the fair, happy face of the young lad, pity and heavy compassion seized them, and the knights said: 'It is a pity', said they, 'for us to have on our souls the death of this innocent lad'. Sir Saber said: 'Noble, compassionate knights', said he,

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[1]) Literally, 'for fear of thy recognition and that they would put, &c.'


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'do what is right: the lad shall go aboard a pagan ship that is leaving the harbor, and they will carry him off to the eastern part of the world, and there will never be news of him again'. And they did so, and the knights brought Bevis's garment to the lady after they had cut it in pieces with their weapons covered with blood. This was the exile of Bevis.

4. As for the boat in which Bevis was put, it did not stop until they came to the rich, prosperous land of Mirmidonda[1]) the great in Greece. And a strong, valiant pagan was king over that land, Eirmin by name. And the ship's company gave Bevis to the king, and Ermin asked for an account of him, who he was himself, and what his country was. Bevis said: 'I am the son of an English earl', said he, 'and my father was killed by treachery; and the same would have been done to me, if it could have been accomplished'. The king said: 'Believe in my gods', said he, 'and I will give thee my daughter to wife, and will make thee heir of my kingdom'. Bevis said that he would not forsake his own Lord, the Heavenly Father, for the wealth of the whole world. As for [p. 278] Bevis then, he was for seven years horse-boy to the king. One day sixty knights of Ermin's retinue went to perform deeds of horsemanship, and Bevis along with them. And a knight said to him: 'Bevis', said he, 'dost thou know why this day is honored in the land and the fair country in which thou wast born?' Bevis said: 'I do not remember why to-day is honored, for it is seven years since I left the country where I was born, and seven years more of my life I left behind there.' The knight said: 'It is not so with me', said he; 'I remember why the day is honored among you, for last night it was the anniversary of the night when the Lord was born in whom thou believest. And it was our fathers who crucified him, and Christmas is the name of this day among you in England'. Bevis said: 'It is a pity that I am without strength', said he, 'to take vengeance on you for confessing that it was your fathers who caused my Lord to suffer'. The pagan knights said: 'If thou hadst the strength, thou wouldst do it', said they; 'and as it is, we have the strength to do it to thee'. The sixty knights collected to attack Bevis in one onslaught. When Bevis saw this, he took the sword from the knight that was nearest him, and struck him with it so that he made two pieces of him. And after that he dealt blows among the knights, and he killed them all except three men only who escaped by the speed of their horses to the king to report the deed. Bevis went into his chamber in great anger because he had not got the satisfaction of his desire from the pagans. Those three knights

[1]) This name is considerably changed from 'Ermonie, Armony', of the English and French romances. See p. 18, above.



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escaped from Bevis with a report to the king, and told him that Bevis had slain the knights. The king sent messengers to Bevis, and the messengers asked Bevis to come with them to the king. Bevis raised his head from his pillow,[1]) and his eyes were flaming fiercely in his head with the violence of great wrath. And Bevis said: 'If it were knights or men of warfare who came with that message, I would not let one of them escape alive; but it is not fitting for me to slay the lowly or to kill a pack of gillies'. The messengers came to the king and reported that Bevis had refused to come with them. Sisian, the daughter of Ermin, said that she would go to talk with Bevis; and she went, accompanied by a great company of noble ladies, and addressed Bevis in gentle, sweet-voiced words. [p. 279] And that stopped Bevis's wrath, and he came to the king with the princess, and told Ermin the reason why he had slain the knights. The king said: 'We will forgive thee for killing the knights', said he, 'and we will give thee assurance of peace; for we understand now that thou hast love for the King thou hast never seen which is greater than thy love for me, for I am the king thou hast seen'. Thus was Bevis set free after killing the knights.

5. One day afterwards Ermin was in council in the market-place of the city, and he saw a knight approaching, with a thin, dirty, tired horse under him, and he leapt to the ground in the king's presence, and greeted him. The king asked news of him, and the knight said: 'I have great news', said he, 'namely, that a fierce, venomous boar has come to thy land and thy fair domain, and that a multitude of men and animals have been killed by it. Courts and castles [are] being razed violently to the ground, and there is not a man of the heavy-sodded earth able to fight with the hostile, unfriendly beast; and this is my news', said the knight. The king said that he would give land and domain, and silver and gold and all kinds of possessions to the man who would overcome that horrible, destructive beast; and he found no man to serve him in his retinue or in his heavy army. As for Bevis then, when he was left alone, he took armor and weapons and a horse, and went to hunt for the venomous boar. Sisian was in the top of her sunny chamber at that time, and she saw Bevis going out to fight the virulent beast, and Sisian said: 'Hard is my share in that', said she, 'for thou art the man who is dearest to me of all the men in the world, and it is not fitting for me to tell thee my story because of the vast extent of my heritage and my wealth, and I do not know what thy rank is or thy patrimony. And yet, if

[1]) Perhaps rather 'coverlet'. I do not know how widely *étach* would be used in application to bed-clothes.


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the boar kills thee, Bevis, I will seek death at once because of sorrow for thee', said she. Then Bevis went to the forest where the boar was said to be, and he blew a strong, brave blast on the end of a horn that he had, and it was not long before he saw coming toward him a greedy, tusked boar, cruel and quarrelsome, with black, deep, dark eyes to be seen in his head; and great, rough brows over his eyes; and a fierce, bright flame issuing strongly and boldly from his nostrils and from his dark-yawning, hideous mouth; and tough, hard clods of dirt thrown straight as a sword from his feet; and strong, great trees, [p. 280] and heavy boulders of rock torn out with great violence, strongly and mightily, as he was swiftly sharpening and polishing his teeth for that battle and conflict; and hillocks of heavy earth and great boulders of rock cast on every side by the ridge of his snout and his nose. Bevis saw the boar coming toward him, and he stuck spurs vigorously into his horse, and went resolutely and eagerly to meet it. And he gave the boar a keen thrust with his spear, and drove it into its throat, and the boar made little, broken, shattered fragments of the shaft of the spear, after chewing it greedily. And Bevis bared his sword resolutely when his spear was broken, and he made an ungentle and unloving fight against the boar, so that it fell dead and lifeless before him at the end of the combat. And after that he struck off its head, and put it on his spear, and mounted his steed, and left his sword on the spot where he had overcome the boar, and proceeded to the city. And twelve knights of Ermin's retinue were keeping the forest that day; and they saw Bevis leaving the forest, and the boar's head carried off in his possession. The knights said: 'Do you see the sly, Christian traitor who has slain the virulent boar? And let us put him to death, and take the boar's head with us to the king, and say that is was we who killed it, and we shall get whatever we ask from the king'. The twelve knights of the forest went to Bevis to attack and slay him, and Bevis had no weapon with which to defend himself except a man's hand-breadth of the hard handle of a javelin, and he killed six of the knights with three blows of that wood. The six others escaped to the king by the speed of their horses and made complaint of this deed. Sisian, Ermin's daughter, was watching the battle while it was fought, and she went to her father and told him how the knights who kept the forest had played Bevis false, and how he had killed six of them with a small piece of a spear-shaft. And that set Bevis free, namely the excuse that Sisian made for him.

6. Once when Ermin was on the green of his castle he saw a band of knights approaching him with letters under seal; and the letters said that Bramon, the King of Damascus, was coming to get Sisian, Ermin's daughter, by fair means or foul.

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Then Ermin asked Sisian whether she would consent [p. 281] to be given to Bramon, the King of Damascus; Sisian answered that she would not. 'What is the reason?' said the king. 'This is my reason', said she; 'because I am thy heir, and if thou shouldst die, the man who was my husband would be king in this land after thee; and if it should be Bramon who was my husband, he would not remain in this land, but would carry his tribute into his own land, and this land would be put to shame because there would be no king dwelling in it; and that is the reason I will not consent to be given to Bramon'. The king said: 'What else is to be done?' said he. 'Thou shalt do bravely'[1]) said she: 'make a knight of Bevis of Hampton, and his courage would be the greater for it; and give him the leadership of thy army, and send him before thee into the front of battle, and in my opinion he will do a bold deed of bravery, for I saw him kill the virulent boar and the six knights with a hand-breadth of a spear-shaft.' Then Ermin made a knight of Bevis, and Sisian gave him a shield and a sword and a horse, — Arundel the name of the horse, and Morglae the name of the sword. Then came the King of Damascus with his great hosts to ravage and lay waste Mermidonia. Ermin brought his army into one body and went against Bramon. And Bevis went manfully and full bravely in the front of the fight, and battalions and hundreds fell quickly before him. And he fought with the King of Damascus after killing the phalanx that was defending him, and he captured the king in the midst of his retinue, and put bonds and fetters upon him, and brought him in the reins of captivity and bondage, and gave him to the king of Mermidonia for safe-keeping. Sir Bevis turned back then to the hosts of Damascus, and began to slaughter them; and he found two of Ermin's retinue whom the hosts of Damascus were beheading, and released them, and the troop who were beheading them fell at his hands. And those two knights followed Sir Bevis after he had helped them. After winning victory and triumph in that battle Bevis returned to the city of Mermidonia wounded, gashed, and battle-scarred. Ermin told Sisian to take Sir Bevis with her to her own chamber to be healed. Thus did Sir Bevis fight that battle against the King of Damascus, *et reliqua.*

7. As for the King of Mermidonia then, he took as ransom all the wealth of the King of Damascus, and the promise to pay taxes and tribute all his life and to follow Ermin's counsel in every thing. As for [p. 282] Sisian, Ermin's daughter, she took Bevis with her to be healed, and seated him by the post of her bed, and said to him: 'Sir Bevis', said she, 'I have had until now

[1]) For this question and answer cf. p. 310b, above.

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no chance to speak with thee, for thou art my choice of a husband and my first love of the men of the world, and it is thou whom I desire to have with me as my companion.' Bevis said: 'It is not fitting for thee to be with me', said he, 'for there is not in the entire world a man who would not find his satisfaction of a wife in thee; and lady', said he, 'I have no wealth or kingdom', said he, 'unless I win it by virtue of my strength; and it is for that reason I am not worthy to be thy husband,' said Bevis. The lady said bitterly and angrily: 'O low-born hireling, and rough, base slave, and wretched, cowardly, wicked outlaw, the answer thou hast given me is churlish and mean; and do thou leave this city, and go away on a sea-voyage as thou art wont to do, and I [promise] to put thee to death [if thou refuse to go].'[1]) Bevis said patiently: 'Lady', said he, 'mayst thou have much honor![2]) And yet I am not of low rank, for I am the son of a noble earl who was the best in the world in his time, and the daughter of the King of Scotland is my mother. And the place where I received that insult and that reproach without cause, I will leave it instantly; and the steed and the sword which thou gavest me for a reward, thou shalt have them at once.' Bevis angrily left the tower, and went to the stable of the horses. The lady said, after her strong anger was assuaged: 'Boniface', said she, 'I regret what I said to Bevis; and if he leaves this household, my life will not last long after him; and do thou go and bring him to me, and I will give him his own demand in his dishonor' (i. e. to atone for it). Boniface went to Bevis, and asked him to go to the lady, and promised him whatever he might demand from her. Bevis refused to go with him. And Bevis had a noble garment of shining, bright-embroidered silk, and many fine bars(?)[3]) of gold and splendid precious stones attached and fastened to that beautiful garment, and Bevis gave it to Boniface to reward him for his errand. Boniface returned to the lady, and told her that Bevis had refused to come to talk with her; and Boniface said many good things about Bevis, and said that it was no lowly man who had given him that noble garment, and that it was not fitting to insult the man who gave that gift and that reward. The lady arose thereupon, and went to Bevis, and said to him: 'Bevis', said she, 'I am sorry for [p. 283] what I said to thee, and thou shalt have thy own demand [to atone] for it; and if it were thy desire to marry me, I would be baptized and would believe in the God in whom thou believest.' Sir Bevis said: 'I will accept thee on

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[1]) I cannot make anything of the reading of the MS. Perhaps some words are lost.

[2]) For the same formula cf. p. 333a, above. In both instances it is used deprecatingly, when one speaker disagrees with another or denies his request; cf. 'saving your reverence'.

[3]) The MS. is indistinct.



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those terms', said he. And he took her hand in his, and then they kissed each other; and after that Bevis went into the tower with her, and treatment and relief were given him so that he was well after his sickness. And the two knights whom Bevis saved from death before this in the battle were listening to that betrothal, and they went to the king and told him the news of the betrothal, and told him to put Bevis to death. The king said that he was under great obligation to Bevis, and that he would not put him to death himself; but he said that he would send him where he would meet his death. Then a letter was written for Ermin, and this is what was in it, to put Bevis to death. And the king told Bevis to go with that letter to the King of Damascus. Bevis said: 'My lord', said he, 'I am not a suitable messenger to go with that letter to Bramon, for it is I who killed his retinue, and defeated him in battle, and made him captive himself, and took away all his possessions as ransom, and put him under tribute to thee.' 'None the worse [for] that', said Ermin, 'and have no fear of anything there; and thou art the most faithful to me of living men; and take with thee neither thy horse nor thy sword, and do not open the letter until thou reachest Bramon, the King of Damascus; and have under thee a comfortable, easy-riding mule.' As for Bevis then, he went straight forward on his way, and he was not long travelling over the road when he saw a palmer, manly and strong, on the road before him eating his dinner, — three pigeons[1]) and a bottle of sweet wine and white bread. Bevis greeted the pilgrim, and the pilgrim answered him likewise, and offered Bevis part of the dinner. Bevis dismounted, and ate his portion of the dinner; and Bevis asked news of the pilgrim, what his country was, and on what journey he was bound. The pilgrim said: 'I am an English knight', said he; 'Sir Tirri is my name, and I am the son of Sir Saber, and I am in search of Bevis of Hampton, for we two are the children of own brothers, Bevis and I. And my father's whole domain has been taken from him except one strong, impregnable tower in which he is himself; and I have come to travel through the world in search of Bevis of Hampton', said he; 'and hast thou a word of news about him?' said he. 'I have', said Bevis, 'for it is not more than two nights since I saw him, and the same size and shape is upon him and me.' [p. 284] 'I understand by this that thou art he', said Tirri. 'I am', said Bevis; 'and go back to thy father, and give him the strength of thy arm, and Bevis will shortly be with you.' Sir Tirri said: 'Give me that letter in thy hand to read, for often has a messenger been entrusted with the order for his own destruction.' Bevis said: 'It seems likely to me',

[1]) Kölbing's second English version mentions 'three curlews'.

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said he, 'that thou art no better reader of letters than I, and I do not serve a lord whom I would suspect of betraying me (?).'[1]) Bevis took leave of Tirri, and Tirri went to England. As for Bevis after that, he went on his way, and it was not long before he saw the city of Damascus, and it was thirty miles away at that time. And it is thus that the city was: seven strong, impregnable fortifications around it of hard stone walls, and sixty feet between each two walls, and sixty feet of depth in the deep, dark, impassable ditches; and between the walls there was a swift, tidal stream, and a mad, tempestuous sea coursing around it in those broad, great ditches; and broad-bosomed ships, and boats filled with men, and vessels full vast, sailing before those perilous, rough winds; and a draw-bridge going into that city, and a firm,[2]) strong pillar of brass supporting it, and ten bells clattering and jingling on that bridge, five bells on each side of it. And if there should tread upon that bridge as much as the weight of the swift, brave birds which is called the wren, those bells would strike noisily and clamorously so that the loud, complaining call of those signal bells would be heard throughout the length of the city. And the valiant youths and battle-hardened warriors of the city would respond bravely and quickly at the bridge to the call of the bells. And there was a splendid, great tower at the end of the bridge nearest to the city, and the figure of a dark, ugly-colored dragon cut on the side of that tower, and he had two great shining stones as eyes; and [there was] a broad, great door of brass in the entrance of that tower, and it is through that door that entrance was made into the city. And there were many stones of crystal and carbuncle and full splendid precious gems skilfully set in gold of Arabia in the windows and the casements[3]) of that city. As for Bevis now, he stuck spurs vigorously into the horse, and set it running on the bridge, [p. 285] and the bells sounded loudly and clamorously, and the king with his great retinue hastened to the bridge. And the king said: 'There is a hostile force coming over the bridge, or some man of ill purpose.' The king came to the place, and Bevis dismounted on the ground in the king's presence, and made him an obeisance, and gave the letter into his hand; and Bramon read the letter. And he said: 'I will do everything that this writing says', said he; 'for thou art Bevis of Hampton, and it is thou who took me captive, and killed my followers, and got ransom from me, and imposed it upon me to give homage and tribute to a man who was lower than myself.' And Bramon said: 'Give Bevis food', said he, 'for it is not

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[1]) Text and translation both doubtful.

[2]) On *poindighi* see the foot-note at page 303 b.

[3]) I do not know what distinction was made, if any, between *seinistir* and *fuindeog*.

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fitting to treat the retainer of a noble lord with dishonor.' Bevis was taken to the king's hall, and food was given him; and they were asking each other what death they should inflict upon him. Some of them said to burn him at once; others said to crucify him with acclaim; others said to drag him after a horse; others to put him in poison for his punishment. Bevis said: 'That is shameful', said he, 'to put to death one who comes[1]) with a message; and it is this it would be well for you to do, to set me outside the city, and to give me equipment of battle, and all the hosts of the city to be in battle equipment around me, and all of them to be attacking me and smiting me together; and it is less cause of shame to you to kill me like that than to kill me here.' One of the companies said: 'At the time when thou haddest us before in the breadth of the land, thou didst slay our army; and thou wouldst do the same now, if thou shouldst get us out in the field.' Then a group of bold warriors fell on Bevis's back so that swarms of eager bees would not be quicker at the honey-flowers[2]) than were the bold, proud hosts of Damascus at binding and fettering the brave, firm-stepping warrior. And after that they put Bevis as a fettered captive in a cruel prison for his punishment; and Bevis took a stout staff with him into prison. And there was a flowing, ever-crashing sea which came twice in a day and a night into that prison. And when Bevis sat down the sea was up to his chin, and when he stood it was up to his buttocks; and there was a strong girdle of iron, as broad as a warrior's neck, bound about his middle, and a heavy pillar of stone attached to that great fetter behind Bevis's back. And there came dark, devilish dragons, [p. 286] and hostile, venomous snakes, and strong, fierce beasts from the corner and from the sides of the prison, and began to tear and destroy the warrior. Then did Bevis implore the Heavenly Father to save him from that punishment; and he remembered the staff that he had taken with him into the prison, and he made a bitter, reckless fight against the many beasts, until he killed them all with the help of God. And the poisonous serpent tore away the flesh and skin of his left eyebrow with a bite. As for Bevis then, he was seven years stifled in that very strong prison, and this was his living for that time: half a small handfull of paltry[3]) barley bread every other day; and this was his drink, the ever-crashing sea, *et reliqua.*

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[1]) Literally, 'should come'.

[2]) Literally, 'bee-flowers'.

[3]) I take *anmann* to be for *anbhfann*, 'weak', hence 'poor', 'paltry'. For the spelling *anmann* cf. CZ. III, 204; and for the application to bread cf. the lines: *Arán tana an Disirt, Is iseal é, 's is anbhfann,* O'Daly's satire on 'The Tribes of Ireland' (ed. O'Donovan), p. 56.

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8. One day when Bevis was in that prison in bodily suffering from hunger and confinement, he cried out to God at that time, and said: 'O thou one God Almighty, who didst make heaven and earth without effort, and didst separate day and night from each other, and dost bring full-tide and ebb-tide upon the sea, and didst make all things out of nothing, it is a pity thou dost not grant me instant death out of the pain and suffering of this prison in which I have been for seven years. And thou dost see, O Lord, that I have not yet abandoned thy faith, though I have been fifteen years in the land of the pagans; and O Lord', said he, 'thou knowest that I should get wealth and a great kingdom if I would abandon thy faith; and O Heavenly Father', said he, 'help me when it is thine own time'. An angel spoke above his head, and said: 'Bevis', said he, 'have good courage, and a strong heart, for God has listened to thy complaint, and thou shalt soon have help.' Then there grew a great light in the prison from the ministration of the angel, and sight and perception departed from the dragon, and the dragon was killed by Bevis. As for the two knights who were keeping the prison, they heard Bevis praying and worshipping the Lord, and one of them said to the other: 'Dost thou hear the false, hateful traitor worshipping the traitor whom our fathers crucified, and praising him as God? — And I give my word that I will go down there and strike thee a blow with my fist on thy dark-yawning, ugly mouth.' [p. 287] The knight went fiercely and boldly into the prison, and when he reached Bevis, Bevis struck his sword out of his hand in spite of him, and smote him on the neck with his fist, and he died. The other knight asked: 'How is it between thee and the Christian?' said he. Bevis said: 'He is wounding me badly, for he is stronger than I.' The second knight entered the prison to help his companion, and Bevis struck him with his sword, and made two pieces of him. Bevis prayed and thanked God for that great miracle, and he moved himself gently in the midst of his prayer, and his fetters fell instantly from him on every side; and he stood up on the floor of the prison, and seized the strong rope and the firm cord of hemp by which the knights had come into the prison, and went up by it to the floor of the hall. And he found the door open and free, and a taper burning on each side of it in the very middle of the night, and the garrison of the castle all asleep. And Bevis went out to the stable of the horses, and with a single blow of a big, broad beam that was at the foot of the bed he killed the sixty lads who were keeping the horses, and he took his pick of the horses. And he put on strong, indestructible armor; and mounted his steed, and went on to the gate of the city, and asked to have it opened before him, and said that the Christian had escaped who had been their prisoner for seven years. 'That is sad', said the

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gate-keeper, 'and follow him quickly'; and then he let Bevis out, for he thought it likely that all the hosts of the city were behind him; and thus Bevis got out of the city without hindrance. As for the hosts of the city, not much of the night passed before they discovered that Bevis had escaped, and that his keepers had been killed; and they took their horses and pursued him, and overtook him in the morning. A noble knight of the retinue of the King of Damascus was at the head of the host, and a very swift horse under him, and Grainnder was the knight's name; and Grainnder valued that horse at his own weight of gold, and Treinnsiuis was the name of the horse. And he overtook Bevis with the swiftness of his horse, and said that he would put him to death. Bevis turned and fought with him fiercely, angrily, and bitterly, and gave Grainnder a thrust of the spear, and drove it through his body without breaking it, and Grainnder died from it. And thereupon Bevis took his horse, Treinsiuis, and mounted it. And at that time the King of Damascus and his hosts overtook [p. 288] Bevis, and he killed countless numbers and great troops of them. Then the hosts of Damascus surrounded him, and tried to wound him and to kill him. And with the help of God Bevis jumped his horse over a great cliff of the sea, and there was a swift, tidal stream, and a bay, roaring and stormy, on the other side of the rock, and it was not possible for any creature in the world to swim it. And Bevis's horse quickly sprang into that fierce water[1]) and swam straight through it like a harbor, and crossed the stream swiftly and bravely. Twenty-four hours was Bevis with his horse crossing that water; and after Bevis had reached land he fell from his horse because of the weakness of his breath[2]) and the greatness of his hunger. And he implored God earnestly and fervently to save him from that hunger, and he praised the Heavenly Father greatly, and with that there came to him new strength. And he took his horse again, and mounted it, and went straight forward on the way, and saw [a city] beyond him, and proceeded toward it; and on reaching the gate of the city he saw a lady, gracious and noble, on the top of the tower over the gate of the city; and Bevis greeted her, and asked her for food in honor of the Heavenly Father. The lady said: 'Come in', said she, 'and thou shalt have thy fill of food and drink'. Then Bevis went in, and dismounted in the royal hall, and sat at table, and food was put in his presence. And it was not long before he saw a bold, horrible giant, and a broad-bellied champion, heavy and strong, approaching him; and the giant looked at Bevis and saw Grainnder's horse. And he said

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[1]) Literally, 'into the fierce bosom' (*bruinde*)? Or is *brainde* to be connected with *brann*, 'wave'. See Meyer's *Contributions*, s. v.

[2]) Literally, 'weakness of his breast'.



fiercely and angrily: 'That is Treinnsiuis, the horse of Grainnder, my own brother; and thou, traitor', said he, 'hast stolen it'. Bevis said: 'I did not steal it', said he, 'and yet I killed the man who had it, and struck off his head violently'. When the champion heard that, he aimed a mighty blow at Bevis with a horrible, perilous dagger, and Bevis dropped under the table and let the blow go past. And the giant cut a piece as large as a warrior's hand from the table above Bevis's head. Bevis sprang from the board at that, and ran at the giant, and seized [p. 289] his dagger in spite of him, and smote the champion a blow with it so that he made two pieces of his body. Thereupon a cry was raised in the city, and Bevis mounted his steed; and the hosts of the city overtook him, and he slew multitudes, and got away in spite of them. As for Bevis then, he was making a long journey through the eastern world until he came in India to the patriarch of the stream,[1]) namely, one of the three[2]) kings of India, and it is he who is Pope among them. And Bevis remained with him a year as his retainer; and there took place in that year no battle with warrior or soldier, champion or battle-phantom, lion or leopard, dragon or the many venomous beasts besides, that they did not all fall at his hands in the course of that year, and it was an abundance of treasure and spoil that he brought to the patriarch in that time. Bevis said that he would leave India, and that he would be for another while travelling straight toward the western world. The patriarch said: 'Do not go', said he, 'and I will give thee a kingdom, and thy choice of a wife of this land; and stay with me'. Bevis made his confession to the Pope of India, and told him that the daughter of the pagan king was his legal wife. The patriarch said that if she was, it would not be right for him to have another woman unless his wife had given herself first to a pagan; and if so, that it would not be right for him to have his wife. As for Bevis then, he took leave of the patriarch, and went straight to the west, and did not stop till he reached Rhodes. And he stayed for another year with the Prior of Rhodes, and great was the number of pagans who fell at his hands in that year, and many Saracens and Jews fell at his hands in that year, and he obtained for the prior in that year an abundance of spoils and treasures. And the prior offered him a great realm, if he would remain with him, and Bevis refused it, and made his confession to the prior and told him that the daughter of the pagan king was his lawful wife; and

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[1]) In the Middle English version (Kölbing, ll. 1959 ff.): 'Forth a wente be the strem, Til a com to Jurisalem; To the patriark a wente cof, And al his lif he him schrof'.

[2]) On this use of the ordinal numeral to denote one of a series or group cf. RC. XXIII, 433; CZ. IV, 369; Archiv f. celt Lex. I, 322.

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the same answer was given him by the prior and the patriarch. And after that Bevis went on his way, and carried off the palm for bravery in every land and every country of the world to which he went in those two years.

9. As for Sisian, Ermin's daughter, when Bevis was sent with the letters to the King of Damascus, it seemed to her that he was long absent, and she went to her father and asked him where Bevis was. Ermin said: 'It is sad, lady', said he, 'for he sent messengers before him to England, and demanded his domain of the emperor; and the emperor gave Bevis his daughter to wife, and he is now an earl in England. Moreover, [p. 290] men of foreign parts are not to be trusted, for in the end they set out for their own country. And I offered him a great domain if he would remain with me, and he refused me, and went on his way'. As for Sisian now, she was in lamentation for grief about Bevis; and yet she did not believe her father's statements, for she thought that Bevis would not play her false. And it was not long after that before Ybor,[1] the King of Damascus sent messengers to ask for Ermin's daughter in marriage. Ermin went to his daughter, and told her that messengers had come from the King of Damascus to ask her hand. 'And I will give thee to him', said he. Sisian said: 'Father', said she, 'I will do thy will'. Then Ermin told Ybor's messengers to come for the lady at the end of a short period. When Sisian heard this, she made a beautiful girdle of gold thread and of resplendent silk, and wisely and skilfully, by the wisdom of the Greeks, she put into that girdle power to prevent any man in the world from destroying her virginity so long as that girdle should be upon her. And she put it around her inside of her clothing. Then Ybor came with fifteen thousand soldiers to get her, and she was given to him, and their marriage-feast was held, and the horse and sword of Bevis were given him, — Morglae and Airinnel their names. And Ybor hung the sword across him, and mounted the horse; and when Airinnel recognised that it was not Bevis who was on her, she ran roughly and violently, and carried him madly and furiously through deep, black, horrible glens, and over rough, precipitous hills, and high, dangerous cliffs, and it is a pity that she did not kill him. And after that the horse was put in the castle soller, and an iron lattice around her; and no man dared to touch her from that time forth until Bevis returned long afterwards.

10. As for Bevis of Hampton, after he left Rhodes he did not stop until he reached the bounds of great Mermidonia in the beautiful, blue-watered land of Greece. And some one met

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[1]) *Yvor* in Middle English; *Yvori* in French.

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him on the road, and Bevis asked him for news of that land, and particularly for news of Sisian. The young man said: 'There is peace, and quiet, and prosperity in this land', said he, 'and Sisian has been married for nine years to the king of Memroine'.[1]) Sadly did Bevis receive that news; [p. 291] and he did not stop after that until he reached the land of Memrointi,[1]) near the city of Ybor; and a pilgrim met him as he was leaving the city, and he asked news of him. The pilgrim said: 'In that city yonder is the one woman who is the best in the whole world, Sisian the daughter of the King of Mirmidonia, the wife of Ybor, King of Memroine, for if all the men in the world should go to her at mid-day,[2]) she would give them food and drink and gold and silver. And this is what she says to them with every alms: 'Take that in honor of God and for the sake of Bevis of Hampton'; and no man understands that word from her'. Bevis said: 'Pilgrim', said he, 'give me the loan of thy poor clothes', said he, 'and take my knightly garments, until I come back'. The pilgrim said he would not do it. Bevis said: 'Give me thy poor clothes', said he, 'and I will give thee my knightly garments in return for them'. They did so. And Bevis put on the pilgrim's clothes, and went on his way to the city, and saw the beautiful lady, and her head out of a tower-window. And this is what she said with a lamenting voice: 'O Bevis', said she, 'it is a pity for me that thou art so far away, and the virtues of my girdle have departed, and it is necessary for me now to do Ybor's will'. Then Bevis greeted her, and she answered him and asked him who he was. Bevis said: 'I have been journeying about the world', said he. The lady asked him if he had seen a word of news about Bevis of Hampton in any place where he had been. Bevis said: 'I have seen him, and it is only three nights since then'. And Bevis asked alms of the lady, and Sisian said: 'Come in', said she, 'and thou shalt have alms; and shalt be prior of the beggars in this city to-day'. Bevis went in, and Sisian came to meet him, and took him with her into the soller where Airindel was; and when the horse saw him and recognised him, she began to neigh and licked his hand. Bevis opened the lattice, and the horse came out and ran through the city. Sisian said: 'That is a pity', said she, 'for the horse there will never again be caught'. Bevis called the horse to him, and she came quickly, and was licking him, and he put her in again; and the lady looked at him, and when[3]) she had raised the hat of leather from his head, she recognised

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[1]) I have kept the inconsistencies of the Irish spelling for the land which appears in the Middle English 'Bevis' as *Mombraunt*.

[2]) Either some words are omitted or the verbal noun (*fir do dul*) must be construed as taking the place of a clause in the protasis. Cf. the somewhat different construction of *anmuin* on p. 358 a.

[3]) Translating *oir* and omitting 7 before *roaithin*.



him, though he had lost his left eye-brow since she had seen him before. The lady said: [p. 292] 'Thou art Bevis thyself', said she. 'I am indeed', said he; and he told her the truth about everything. And Sisian said: 'Bevis', said she, 'go out of the city, and come at mid-day to the king, and tell him that thou wert in Babylon, and that the whole land has been captured except only the city of Babylon, and that there is a great army around it. And say that the King of Babylon sent thee to Ybor to help him out of this difficulty, for he is Ybor's own brother; and Ybor will go to his aid, and will leave this city unguarded, and thus we shall get an opportunity to escape'. Then Bevis went out of the city, and came into it at mid-day, and went into the king's presence, and told him how Babylon had been taken, all except the great city only, — 'and I have come secretly to get thee to help thine own brother'. The king believed that, and collected his army in one place, and left the guarding of the city in charge of a noble knight of his retinue, and set out with his hosts. Sisian said: 'Bevis', said she, 'we are in trouble now; for the knight who was left in charge of the city has a talismanic stone, and there is nothing done in the city which it does not reveal to him'. Sisian made a potent drink by Greek wisdom, and sent a messenger to the knight, and he came quickly; and she gave him the sleeping-potion, and he fell asleep thereupon, and it was not possible to wake him for twenty-four hours. Thus did Sisian find an opportunity [1]) of escape.

11. As for Bevis then, he put Sisian behind Boniface, her chamberlain from the time she was a child until that hour, and mounted Airinndel himself, and in this way they passed out of the city without being noticed. As for Ybor, the King of Memroine, he was not long travelling the road when a pilgrim met him, and Ybor asked news of him, who he was. The pilgrim said: 'I have been in Babylon', said he. 'Hast thou news of that land?' said the king. 'Good news', said he, 'for there is peace and quiet and prosperity in that land yonder; and it is strong above every land, and no land is strong above it.' 'That is true', said the king, 'and it is clear to me that it was Bevis of Hampton who came there in a pilgrim's guise to deceive us; and he has probably taken the queen with him, and we must turn [2]) back by the same road.' And [p. 293] they did not find the queen or Boniface in the city. And they followed on their track, and overtook them, and Bevis turned to meet them, and killed great hosts and countless numbers of them; and they came to a deep, dark glen, and one narrow wooded path going

[1]) Literally 'solitude', 'state of being alone'. Cf. also p. 362 a.
[2]) Perhaps *is* should be supplied before *impuide.*

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through it. The king turned back at that time with his followers for fear that Bevis would kill his followers in the narrow part of the glen, and Bevis descended to the bottom of the glen. And Sisian said: 'Bevis', said she, 'get us food, for hunger has overcome us.' Bevis said: 'O queen', said he, 'it is not easy for us[1]) to get food in this wilderness, for men and cities are far from us.'[2]) Sisian said: 'I have heard', said she, 'that brave knights would get food in the wildernesses by their skill in handling spears.' Bevis left Sisian and Boniface there, and went himself to seek adventure with the spear;[3]) and he came upon a marvellous, wild boar, and he got his choice of a cast at him, and he drove a man's hand-breadth of the spear through its body, and it died, and he brought a quarter of it with him to Sisian. As for the King of Memrointe, he had two sharp-toothed lions that he kept, and the strength of a host or an army did not avail against them; and he set them on Bevis's track, and the lions came to where Sisian was, and Boniface rose and fought with them, and the lions killed him, and devoured both him and his horse. Then Bevis came up, and Sisian cried out to him to flee from the lions since he had the swift horse; and Bevis did not do this, but came to the spot. And the lions were licking the lady's feet; and one of them ran at Bevis, and Sisian held the other lion by the front paw, and it stayed by her without struggling. And Bevis killed the lion that fought with him, and called to Sisian [to let] the other lion come out against him; and Sisian asked for protection for the lion that was with her, but Bevis threatened her and said she must let it go. And she let the lion go to Bevis, and Bevis killed the second lion, and afterwards dismounted, and made a fire, and boiled the boar's flesh, and gave the lady plenty of food and pure water. And then he mounted his horse, and left the glen, and there was a ridge of a high, very cold mountain to be crossed by him. And it was not long for him before he saw coming after him a fierce, warlike, horrible giant, and a rough, savage[4]) champion, with a stout, broad-topped tree on his shoulder; and not swifter was a wild boar on the way [p. 294] than the swift, fierce course that the giant took after Bevis. Sisian looked back, and she saw the champion coming in pursuit. Sisian said: 'O Bevis', said she, 'I see the champion of the king of Mermeointi coming toward thee, and I recognize him, and armies and hosts are not his equal in battle because of the

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[1]) I have seen no parallel to this use of *linaim* with *gorta*.

[2]) Literally, 'near to us'.

[3]) Literally, 'adventure of casting'.

[4]) I am doubtful about the exact meaning of *anaccarrach*. It occurs above at p. 358b (*dorith si co h-ainmin, anacarrach*) where it seems to mean 'rough'. Is it equivalent to *anacrach*, 'awkward, wretched'? Cf. also the noun *anacair*, 'distress, affliction'.



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greatness of his strength and the skill of his hand'. Bevis said to her: 'Dismount'; and she did so at once, and Bevis rode his horse against the giant; and the giant aimed at Bevis a rough, powerful blow, and Bevis avoided the blow, and sprang upon the giant under the tree, and put both arms around him, and gave him a hard twist, and threw him. And Bevis bound the giant securely; and when he was about to strike off his head, Sisian asked him to spare the giant's life, and the giant should be [1]) his retainer from that time forth for the length of his life; and thus Bevis gave him his life. Those three went on their way, and came to the sea, and they had no ship. And they saw ships on the sea, and Esgobard cried out to them, asking for a ship, and they made him no answer. And the giant went boldly out into the sea, and put his two hands under the ship that was nearest to him; and the crew thought that it was into the ship he wished to go, but he did not do that. He turned the ship upside down, and drowned in the middle of the ocean all that were in it, and brought the ship to Bevis. After that they went aboard the ship, and began eagerly to sail the sea, and they came to a sheltered, secure harbor in Coilin [2]) in England. And a brother of Bevis's father was bishop in that city. And the bishop came to meet Bevis, and paid him honor and respect. Bevis asked whether there was strife of war or of rebellion in England at that time. The bishop said: 'There is great danger and peril in this land now', said he; 'namely, two haughty dukes who were in Germany, and they were thirty years at war with each other, and their troops and armies were killed on both sides in that time. And they made deep, impassable wildernesses of their lands and all their territories, and neither the emperor nor the pope could make peace between them. And finally they themselves went to battle with each other, and God changed them alike to the form of two black, devilish dragons because of the multitude of their sins, and they went up on high above the clouds. And one of the dragons descended in Rome, and he began [p. 295] to kill the Romans and to lay waste the city. And the pope with his clergy prayed the Heavenly Father to help them out of that peril, and God did that for them: God enfeebled the dragon, and the Romans bound it, and put it in a room of a castle under the bridge of Rome, and it is bound there. And the other dragon descended upon this land, and it is only seven miles from here; and it has laid waste a great part of this realm, and has killed a multitude of men and of cattle, and we are afraid that it will make a wilderness of all England. It was not long after

[1]) Literally, 'and he to be'.
[2]) The Middle English romance says 'Cologne', from which Bevis proceeds later to England.



that when Bevis escaped the attention of the bishop, and went out of the city secretly, and the giant along with him; and they went to the forest in which the dragon was, and they heard the terrible cry and the fierce roar of the dragon. And Asgobard said: 'Not for the wealth of the whole world would I stay to meet that angry, hostile beast'; and the giant fled out of the forest and left Bevis alone. As for Sir Bevis then, it was not long before he saw the black, misshapen dragon approaching; and Bevis spurred his steed vigorously to meet it, and gave the dragon a keen thrust of the spear and did not wound it. And the dragon spouted a flood of green vomit in Bevis's eyes, and did not leave him the strength of a woman in child-bed. The monster passed by him in that charge, and [Bevis] sprang into a well that was near, for he chose rather to be drowned than to be swallowed by the dragon; and after he went into the water his strength returned to him mightily and powerfully. And he went again to meet the beast, and gave it a spear-thrust, and did not hurt it. And the dragon spouted a second flood about him, and did not leave Bevis the strength of a babe; and Bevis sprang into the same well again, and was whole and sound on coming out of it. Three times he sprang thus into the well after being struck by the green vomit, and he was whole and sound on coming out. The fourth wave that smote upon him was colorless and white, and none the weaker was Bevis, for the poison of the monster had been exhausted; and Bevis gave [the dragon] a spear-thrust, and drove the spear through it, and beheaded it afterwards, and took its head away. As for Asgobard, he proceeded to Coilin, and told the bishop that Sir Bevis had been killed by the dragon. And the bishop went, and the people of the city, in a procession to get Sir Bevis's body; and the bells of the city were all rung in honor of Bevis, and [p. **296**] nothing was heard in the city except only the sound of the bells and outcry and lamentation. Then they saw Bevis coming to meet them, with the dragon's head on his spear, and the spear on his shoulder, and he himself in the saddle of his horse. And the people uttered shouts of joy at the sight of Bevis, and greatly praised that deed of bravery; and they went together into the city, and Bevis was held in honor there. Thus far the battle of Bevis against the dragon.

12. As for Bevis then, he went on his way to France, and was there a while, and left Sisian in a strong city, and Asgobard to keep and guard her. And Bevis went to carry help to Sir Bir,[1] his foster-father and uncle, in England. And it was not long for Sisian after Bevis's departure before a rich, mighty earl, whose name was Earl Milis, came to ask for her

[1]) Obviously an error for 'Sir Saber'.




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in marriage, after having given her his love (?); and he asked her, and she refused him. Earl Milis said that she should be his by fair means or foul. Sisian said that she would not be, and that she had sufficient protection about her; and the earl asked what protection she had about her. The lady said it was Asgobard. Not long after that the giant met the earl, and [the earl] brought a letter in his hand, and said Bevis had sent him a message to bring the giant out on an island; and that was three miles from the city out upon the sea. The giant went out to the island, and Earl Milis to escort him;[1]) and there was a strong castle on the island, and the earl put — [*a line and a half unreadable*] — back into the same city, and told Sisian that the giant was in his prison of confinement. And the earl said: 'Sisian', said he, 'it is necessary now for thee to do my will'. Sisian said: 'Thou art my choice of the men of the world, if I should get thee as husband; but never shall a man who is not my husband enjoy my favour with my consent'. The earl said that he would marry her on the morrow. And early in the morning the earl married the lady, [and . . .] the night after to lie with the lady. The lady said: 'Earl Milis', said she, 'the work which thou desirest to do is unknown to me until this time, and I beg thee to let no man come into the same house with us to-night'. The earl said [p. 297] that he would not let anyone in, and he sent out those that were within, and shut the door, and was taking off his clothes. Sisian sat upright, and seized a tough, strong cord of hemp, and made a slip-knot upon it and put a tight twist [of it] under Earl Milis's head; and there was a strong beam running cross-wise above the floor of the chamber, and Sisian [put] the cord across the beam and drew him up by the neck, and beat the back of his head against the beam strongly and mightily, and strangled him thus. And she let him fall, after his life had left him, and then went to sleep herself. As for the followers of Earl Milis, the next morning they were joking and making sport about the earl as was customary with a bridal couple. One of them said that it was well pleased the earl was with taming the maiden.[2]) And another said that it was fitting [for her] to have [. . .][3]) and cookery in preparation for the earl, rather than to be asleep at that time after the night's work he had had. The lady said: '. . .' said she, 'he does not ask cookery of you, for he is dead [in] revenge for my insult, and [I pledge my word] that I chose rather to die than to be the earl's wife'. His retinue

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[1]) In one Middle English version another man is sent with Ascopart to lock him up, and Miles remains behind.

[2]) Reading not quite certain. For *miniughudh* in this sense cf. RC. XIX, 126, n. 5 and 158, n. 11.

[3]) MS. indistinct.

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uttered (?) ... and cries ... lamenting their lord, and all [the hosts of the city] came to the place. And the lady was taken by them, and they left her [on the market-place of the city], and made ... a surging, strong-burning [fire] for her, to burn her up; and she asked of them as a favor to let her have a priest that she might make her confession ..., and that was granted her. Then it was ... that the giant, Asgobard, and he ... in prison, noticed the terrible, blazing fire on the green of the castle, and he thought in his mind that some wrong or injustice was being done the lady. And a fierce, strong fit of rage seized him ..., and he broke the chains and fetters, and the stone ramparts and the partition-walls of the castle, and went out, and set his face towards the rough surging waves, and began to swim strongly and boldly. And he saw a small boat in the middle of the water, and a fisherman in her stern killing a fish; and the giant went into the boat, and the fisherman did not observe anything until he saw the misshapen creature and the rough, ill-boding [...] rising [out of the] stormy [sea], and coming into the [p. 298] boat; and fear ... seized the fisherman, for he thought that it was ... [of hell]. He leaped [... and] was drowned. As for Esgobard then, he began to row the boat [with his hands ...], and came to harbor, and ran to the city.

Glossary.

(The numbers refer to pages of the *Zeitschrift*, and not (as in the foot-notes) to the columns of the MS. In the case of the commoner words references are not given for every instance of their occurrence. No attempt is made to separate the 'Guy' and the 'Bevis', but it will be observed that the latter text begins on page 273.)

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ab, aba, 36, 37, *abbot*.

abac, 61, *entrails*, *bowels*.

abairt 46, *deed*, *feat*.

achar (= athchor), 24, *expulsion*. Compare Meyer, *Contributions*, pp. 10 and 146.

achlan, 26, *complaint*, *lamentation*. Cf. Sc. Gaelic achlan, 'lament', and Meyer, 'Contributions', Addenda, p. II.

adhar, 105, *your two*? Cf. adar n-, *our two*, RC. XXVI, 8; adam, *my two*, 'Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore', Glossary, s. v.

adimus (= ad-dimus?), 41, *great pride*?

adnáire, 97, *confusion*.


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ágmar, 53, *warlike, brave.*
aibéil, frequent in the combinations 'co firaibeil', 'co lanaibeil', 26, 36, 42, etc. It appears to mean *quick, sudden.* Cf. Dinneen's Dictionary s. v. aibéil.
áibsech, 84, *terrible.*
aicce, *nearness*; ataice, 73.
aidid, 25, *obeisance, submission.* O. Ir. aititiu.
aigéin, 94, *ocean.*
aiger, 83, *air, sky.*
ailim, *I fit, suit?* 'is maith roail in treallam-sin do Gyi', 88.
áines, 297, *pleasure, amusement.*
aingide, 32, 275, *wicked.*
ainiarmartach, 96, 286, 297, *ill-fated, ill-boding,* and so in general *destructive.* Cf. P. M. Mac Sweency, 'Caithreim Conghail Clairinghnigh', p. 123, n. Also 'Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell', p. 250, 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 272, and 'Battle of Ventry', Glossary, s. v.
ainmide, 80, *animal*; pl. ainmindti, 75.
ainntreannta, 275, *fierce, rough.*
airchinnech, 82, *herenagh, a lay chief of ecclesiastical property.* Cf. Ancient Laws VI, 35.
áirem 25, *reputation.*
airgen, *rein*; a n-airginaib broide, 281, '*in the reins of captivity*'.
áirigthe, *especial, particular*; d'airighthe, 92.
ais, *side, back*; rogab re ais, 56, *he undertook.*
aisic, 70, *giving back, repaying.*
aithlegha, 62; aithletha, 59; athletha, 47; *refined* (*gold*).
amantur, amuntur, 28 b, *adventure*; 32, *spoils, booty* (the results of an adventure). Also the adjective amantrach, 57, *adventurous.*
ambrail, 81, *admiral, emir.* Also in proper names: Ambrail Coscran, 52, and by itself Ambrail, 100.
amgar, *wretched*; is amhgar atamaid, 292.
amluath, 67, *distress.*
anacarrach, 290, 293, *rough, distressful, destructive?* See the foot-note at p. 316.
anbfesach, 66, *ignorant.*
andath, 295, *colorless.*
anmaine, 27, *weakness, swoon*; anmainde, 288.
anmainnigim, anmaindighim, 295, *enfeeble.*
anmann, 286, *poor, paltry,* (of bread). See p. 309, n.
annsacht, 63, *affection.*
ara; dat. pl. aradhaibh, 37, *servant, follower.*
aradain, 30, *bridle.*
árbach, 38, *slaughter.*
árd-ermach, 275, *high-leaping.*
árd-shuaithcenntus, 51, *lofty banner, emblem.*
árrsaigh, (= arrsaid), 79, 88, *old.*
arrthaisc; a n-arrthaisc, *against,* 32, 88; of friendly approach, 48, 52.
at, *hat*; at pill, 291, *rough leather hat.*
athaisiugud, 26, *a reviling, reproaching.*

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athnadh, 289, *spoil, booty*. Cf. O'Cl. athnamh .i. édáil.
attruagh, 66, *very pitiful*. So also attruath, 1.

baccach, 61, *lame, maimed*.
bai[dh]bh, 289, *battle-phantom, fury*.
bail, 88, *will, desire*.
bail, 101, *issue, effect*.
balla, 284, *wall*.
banais, *wedding*; fled bainnsi, 71, *banquet* (in general?). For the latter use cf. 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 14.
bara, 99, *barrow*.
baramail, 95, *similarity, resemblance*. Cf. 'Giolla an Fhiugha' (Ir. Texts Soc. I), Glossary, p. 201.
bárc, 284, *boat*.
barruil? co barruil, 24; probably co barr uile, as emended by Dr. Meyer.
bascad, 47, *destroying, injuring*.
bata, 57, 71, 285, *stick, club*.
bech-lus, 285, *bee-plants*, (i. e. *honey-flowers*).
becní; doriudi becní, 32, 87, *made light of* (with the preposition do).
bédgnimach, 275, 280, *evil, injurious*.
béicedach, 295, *cry, scream*.
belleic? 96, *altar?* Cf. the foot-note.
ḃést, 279, *beast*; a form in *b* existing alongside of 'piast'?
bethadach, 92, 93, *creature*.
bhuaim-si = uaim-si, 32; bhuaind = uainn, 47; buaid = uait, 49, etc.
big-urrlum, 81, *swift and sudden* (= bidhg-urrlum).
binbe? 290, *fury* (MS. binle).
binn-brég, 71, *sweet and false*.
bisech 26, *increase*.
bod 80, 93, *tail*.
boinim (= bainim); doboin, 281, 286, *took away*.
bord, *edge*; bord-briste, 42, *edge-broken*; see the foot-note.
braighe (also braighde), 70, *hostage, captive*; pl. braigdi, 72.
brainde, 288, *water, wave?* But see p. 311, n.
bráth; co brach, 97, with neg., *not at all, on no account*.
breath, *judgment*, hence *choice, desire?* 95, 280, 282.
breoite, 61, *weak, broken, feeble*.
bronntas (= bronntachas?), 73, *gift, present*.
brúad; sír-bhrúadh, 285, *a crashing, smashing?*
bruinne, *breast*; used with reference to the breath, le h-anmainde a bruinne, 288.
búaball, 32, 73, etc., *horn, bugle*.
búan-rébtha, 103, *dismantled, torn down* (referring to a city); *buan-* used as an emphatic prefix.
buidél, 283, *bottle*.
buidertha? 26, *disturbed?*
buile, 297, *fit* (of rage).
buille, *blow, stroke*; *glance* (of the eye), 26; *blast* (of a horn), 32.
bun, 45, *support, reinforcement*.

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buna? 71, bata buna borb-remur, *a stout, rough stick.* This is apparently the genitive of bun, *stock, root,* just preceding.

cabuir, 68, *help* (= cobair).
cadhla, 287, *cord, rope.* Cf. le cadhladaibh cruaidhrighnibh cnaibe, 'Life of Hugh Roe', p. 208. For corda cruaidhrighin cnaibi cf. p. 363 a, below.
caeb, 279, *clod, lump.*
cáemna, 40, *a keeping, guarding.*
caillte, 70, = coillte, *gelded?*
cainnteach, 284, *clattering, clanging* (bells); *roaring* (sea); 288.
cair, 97, *blame.*
cairt, 49, 78, *covenant, pledge*; *respite* 63, 86.
cairt, gen. cartach, 98, *cart.*
caismert, 284, *report, outcry.*
caismertach, 284, *signalling.*
caistél, 40; caisteoll, 76, *castle.* Diminutive caislein, 76.
caithim, *must, am obliged to*; used personally, co caithfidis, 51, and impersonally, caithfir, 80. Both uses occur also in the 'Fierabras'; cf. RC. XIX, 384.
carbungculus, 59, *carbuncle.*
catharda, *pertaining to a city*; cath catharrda, 43, *civil strife*; cathair catharrda, *metropolis*? 72; in a cuidechtaib catharda, 40? See p. 121, n.
cathirgail, 34, *battle, conflict.*
cathoilicda, 25, *catholic.*
causdin? 26.
céide, 35, *market-place.*
céim-digaind, 285, *firm-stepping.*
ceinnbert, 35, 69, *helmet.*
cengailte, *bound, fastened.* It is applied to a crown, 52, 276, 284; to a fetter, 285; to a helmet, 69.
cennarc, 294, *strife.*
cenn-cael, 290, *sharp-peaked, precipitous.*
cenn-chorr, 60, *round-peaked?*
cep, 76, *stocks* (of a prisoner).
cétfadach, *sensible, discreet*; apparently departing from this meaning when applied to warriors in battle, as on pp. 68, 104, 280. See the foot-note on p. 111.
cetha, 60, *shower.*
cícarach, 280, *greedy.*
cíchanach, 284, *clanging* (bells). Cf. cíchnach, *hissing*, in Meyer's Contributions.
cing, *king*; cing Heirrneis, 53; cing Caulog 96; cing o Nubie, 56.
cipe, 43, *troop* (of soldiers).
cír, *crest, top*; cira na cinnberta, 35.
cís-cháin, 281, *tax, tribute.*
cláim, 280, *I conquer, overcome.* See clóim in Windisch's Wtb. claiti, pret. ptc. 277.



clárach, gen. claraigh, 297, *wood.* Cf. Irische Texte II, 1, 58, and Aislinge Maic Conglinne, p. 166.
clas-lethan, 79, *broad-trenched* (applied to a sword). Cf. Irische Texte IV, note to l. 4735.
clemnas, 50, *alliance, marriage.*
cliamain, 82, *son-in-law.*
cluthar, 51, *sheltered, secure.*
cluthar-daingen, 28, *well-sheltered.*
cnáib, 297, *hemp.*
cofer? 63. See fer.
cogaint, 280, *chewing, gnawing.*
coigill 60, *restraint.*
coilg-dhirech, 279, *sword-straight.*
coimigthe, 29, *foreign*; coimhigche, 290.
coimlim, 61, 73, 275, *rub, smear.*
coinnlenach, 30, 60, *shining, tapering?* See the foot-note to p. 112.
colga, *keen, fierce, brave?* Applied to a sword, 65; to a warrior, 68.
com, 26, 42, *body, frame.*
coma, 90, *reward, bribe.*
comach (= combach), 275, *a pounding, discomfiture.*
comainm; comainm in læ, 86, *anniversary.*
comaithus? 37, 49, *hostility?*
coman, gen. comain, 273, *love.* (Also cumann.)
comartha, 66, *appearance, mark?*
comarthach, *marked*; *decorated* (sword) 32 (cf. p. 114, n.), 41, 44; *wounded, scarred,* 36, 62, 68, 281; *disfiguring?* (wound), 97.
combuaidirt, 57, *terror.*
comeglach, 41, *terrified.*
comfortacht, 41, *a strengthening.*
comgæl, 94, *kindred, consanguinity.*
comlonn-crúaidh, 284, *battle-hard.*
comnad, 48, *battle, combat.*
comosud, 94, *truce.*
compánach, 97, *comrade, companion.*
compás, 59, 93, *compass, circle.*
comradach, 60, *valiant?* (= comragach, comracach?)
comrann, 287, *breaking* (of a spear).
comtilgen, 64, *shedding* (blood).
congáirech, *noisy,* 35, 53, 284; co congairech, *loudly,* with acclaim? 355 b.
connmail, = cunnmail, q. v.
constabla, 55, 58, *constable.*
cor, 94, *pledge, surety.*
corda, 297, *cord.*
cortha, 102, *tired, exhausted.*
cosc, *restraint, prevention*; used frequently of undertaking a combat, fer a coisc, 29, 96, 100; fer coisci, 87; fer mo choisc, 103; fer coisgi Colobroin, 96; and compare also the verbal forms, coiscidh da ceile, 91; do coiscfedh comrac, 86.

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coscar, 73, *havoc, slaughter* (in hunting). Cf. fian-choscar.
costas, 54, *cost, expense.*
cothugud, 68, *support.*
crádh, 286, *torment, misery.*
craidhail, 33, 34, 90, *proclamation*; cf. RC. 19, 266, where it is a variant reading for coingill. See the foot-note to p. 114.
craidhi; co craidhi? *heartily?* (*with heart*), 99.
cráin, 275, *sow.*
crapaillte, 40, 59, 71, *fettered.*
crapaim, 99, *I draw up, contract* (*the legs*).
cré, 84, *creed.*
crefóg, 279, *earth, dirt.*
crithanach, 41, *trembling.*
cró; cró catha, 281, *phalanx.*
crobháinech, 68, *deadly pale? dropping blood?* See p. 146, n.
cros; tar do crois, 27, *against thy prohibition.*
cros-ledartha, 68, *cross-wounded* (i. e. *marked with crosses, with scars*). See p. 148, n.
crúadach, 60, *hard* (referring to a sword).
crúad-chúisech, 273, *hardy? ill-fortuned?* Cf. also the Sc. Gaelic cruaidh-chúis, 'hard case'. There is also another word curad-cúisech, q. v.
crúaid-rigin, 297, *hard and tough.*
crúog, 39, *need, difficulty.*
cuibfhiaclach, 47, 279, *well-tusked.*
cuibrenn, 63, 78, *company, society.*
cuibrigthe; participle of cuibrigim, *fetter, bind,* 40.
cuidecht, 40, *company*; dat. cuidechtain, 72.
cuilisi? 297, *cookery?* Perhaps it should be read cailisi. The MS. is very indistinct.
cuingi, 68 (pl. cuingedha, 29), *hero, warrior.*
cuirt, pl. cuirtenna, 31, *court.* On p. 40 it is applied to fortified strongholds.
culbur, 283, *pigeon.*
cuma, 50, 295, *grief, sorrow.*
cumachta, 59, *virtue* (of a precious stone).
cumain, 57, 71, 283, *bond, obligation*; idiomatic: tugus-sa a cumain-sin do-san, 'I paid him that debt, kept that bargain', 35; cumain mo gradha, 'the return of my love', 26.
cumann, 66, *friendship, union.*
cumairce, 52, = comairce.
cumas, 27, *power, authority.*
cumdach, 52, *ornamental.*
cumdach, 276, *covering, crown.*
cumdach, 83? rim na ro-cumdach, *count nor estimate?* See p. 160, n.
cumnad, 41, 51, 52, 80, &c., *assistance, support.*
cumnam, 30, = congnam, *help, assistance.*
cumtanus, 84; cumtanus na naem, *communion of the saints.*
cunndais, 273, *countess.*

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cunnmail, 92, 94, 96, *a keeping, holding*. Also **connmail**, 45. Compare the verbal forms **cunnmam**, 55, 1 pl. sbj., **cunnaim**, 291, 2 sg. imv., and **docunnaibh**, 32, 3 sg. pret.
cunntabart, 28, *doubt*.
curad-chúisech, 29, 53, *valiant*.
curata, 41, 65, 79, *brave, soldier-like*.
cursun, 29, 70, *horse, charger*.

daingen bratharda, 66, *sworn brotherhood, conjuratio*.
dainnech, 26, *strong*.
dán, *gift*; i n-dán, 103, *allotted to*, hence *in the power of*. Cf. RC. XIV, 65; XXIII, 434.
debenaibh, 25, dat. pl.; for dedblenaib, *weak, poor*? Cf. O'Dav. dedblen .i. deroil. But see the p. 106, n.
dénmus, *figure, form*; co m-buaidh crotha 7 cæmdhenmusa, 21.
der (?), 97, nir der fair; read derg? *he hurt, wounded*.
dércinna, 25, plural formation to dérc, *alms*.
dermail, 63, 288, 293, *very great*.
dethcealt, 24, *clothing*. Cf. Cormac's Glossary, decealt .i. brat no leine. Also RC. XXII, 414.
dethfireach, 79, *quick, hasty*.
deththeangthach, 50, *well-spoken*.
díblide, 102, *wretched, weak*.
díchuma 85, *sorrow*.
dífoglaighthe, 283, *impregnable*; dighfoghlaigte, 64.
díg, 284, *dike, ditch*.
dígeann, 92, *plentiful* (= di-goinn)?
dighthi? 70; fius ar n-dighthi?
dil, 296, *enough, sufficiency*.
dilait, 97, *saddle*.
dín, 59, *a covering, protecting*?
dinér, 283, *dinner*.
dírech; gach n-direch, 289, *straight, directly*. Cf. Irische Texte II, 2, 241 and Silva Gadelica, 1, 256.
díriudh? = diriughadh? *attack* (with the preposition ar), 81.
dírmada, 49, 69, *troops, armies*; sg. dírma.
dith 70 (gen. sg. dithi), *destruction*.
diubhrugud, 57, *a hurling, slinging*; gen. sg. diuraice, 60.
diucaire, 40, 66, 92, *lamentation*. (For diuaire, 34, read díucaire?)
diuice, 34, &c., *duke*.
diuiciacht, 81, *dukedom*.
doaithennta, 44, *strange, unrecognisable*.
dobreoite, 75, *indestructible*.
dócha, 67, comp. of dóig, *probable*.
dochraidh, 65, *gloomy, terrible*.
dóchusach, 34, *hopeful, confident*.
doedrana, 56, *implacable, inseparable*.

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dofreastal, 52, 65 a, *unserviceable, destructive.*
doible, 24, *complaint? resistance?* See p. 106, n.
doim, 91, *poor, wretched.*
doingabála, 61, *unconquerable.*
domesta, 101, *immeasurable.*
dorus-bél, 102, *mouth, entrance (of a cave).*
dreollan, 284, *wren.*
droitced togbála, 284, *draw-bridge.*
dronn, 280, *ridge, back, tuft.*
duaibsech, 42, *dark, gloomy*; applied to heathen gods, 57. Used as a substantive, *black stain* (to disguise the face), 74.
duaithin, 44, *unknown, unrecognisable.*
dub-, emphatic prefix; dubh-ruathar, 97.
dúbullta, 97, *double, two-fold.*
dú[th]raic, *wish, desire*; ni duraic lium, 101.

ed, 29, &c., *a while*; re h-edh 7 re h-athaig.
édach, 278, apparently referring to bed-clothes, *coverlet?*
édáil, 28, *spoils, booty,* then *success* (in general).
edarnaige, 35, *ambuscade.*
édfhualann, 46, = *étualang.*
égaintech, 66, *wretched, mournful.*
égcruas, 43, *weakness.*
eiledrum, 99, *bier.*
Eirristin, 289, *Saracen.*
eitech? fir-eitech 7 fairsinge, 36, 45. Perhaps for fir-reitech. See the footnote to p. 117.
éladach, 68, 104, 105, 277, *fugitive.*
eladain, 82, *minstrelsy.*
élugad, 43, *escape.*
eochuir-imel, 50, *edge, border.*
erber, 27, *arbor.*
escaid; prim-eocaid, 45, *very swift.*
esóg, 92, *weasel.*
espairt, 64, *vespers, evening prayer.*
espal, 84, = abstal.

faenais, 104, translation uncertain. See p. 179, n.
faill, 292, *opportunity.*
faithech, 32, 100, *nervous, skittish* (of a horse).
falcmar, 276, *profuse.*
falmaire, 283, *palmer.*
faltanus, 58, *enmity.*
fanamad, 87, *mockery.*
farrach, 61, 100, *beating, wounding.*
fáthach, 47, *skilful.*
fáubhcun, 29, *falcon.*

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féchain; ag fechain, *in comparison with*, 58.
fedmanntus, 43, *commission*.
feidm; feidm moirseisir, *a task for seven men*, 99; ni fuil feidm agud a fis d'fagail, 38, *it will not profit thee, does not concern thee, to know it*; also 64, 91.
feil-cerdach, 91, *treacherous*.
feilm, 36, *helmet*.
fer, used as general antecedent of a relative; applied to God, don fhir dochum nem 7 talmain, 87.
fethuide, 73, *animals, game*.
fian-choscar, 38, 53, *fiann-slaughter* (*in hunting*). Cf. Irische Texte, IV, Glossary, s. v.
fer? in cofer, 62, 71, meaning *mixed fur*? (Middle English 'feir, veir'). See p. 141, n.
fich-misgnech, 286, *hateful*.
figill brátha, 84, = fuigell. Cf. Windisch's Wtb.
figil, 83, *vigil*.
firaibéil, 26, 72, etc., cf. aibéil, above.
fisigh, fissi, 26, *physician*? This appears to be the native word fissid, 'wise man, seer'; fisice, in the Gaelic Maundeville (CZ. II, 305), is obviously a loan-word.
foburtach, 56, *violent, aggressive*.
fód, 66, *spot, place*; a fod fo leith, 98, *apart*.
foiginnech, 282, *patient*.
foilgim; rofhoilgedur, 60, *they cut, pierced*.
foill: co foill, with a verb of waiting, 54, 64, *a while, a little*.
fomor (fodhmor), 288, *giant, monster*.
forborach, 31, *excellent*.
forniata, 45, *fierce, violent*.
foslongport, 59, *camp*.
fostaigim, 51, *levy, collect* (*a force*).
fothraic[th]i, 87; pl. of fothrugud, *bath*.
freagraim, 44, *attack* (*in battle*).
fritheng, *return*; a fritheing, 51, *back*.
frithir, 70, 282, *fierce*.
fuasglad, 281, *ransom*.
fuin, 50, 69, *end, termination*; co fuin, 98.
fuindeog, 66, 84, *window*.
fuindeog, 31, 38, 69, 89, *wound*.
furáer, 59, *ready, prepared*.
furais, 43, *forest*.

gabaim; gabaim ag, 94, *forgive*.
gabal mara, 65, *arm of the sea, inlet*. Cf. CZ. II, 305.
gael (d. pl. gaeltaibh, 94), *relative, kinsman*.
gail? a n-gail a sceith, 60? See p. 139, n.
gáinne, 46, *dart, arrow*.
gall-trumpa, 52, *trumpet*.

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gem-aidche, 59, *winter night.*
gerán, 66, *lamentation.* Adjective geránach, 63, 66.
gérarmach? *sharp-armed?* co gerarmach, 35.
gillanrach, 278, = gillanrad, *crowd of gillies.*
gitart, 52, apparently *gittern*, or *guitar.*
giustáil, 29, *jousting.*
glac, *grip, hold*; a n-glaic dilaiti, 296, *in the saddle.*
glæde, 28, 79, 288, *dagger, knife.*
glaidim, 294, *I cry out, shout.*
glas, 77, 78, *fetter.*
gnús-gorm, 61, 279, 286, *dark-yawning? dark-visaged?* See the foot-note on p. 140.
goillim, 25, 63, *I cause grief, trouble* (with the preposition 'ar').
gormad, 29, *to sharpen.* Cf. cuilg da gormad, Egan O'Rahilly (ITS. III), p. 60.
grachra? 296. See the foot-note.
gráinemail, 43, *ugly, fierce.*
gránna, 42, *horrible, wicked.*
grás, *grace, favor*; pl. grasa, 27.
gredán, 276, *revelry, rejoicing.* Cf. Rev. celt. XIX, 140.
greim, 286, *bite.*
grenach, 276, *lively, mirthful.*
grennaigim, 33, *I provoke, challenge.* Also the noun grenn; greann coguidh, 71, *challenge to battle.*
grennmur, *fierce, terrible?* 30, 35, 43, 69, 88, 281; referring to blows in battle, 56; to a spear, 32, 46; to a warning bell, 284.
gresach, *embroidered;* glan-gresach, 282.
grib, 89, *fierce, bold*; on the development of its meaning cf. Stokes, CZ. I, 433.
grísach, *fire, burning embers*; do grisaigh, 275, *off the fire.*
grod, *quick, prompt*; grod-urrlum, 287.
gruagach, 101, *hideous, ugly.*
guaisbertach, 42, *bold, perilous.*
gúdna, 25, gúna, 51, *gown.*
gum, 99, *gum.*
gunna; d. pl. gunnaib, 46, *gun.*
guth, 79, 285, *shame, reproach.* Cf. 'Battle of Ventry', Glossary, s. v. Also its use in the sense of *epithet*, P. M. Mac Sweeney, 'Caithreimh Conghail', p. 38.

halla, 79, 102, *hall.*

iargúlta, 282, *churlish.*
iarla, 24, etc. (pl. iarlaigi, 76), *earl.*
ibhnis, 24, = oibnes, *pleasure, entertainment.*
impir (also impire, 40, &c.), *emperor.*
inaister, 98, *able to travel.*
ar inchaibh; ar h-inchaibh, 65, *at thy disposal*; pl. ar bar n-incaibh, 73, *in your power, protection.*
incleith, co h-incleith, 47, 65, 75, *secretly.*

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inchumannta, 61, *able to fight.*
inmaige (gen. sg.), 90, *time of pregnancy* (= inbaid).
inme, 31, 50, *property, rank.* Cf. CZ. II, 262.
innlaicim, 102, *convey, conduct*; also the noun innlucud, 296. Cf. Stokes in Rev. celt. 26, 169.
intæbha, 289, *trustworthy, reliable.*

laitís, 291, *lattice.*
lám; a láim, 70, &c., *in subjection, restraint.*
lámach, 24, *hurling, spear-casting.*
lampa; d. pl. lampaib, 52, *lamp.*
lám-tapad, 274, *quick grip.*
lán; lán mura, 93, *full tide.* Cf. Battle of Ventry, Glossary, p. 105.
leac; leac in tempuill, 96, *altar?* Reading and interpretation uncertain. Cf. the foot-note.
léidmech, 57, 69, *eager, brave.*
leithoir, 284, = léightheoir, *reader.*
lige, 291, *licking.*
límugad, 280, *a polishing, sharpening.*
línaim, *I fill*; ro lín gorta sinn, 293.
lipart, 289, *leopard.*
litechus, 86, 89, *charge, accusation.*
log, 284, *ditch.*
logaim, 47, *I forgive.*
loinderrda, 279, *bright, flashing.*
lór-daethan, 28, *full supply, abundance.*
luaighecht, 94, (= luaighidhecht?), *reward.*
lugha; is lugha orum, is lughaidi orum, 87, *I dislike, despise.*

maillísech, 274, 275, *malicious, wicked.*
mainer, 81, *manor.*
mainistir, 37, *monastery*; pl. mainistrecha, 90.
mainnechtnaige, 25, *negligence.*
maise, 44, *honor, glory*; robo maith a maisi dó é, 94.
marannaib, 59, dat. pl. of muir, *sea.*
marcaigecht, 95, *horsemanship.*
marged, 77, *market.*
marusgal 25, *marshall.* Also marusgalacht, 76, *command, office of marshall.*
masla, 282, *insult.*
mella? co mella (co mellad), 24? Reading and translation uncertain; perhaps from millim, *I destroy*, hence *conquer, surpass.* See p. 105, n.
merge 42, 70, *standard*; pl. mergedha, 55.
merlasaim, *flame fiercely*; romerlasadur, 58.
metachus, 275, *cowardice* (= metacht)?
míchar, 103, *friendly.*
(co) míchéille, 67, *madly, foolishly*; apparently the gen. of 'míchiall' used adjectivally. This construction is not uncommon, but its further extension to form an adverb with 'co' is striking.

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mícheirdech, 276, 282, *wicked.*
míchorugad, 57, *ill-treatment.*
mígné, 44, *sad face, ill appearance.*
mílla, = minla, 26, *gentle.*
millad, 66, *execution, murder.*
míniughad, 297, *to tame,* hence *to deflower.* See p. 319, n.
mínlech, 69, *field, meadow.*
misde; note the idiom: ni fedar-sa gur misde a marbadh, 74, ni fedar gur misdi in builli do thabairt, 73, *I did not know that it was wrong, harmful,* etc.
mí-shnímach, 64, *distressful.*
mí-thaemannach, 275, *unhappy, unfortunate.* Cf. Atkinson, Three Shafts of Death, Glossary, s. v. mí-thaomach.
mod, 24, *work, handiwork.*
modarda, 25, 279, *rough, fierce.*
móidi: ni moidi let, 64; idiom uncertain.
mothar-dorcha, 80, *deep-dark.*
motlach, 80, *shaggy.*
mul, 75, *mule.*
múnad, 24, *instruction.*
murmur, 25, *murmur.*

nellaib 44 (?). Doubtless to be read 'co n-édálaib'; see the foot-note.
neméillnigthe, 88, *immaculate.* Cf. éillnighim; gurob amhlaid ellnighter a n-ingina, CZ. I, 84.
neoch, in relative use, 24.
neoll, 27, *trance, swoon.*
nidechus, 24, *prowess.*
nobla, 37, *noble* (i. e. the coin).
nuachórigim, 25, *I arrange anew, adorn freshly.*
numaigi, 41; translation uncertain.

ocurach, 102, *hungry.*
oigre, 52, *heir.*
oirbindech, 24, *honorable* (= airmitnech).
oirchisecht, 98, *pittance, gift.*
oliua, 48, *olive.*
óraige, 70, *golden, gilded.*
ordamuil, 99, *regular, orderly.*
orgán, 52, *organ,* or perhaps *pipes.*
othrala, 24, (perhaps otrala), pl. of othrail, = offráil? *offering?* Or is it rather to be connected with othrola, RC. XIX, 380?
pailís, pl. pailísi, 274, *palisade, enclosure?*
páirc, pl. páircinna, 50, *park, field.*
páirt, 99, *part.*
páis, 42, *suffering, passion.*
patriarca, 289, *patriarch.*

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peiléir, 94, *pillar.*
poinnige, poindige, 30, 277, 284 (of a pillar), 286 (of beasts), *strong? stately?* Cf. the foot-note to p. 111.
posta, *pillar*; ina tri postaighibh, 28.
prás, 284, *brass.*
priceduibh, 52; translation uncertain.
prinnsa, 81, *prince.*
prioir, 289, 291, *prior.*
prisún, 40, *prison.*
proseisiam, 52, 98, 295, *procession.*
púidse, 62, *pouch.*
púnt, 81, *pound.*
pupul, 97, *people.* Cf. puplach, *public,* RC. XIX, 140.
pupull, 59, 65, *tent.*

raen, 37, *road, way.*
recht, *fury?* buinne roda rechta, 40.
recht-aigenntach, 32, 45, *impulsive, bold, violent?* Applied to lamentation, 99. See the foot-note to p. 113.
rechtmar, 67, 277, 287, *violent, fierce.*
réidech, 294, *reconciliation.*
réitech, *plain, open country.* See foot-note to p. 117.
resún, 26, *reason.*
riadad, 47, *hanging, execution.*
ridire, *knight,* 27, etc.
rind-luath, 57, *spear-swift.*
da ríribh, 71, *in earnest*; compare the Arch. f. celt. Lex. II, 117.
ró; co ró-so, 67, 296, *hitherto.*
robarta, 94, 284, *tide, storm at sea.* Zeuſs, GC., p. 864.
roda, 40; buinne roda rechta, *wave of redness of fury?*
rolad, 29, *rolling.*
róp, 287, *rope.*
rorith, 99, *headlong speed.*
ruamanntacht, 278, *violence, rage.* Cf. da tharb ruamanta ('furious'), 'Anc. Laws' VI, 626. da rás-tarb ruamanta, 'Battle of Moyra', p. 298.

sail, 287, *beam.*
sáile, 286, *sea.*
saithche, 285, pl. of saithe, *swarm.*
sanntach, 69, *keen, eager.*
sáraigim, 24, *overcome, surpass.*
sáthad, 40, 56, *blow, stroke.*
scáth; ar a scath, 57, *for his shelter* (i. e. to protect him). It also means *in the shelter* of. For both uses see Meyer's 'Battle of Ventry', Glossary, sub voce.
scoth-fæbrach, 62, *sharp-edged.*
scrisaim: ro scris, 97, *glanced aside* (of a weapon).

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sdim-lebra, 29, 31, *having long hair, long manes?* Cf. the modern stiom, 'hair-lace', 'snood' (Carmichael's 'Carmina Gadelica' II, 336).
sdét, 36, *steed.*
sdibard, 24, *steward.*
sedal, 38, *space, while.*
seghmur, 280, *attent, resolute?* (= seadhmur?)
seghmur, 46, *curious, well-wrought?* (applied to arrows), 68, *noble, fair?* (applied to England). Cf. abann seaghmar, 'a noble river', Battle of Ventry, p. 44.
seighlér, 76, *jailor.*
seitrech, 52, *strong.*
séla; d. pl. sélaib, 280, *seal.*
seomra, 52, 66, *chamber.* Also seombradoir, 292, *chamberlain.*
sepél, 84, 90, 100, *chapel.*
serbís, 25, *service.*
sgarlóid, 51, *scarlet.*
sgethrach, 295, *vomit.*
sgripa, 93, *scrip.*
sguiger, 27, *squire.*
siltech, 285, *flowing.*
síraide, 100, *permanent, lasting.*
sithe, 60, *thrust.*
sitir, 291, *neighing.*
slána, 94, *sureties.*
slat, 67, *a robbing, plundering.*
slat, *rod*; slat a múinti, 24.
slinn-gér, 32, 34, 60, *sharp-bladed.* Cf. 'Caithreim Conghail', pp. 64 and 138.
sliss-glégel, 34, *having white sides.*
snaidm retha, 297, *slip-knot.*
snas-mín, 46, *smooth and fine.*
sobreagh, 68, *beautiful.*
solás, 56, *pleasure, happiness.*
spalmach, 48, *wasting away, feeble?*
spéir, 59, *sphere.*
spísrad, 99, *spices.*
spor, 39, 280, *spur.* Also dospor, 70, *spurred.*
spraicemail, 280, *vigorous.*
sraccud, 28, *a tearing* (of the stroke of an oar); 34, *clashing together* (in tournament).
sremnaige, 48, *fine, filmy?* (= sreabhnaidhe). Cf. Irische Texte III, 2, 531.
srub-gér, 46, *sharp-tipped?*
suaiti, 279, *tired exhausted.*
suidigim ar, 86, *I make a charge against.*
súil, *eye*; robui suil agam, 74, *I had hope.*

tabaigim, 289, *extort, demand.*
tabúr, 53, *tabour.* Cf. 'Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell', pp. 34, 216.

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tai, 47, *silent.*
taidlib? 51, for **taiblib**? **taibli**, *battlements.* For references see the foot-note to p. 131.
táimneoll, 27, 62, *swoon, fainting-fit.*
tairthech, 46; le clochuibh tairthecha taball? See p. 127, n.
taise, 27, *swoon, fainting-fit.*
tapaid, *swift*; deth-tapaid, 276, *very swift.*
tapra, d. pl. tapraib, 52, *taper.*
rotaraill, 49, *visited.*
tarra, 48, 54, 98, 103, 292, *come* (imv.).
tegmáil, 53, *struggle, fighting.* Also tegmalach, 68, *contentious.*
teinnesmech, 41, *violent, fierce.*
teinntemail, 88, *fiery.*
teithed, 95, 293, *flight.*
tempall, 69, 84, 97, *church.*
tesbach (tesfach), 88, *heat.*
tí; mur æintí, 78, *with one mind, together.*
tigluicthech, 71, *bountiful.*
tinne? 282, *bar, ingot?* The manuscript is not clear.
tinnlacad, 64, *gift, present.*
tinntige, 61, *fiery*, (in muir tinntighe).
toicce, 50, *wealth.*
toicthech, 26, *rich.*
toiled, 97, *would fit, suit.* Cf. also tuillinn, below.
toirrtim, 65, 92, *fit* (*of sleep*).
toirtemail, 284, *great, vast.*
toisc, 58, *errand, business.*
tor, 102, *tower.*
torad, *fruit*; do thoradh, *by virtue of*, 57.
torann, 275, *tumult* (of battle)? *charge?* Cf. instances cited in R. C. XIX, 390.
tosca, 274, *message.*
tostadach, 47, *silent.*
trebar-daingen, 78, *strongly-defended.*
trelad, 95, *armor*; trealaidi, 71.
trelam, 97, gen. trealaim, *armor.*
tréiginus, 85, 90 *fasting.*
trén-legad, 46, *mightily destroying, razing.*
treisidi, 73, comparative of 'trén', *strong.*
trian, 45, *company, detachment.*
troid, 59, *opposition, resistance.*
trom-chonach, 35, *great prosperity.*
trom-fóidech, 279 (trom-oidig, 44), *heavy-sodded.*
tuargaint, 41, *attack.*
tuillinn, 54, *fits.* Cf. 'Battle of Magh Rath', p. 56 — 'a toill ind ina seasam, ni thoillit ina suide'.
tunna, 80, *tun.*
turnam, 60, *overwhelming, subjugation.*
turnaim, 60, *check, subdue.*

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tús, 58, *rank, precedence.*
túsca, 91, *sooner.*

uaill, 290, *pity, woe.*
uainges, 36, 279, *state of being alone, solitude.* uainges imthechta, 292, *opportunity, to depart?* fuair uainges on espoc, 295. Cf. also the adj. uaingech, 27, *secret* (arbor); 79, a n-egluis uaingigh. In adverbial use: co h-uaingech, *solitarily, without protection*, 47, 292. Cf. also CZ II, 288 and RC. XIX, 126.
uille, 76, *greatness, excess.*
uilligi? 46. For fhuilligi? fuilech, *bloodshed?*
uilpéist, 295, *monster.*
uirédrum, 41, *very light.*
uiresbadh, 31, *lack.*
umal-assaic, 102, *foot-washing.* Cf. Irische Texte, IV, 434.
urbronn, 34, *bosom.*
urlaide (urlaige), 275, 280, *fight, battle.*
urmaisnech, 34, *boldly, courageously.* Cf. Irish Texts Society 1, 208 for other cases.
urrunta, 100, *strong* (of weapons).
úsc, 275, *grease.*

Index of Proper Names.

(References are not given for every repetition of the commoner names.)

Guy of Warwick.

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Bevis of Hampton.

Additions and Corrections.

Since expansions of the MS. contractions have not been regularly italicized, it seems desirable to call attention here to occasional departures from the practices described on p. 21. These inconsistencies, which it was hard to avoid in a long and interrupted period of proof-reading, are in most cases unimportant. The MS. form *maithȝ*, usually printed *maithus* in the first part of the text, is sometimes spelled *maithuis* or *maithes*, which doubtless better represent the actual word. Similarly *leighes* and *leighus* occur for MS. *leighȝ*, and *robuailuis* (p. 78) is for MS. *robuailȝ*. *Fuarusa*, and other cases of the 1 sg. s-pret., are sometimes normalized (*fuarus*-[*s*]*a* etc.), sometimes not. In the verbal norm of *millim* the expansion *milled* or *milliud* (MS. *mill*~) is preferable to *millud* (p. 95). MS. *dō* ist sometimes expanded *dno* and sometimes *dano*. In the nom. sg. of *muinter* (regularly *muint̃* in the Ms.) the

ending might properly have been italicized, since it is doubtful whether the form was *muinter* or *muintir*. In the oblique cases I intended to expand regularly gen. *muintire*, dat. acc. *muintir*, but Dr. Stern has called my attention to a number of forms in *-ere* and *-er*.

The following misprints and errors are also to be corrected:

p. 17, l. 13. For *feastened* read *feasted*.
19, note. For *Fmperor* read *Emperor*.
21, l. 10. For *s* read *r*. l. 26. For *iu* read *in*. l. 35. For *refoer* read *rofer*.
23, l. 13. Omit the comma after *certain*.
27, l. 33. For *asin n-* read *asinn*.
28, l. 33. For *et reliqua* the MS. has here and elsewhere *7rl—a*.
37, n. 2. *Dia* can be the genitive, and *do* is unnecessary.
40, l. 10. For *cimedheibh* read *cimedhaibh*.
44, l. 33. For *talman* read *talmain*.
46, l. 31. For *to* read *do*.
48, l. 36. For *rocrum* read *rocrom*.
49, l. 1. Insert [*mac*] before *do derbrathar* and translate accordingly (p. 139).
57, n. 2. For *fitit* read *fitibh*.
58, l. 12. For *an doigh* read *a ndoigh*, 'in the hope that'.
59, l. 27. For *hainm* red *h'ainm*.
63, l. 6. For *dofhuling* read *dofhuluing*.
67, l. 20. Omit the hyphen between *na* and *cathrach*.
68, l. 14. For *teith* read *teit*.
75, l. 9. *a* is incorrectly repeated before *bainntigerna*.
106, l. 2. Insert *it* before was. n. 2. For *It is* read *Is it*.
108, l. 35. Insert a comma after *that*.
113, n. 3. For *furthers reference* read *further references*.
117, l. 22. For *certainly* read *straightway*.
127, l. 7. For *in bonds* read *without gaining anything*.
128, l. 25. For *he* read *anyone*.
143, l. 12. For *be* read *he*.
146, n. 2. For *lnterrogative* read *interrogative*.
153, l. 10 and p. 163, l. 20. For *days* read *days'* and omit the comma.
157, l. 4. For *attached* read *attacked*.
174, l. 36. Strike out *the* before *Guy's*.

Cambridge (Mass.). F. N. Robinson.

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THE DATE OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN.

(Continuation.)

II.

In my first article on this subject (Bd. III, S. 492) I gave reasons for believing — (1) that the chronological datum that the Venerable Bede relied on when he assigned the advent of Hengist and Horsa to A. D. 449, and wrongly synchronised that year with the first year of the reign of the Emperor Marcian, was formulated in a style in which only the complete years of the interval passed through since the era began were counted, the current year being entirely ignored; and (2) that if the formula conveying this date had been reproduced accurately by Bede it would have been found to indicate A. D. 450, in which the first year of Marcian really was current. I also suggested that the difference of 22 between the figures of the year that ought to have been handed down by Bede, namely 450, and those of the year actually referred to in the lxvith chapter of the 'Historia Brittonum', namely 428, is due to the use of a method of computing annuary data that was elaborated by Marianus Scotus in later times and styled by him 'secundum Evangelium', or 'secundum Evangelicam Veritatem', and I undertook to substantiate this opinion and to shew that the method of computation referred to was in existence before Bede wrote his 'Historia Ecclesiastica'. I hope to fulfil this undertaking in the present article.

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Computation in the Eras of the Passion and the Incarnation 'secundum Evangelicam Veritatem'.

Chapter 1.

In the Cotton Codex *Nero C. V.* there is a XIIth-century transcript of the 'Cronica Cronicarum' of Marianus Scotus which ends on folio 159, and, in accord with the system he adopted, dates the last annal 'Ann. I. cxxii: A. D. MC'. Folio 160 *recto* is blank, except for two lines of writing;[1]) then on folio 160 *verso* and 161 *recto* we find an elaborate table of the Easters of the Great Paschal Cycle of DXXXII. years, computed according to Dionysius, that is, in the orthodox manner.[2]) On the *verso* of the folio mentioned last, however, there is another series of Paschal computations which is of very different origin. First of all we get those computistical criteria of the alleged years of the Nativity and the Passion which are always associated with Marianus; then come the rules governing the Paschal computations of those ecclesiastics who rejected the Dionysian order of years and counted according to Marianus's. These rules, *mutatis mutandis*, are identical with those of Dionysius and are arranged so as to yield the orthodox dates for Easter Day; hence it is not necessary to reproduce them. The first part of this document enumerates the criteria of the years to which the computist assigned the Annunciation and Nativity, and the Passion, as follows:

Annunt*iatio:* Indic*tione* xi. Cicl*us* Solari*s* viii. Cicl*us* xix. xviii. Epacta vii. F*eria* vi. Natiuit*as:* Indict*ione* xii. Cicl*us* Solari*s* viii. cicl*us* xix. xviii. Epacta xviii. F*eria* i. Passio: Indic*tione* xiiii. Cicl*us* Solari*s* xiii. cicl*us* xix. xiii. Epacta xii. F*eria* vi.

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[1]) These lines give the following names of men: Goffridus filius rotgeri. Godefridus. Orgar*us*. Suennus. Wluuin*us* faber. Golduin. Hugo. Herluuinus. Seuuardus pr*esbyter*. Alueric*us* Rotgerus. Crispinus.

[2]) Dionysius, called 'Exiguus' by Abbot Ceolfrid (Bede's 'H. E.' V. xxi. p. 341), and by many other writers, was a monk and perhaps an abbot at Rome, who modified the Alexandrine Paschal rules and composed the Canon by which the Western Church was guided in the computation of Easter during more than a millennium. He wrote in A. D. 526, Indiction IV., and his computistical method came into use in A. D. 532.

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These statements when tabulated and the criteria distributed among the Julian years in which they fall appear thus:

	The Indiction	The year of the Solar Cycle	The year of the Decemnovennal Cycle	The Epact	The Feria	
The Annunciation	xi.	viii.	xviii.	vii.	vi.	= 25 March, } B. C. 22.
The Nativity	xii.	viii.	xviii[i].	xviii.	i.	= 25 Dec., } B. C. 22.
The Passion	xiiii.	xiii.	xiii.	xii.	vi.	= 25 March, A. D. 12.

The computations in the first and second columns do not agree with our way of dating. Orthodox computists added 3 to the A. D. to get the Indiction, and 9 to get the year of the Solar Cycle. Hence the indictional and soli-cyclic years with which Marianus's *annus dominicae passionis* fell should be xv. and xxi., respectively. We must not assume error, however, where there may be only difference, and it is quite possible that a XIIth-century English computist may have counted the years of the Indiction in the same way as the Genoese did, two centuries later; and that he may have regarded A D. 28, which was the first year of the era of the Passion according to Victurius of Aquitaine,[1]) as the first year of the Solar Cycle. In the third column I have made a necessary correction by adding 1 to the Golden Number, which does not tally in the MS. with its own Epact. The change of Golden Number and Epact effected between the Day of the Annunciation and the Nativity indicates that the computist began the Paschal year on September 1,[2]) on which day the lunar year, *i. e.*, the Golden

[1]) *Vide* 'Victorii Aquitani Cursus Paschalis, a. CCCCLVII.', ed. Mommsen, 'Chronica Minora', i. 1892 (= 'M. G. H.', Auctt. Antiquiss. Tomus IX.) pp. 666; 677—735.

[2]) *Vide* Beda's 'De Temporum Ratione', cap. XX. (*apud* Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, tom. XC, col. 395 C); and cf. the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates', I. 52 and also St. Ambrose's Epistle *De Festo Paschali, apud* Bucher, 'De Doctrina Temporum (Antv. 1634), p. 477, par. 7, l. 16. St. Ambrose says that April was 'mensis octauus secundum consuetudinem nostram'. For the following century compare 'Prosperi Tironis Chronicon', 'Chron. Minor.', I, 466: '(A passione) CCCLXXXIII. [= A. D. 410] Varane v. c. consule. Roma a Gothis Alarico duce capta [*sc.* VIII. Kal. Septembr.] et ob hoc solus fuit Orien-

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Number, was changed along with the Epact. The year of the Solar Cycle was changed on January 1.

These computistical minutiae are not very interesting, perhaps, but they teach us that Marianus and other computists believed that the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ took place on Friday, March 25, moon 15. Their reasons for this threefold belief were drawn respectively from the Gospel, from the tradition of the Roman Church, and from the Jewish Law. We are not concerned with the question of the correctness of this view, so we need not stay to examine the grounds of Marianus's belief. It is quite clear that he assigned the Passion to a year whose Sunday Letter and Golden Number were B and XIII., respectively, and at the period of Jesus Christ's lifetime this conjunction falls out in A. D. 12 alone. Marianus and other computists who wished to correct Dionysius also believed, like the latter, perhaps, that Christ lived to be 33 years and 3 months old; hence they necessarily dated the Passion *Anno dominicae incarnationis XXXIIII. secundum evangelicam veritatem* (a formula which I shall abbreviate in future and write *sec. E. V.*).

Three important considerations result from the recognition of the position of Marianus and his followers: (1) It follows that the Western ecclesiastics who originated the computations *sec. E. V.* did not obey purely Alexandrine rules, because since A. D. 12 has the Golden Number XIII., which is an embolismic year with the Alexandrines (*cf.* Ztschr. IV, 337), its Paschal plenilunium would be deferred in computation by one day, and consequently March 25 could not be computed as moon 15. (XIII. has 12 days of epact and the lunar regular of March 1 is 9; therefore in that lunar year March 1 fell on moon 21 = 12 + 9, and the Paschal Moon ascended on March 11, according to Dionysius, but on March 12 according to the followers of Theophilus and Cyril, who assigned moon 15 to March 26.) (2) The new method, therefore, embodied results arrived at by Dionysian lunar computation, and relied absolutely upon their accuracy when calculating the date of the Crucifixion. This new method, consequently, could not have been invented long before A. D. 532, when Dionysius's Paschal Cycle officially

talium partium consul, quod et sequenti anno obseruatum est. (A passione) CCCLXXXIIII. Theodosio Aug. IIII. cons.'

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commenced. (3) As the year which Marianus and other computists made Annus Dominicae Passionis I., *sec. E. V.*, and Annus Dominicae Incarnationis XXXIV., *sec. E. V.*, was really A. D. 12 it follows that the numerical differences between the figures connoting identical years of the Western Solar Cycle in these eras are 22 and 11. Moreover, the difference between the figures of identical years computed severally in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.*, and the era of the Passion according to Prosper (and others) is 17 years. These three differences, viz. ± 22, ± 11, and ± 17, provide the key to nearly all the chronological puzzles that have hitherto rendered the elucidation of Anglo-British history in the Vth and VIth centuries impossible.

Chapter 2.

Among the most recent remarks made about the curious error in which Marianus Scotus participated are those in Prof. Rühl's 'Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit', Berlin, 1897, S. 202. Prof. Rühl says:

'Mehrfach hat man im Mittelalter Versuche gemacht die Rechnung des Dionysius zu berichtigen. Der wichtigste darunter ist der des Marianus Scotus (1028-1082). Dieser Schottenmönch argumentierte folgendermaſsen. Nach Dionysius wäre Jesus im Jahre 34. n. Chr. gestorben. Er starb aber an einem Freitag, und, wie Marianus weiter annahm, am 15. Nisan nach jüdischer und am 25. März nach römischer Rechnung. Diese Daten trafen nun nach seiner Rechnung nicht im 34., sondern im 12. Jahre der dionysischen Ära zusammen, und er setzte daher Christi Geburt um 22 Jahre früher an, als Dionysius, und legte die Jahre der neuen von ihm erfundenen Ära als *Anni secundum evangelium* oder *secundum evangelicam veritatem* oder einfach *Anni evangelici* seiner Chronik zu Grunde, während er die gewöhnliche Jahreszahl als *Anni secundum Dionysium* am Rande vermerkte. Marianus wurde ob seiner Erfindung zwar vielfach bewundert und belobt, z. B., von Sigebert von Gembloux,[1] aber Nachfolger fand er nur in England, insbesondere bei Florenz von Worcester[2]) und dessen Fortsetzern'.

[1]) *Vide* 'M. G. H.' Scriptorum Tomus VI, p. 354.

[2]) Florence of Worcester died on July 7, 1118. His Annals were edited by Benjamin Thorpe and they also appear in 'Monumenta Historica Britan-

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This view is the current one among English diplomatists and historians and it is ultimately derivable from William of Malmesbury, who, speaking of Marianus's system of chronology, says that he 'paucos aut nullos sententiæ suæ sectatores habuit'.[1]) This dictum has had a very unfortunate effect upon chronological research. For, not only does Malmesbury's remark appear to have been accepted with regard to the earlier part of the XIIth century, when he was writing, and to have been applied without any reason at all to later times, but it has also prevented in some obscure way the putting of the question — Did any computist use the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.* before Marianus's times? As for Malmesbury's own times the computation examined above in chap. 1 shews that 'nullos aut paucos sectatores habuit' must be received with caution; with regard to later times than Malmesbury's a succession of errors extending down to the XVIth century, and still debated at the present day, is due to the survival among obscure local historians and annalists of chronological statements computed *sec. E. V.*; while with respect to earlier times than Marianus's I shall prove that the computistical methods elaborated and applied by him were known centuries before his time, and I shall shew that they appeared in Gaul and in Northumbria almost as soon as the computistical methods of Dionysius were established therein, that is to say as early as the VIIth century.

Chapter 3.

At the beginning of the Vth century orthodox Christians were computing the order of the years in three distinct and mutually independent ways: viz. (1) from the Creation; (2) from

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nica', i. 522 sqq. Prof. Rühl's remark that Marianus found followers in England only is not accurate. Compare his own page 203, where a bull of Pope Urban II. is quoted. It is dated 'secundum Dionysium A. D. 1098: secundum uero certiorem euangelii probationem 1121'. *Cf.* also, 'Helinandi Frigidi Montis Monachi Chronicon', *apud* Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, tom. CCXII, col. 976 an. 1082, and for Helinand's master, Radulfus Anglicus, *ibid.* col. 1035.

[1]) *Vide* 'Willelmi Malmesberiensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum, libri V.', ed. William Stubbs, D. D.; 'R. B. SS.', no. 90, 1889, p. 345. III, § 292. *De Mariniano Scotto.*


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the accession of Diocletian;[1]) and (3) from the Passion of Jesus Christ. The method named last derives its sanction from the narrative of the Ministry of Jesus as it appears in the synoptic Gospels. The 30th year of His age is synchronised by Luke with the 15th year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. If we compute from the death of Augustus the 15th of Tiberius was current from 19 August, A. D. 28, to 18 August, A. D. 29. The consuls of the year 29 were L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius Geminus, and Tertullian,[2]) who wrote at the end of the second century, dated the Crucifixion *his consulibus*. Now, the tradition handed down by Tertullian seems to set aside the evidence of the Fourth Gospel, which is to the effect that the Ministry of Christ extended over a period certainly of more than two years, and, perhaps, of more than three. The existence of this evidence was sure to make itself felt, sooner or later, in computations which had for their object the discovery of the date of the Passion. I am not acquainted with any disputes about this date that may have occured in the IVth century, and Sulpicius Severus of Aquitaine, writing *c.* 400, says: 'Dominus crucifixus est Fufio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino Consulibus, a quo tempore usque in Stiliconem consulem sunt anni CCCLXXII.'; 'A Mundi Exordio Libri Duo', ii. xl.[3]) This statement agrees with Tertullian's, and St. Augustine was of the same opinion.[4])

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[1]) In the Paschal Epistle of St. Ambrose, referred to already (*supra*, note 4), which was written in A. D. 386-7 the several years known to us as A. D. 373, 377, and 360 are styled respectively *LXXXVIIII° anno*, *XCIII° anno*, and *LXXVI° anno*, 'ex die Imperii Diocletiani'.

[2]) Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus († 217, aet. 80), says in his book 'Aduersus Iudaeos', cap. viii.: 'Tiberii xv° anno passus est Christus anno habens quasi xxx. cum pateretur. Passio perfecta est . . . . . . coss. Rubellio Gemino et Rufo Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschae, die VIII Kal. Aprilium'. Tertullian preferred *Rufo* to *Fufio*.

[3]) Lactantius Firmianus (flor. 280-312) says in his 'Institutiones Diuinae'. IV. x.: 'Tiberii anno xv°., id est duobus Geminis consulibus ante diem X. Kal, Aprilium passus est Christus'. In his 'De Mortibus Persecutorum' cap. ii. he says 'post diem X. Kal. April. Jesus Christus cruciatus est'.

[4]) St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo 395-430, dates the Passion as follows: 'Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis coss., VIII. Kalendas Apriles'; 'De Ciuitate Dei', XVIII. liiij. This calendar date agrees with Tertullian's but not with Lactantius's. Idatius, who flourished *c.* 470, does agree with the last named: 'Rufo et Rubellione. His Coss. passus est Christus die X. Kalendas Aprilis, et resurrexit VIII. Kalendas easdem'. Victurius, who wrote

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When we come to Prosper of Aquitaine, however, we find that disputes had commenced, and that efforts were being made to wed the synchronism in Luke with the argument derived from the Fourth Gospel. Prosper's remarks on this in his Chronicle are very instructive. He says:

> 'Quidam ferunt anno XVIII° Tiberii Iesum Christum passum, et argumentum huius rei ex evangelio adsumunt Iohannis in quo post XV. Tiberii Caesaris annum triennio Dominus praedicasse intellegatur. Sed quia usitatior traditio habet Dominum nostrum XV. anno Tiberii Caesaris, duobus Geminis consulibus, crucifixum, nos, sine praeiudicio alterius opinionis, successiones sequentium consulum a suprascriptis consulibus ordiemur manente adnotatione temporum quae cuiusque imperium habuit'.[1])

The new opinion was not adopted by Victurius of Aquitaine, who drew up his Great Paschal Cycle in A. D. 457, but at some date between that year and the end of the VIIth century it was accepted by the Western Church. Venerable Bede tells us that in A. D. 700, at Rome, the difference on Christmas Day between the numerals of a year computed in the era of the Passion, and those of the same year computed in the era of the Incarnation, was 33. Bede's remarks on this subject are worthy of great attention. In his 'De Ratione Temporum' there is a long chapter, viz. xlvii., devoted to the consideration of the question. It is headed 'De Annis Dominicae Incarnationis'; *v.* 'The Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede', in *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicani,* ed. J. A. Giles, D. C. L., 1843, vi. 239. Bede says (p. 241):

> (*m*) 'Habet enim ni fallor ecclesia fidem Dominum in carne paulo plus quam XXXIII. annis usque ad sua tempora passionis vixisse, quia videlicet XXX. annorum fuerit

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in A. D. 457, gives another date: 'Passum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum peractis 5228 annis ab ortu mundi eadem Chronicorum relatione [*sc.* Eusebianorum] monstratur. Quod gestum inchoante xxix. anno, non potest dubitari ..., VII. Kal. April. crucifixus est et sepultus; tertia die, hoc est V. Kal. April., dominicâ, surrexit a mortuis'.

[1]) 'Chronica Minora', ed. Mommsen, vol. i.


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baptizatus, sicut euangelista Lucas testatur, et tres semis annos post baptisma praedicauerit, sicut Iohannes in Euangelio suo, non solum commemorato redeuntis Paschae tempore perdocet, sed et idem in Apocalypsi sua. . . . Sancta siquidem Romana et Apostolica Ecclesia hanc se fidem tenere, et ipsis testatur indiculis quae suis in cereis annuatim [p. 242] scribere solet, ubi tempus dominicae passionis in memoriam (*n*) populis reuocans, numerum annorum XXX. semper et III. annis minorem quam ab eius incarnatione Dionysius ponat, adnotat. Denique anno ab eius incarnatione iuxta Dionysium DCC°. I°., indictione XIIII[a]., fratres nostri qui tunc fuere Romae hoc modo se in (*o*) natali Domini in cereis sanctae Mariae scriptum uidisse, et inde descripsisse referebant: *A Passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi anni sunt DCLXVIIII.* (*rectius* DCLXVIII.)'.[1])

Bede's testimony to the custom of the Church in his own time is conclusive, and the new ideas which Prosper was unwilling to meet with prejudice had therefore become part and parcel of Western orthodoxy before the end of the VIIth century.

Chapter 4.

It is not quite clear to me whether by the title of the chapter cited just now, namely, 'De Annis Incarnationis', Bede meant to refer to the successive years of the Dionysian era. He may have had in mind the different years to which the Incarnation itself is assigned by different computists, or, to be more exact, the different years resulting from the several computations of the dates of the Passion and the Baptism by John. The whole chapter is important in the history of chronology, and it touches upon the questions connected with the computa-

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[1]) The date of the visit of these monks of Jarrow to Rome is often miscomputed. The Christmas Day referred to is said to have fallen in the XIVth Indiction; and that began either on Sept. 1, Sept. 24, or December 25, in A. D. 700; so that, in any case, it enveloped the Christmastide of that year. Mr. Plummer, however, wrongly assigns their visit to A. D. 701; *v.* 'Bede', Introd. i. xvii.; ii., 14 and 365.

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tions *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* in several ways, and for that reason I propose to analyse it.

Bede tells us (*a*) that the custom of counting the years from the accession of the emperor Diocletian was distasteful to Dionysius who preferred to date the series from the Lord's Incarnation. (*b*) that Dionysius assigned the Incarnation to the second year of the Paschal Cycle of 532 years, the proof being that he made the year 532 the head of the first cycle that he computed. As A. D. 532 was the first year, 531 was the last, and the period clearly began one year before the era. (*c*) the nature and origin of this long period are explained; and (*d*) the fact that it had been used previously by Victurius of Aquitaine is mentioned. (*e*) The statement already cited as *b* is repeated and then, in (*f*), the computistical criteria, or characteristics of the year of the Incarnation according to Dionysius, are enumerated in the following words: 'hic secundus annus decennouenalis octauus decimus est cycli lunaris, xi. habens epactas, v. concurrentes septimanae dies, lunam Paschae decimam quartam, viii. kalendas Apriles'. The connexion between the year of the period of DXXXII. years and the year of the era having been established there follow four computistic rules the application of which depends upon the knowledge of the number of the year in the era of the Incarnation. These rules are answers to the questions (*g*) *quotus sit annus circuli decennouenalis;* (*h*) *quotus sit annus cycli lunaris;* (*i*) *quot sint epactae lunares;* (*k*) *quot sint adiectiones solis, i. e., concurrentes septimanae dies.* Having furnished these rules Bede goes on to say (*l*) 'His igitur ita se habentibus annum passionis dominicae diligenter inquirere, nec ignota quaerendi uia est, si non computus errat alicubi'. After this ironical remark there follow the passages given above in the last chapter viz. (*m*), about the belief of the Church respecting the year of the Passion; (*n*), about the difference of 33 years between the number of a year in the era of the Passion and the number of the same year in the era of the Incarnation; and (*o*), about the custom of giving out waxen tablets at Rome, on Christmas Day, with the year of the Passion written upon them. Next we get (*p*) Bede's fixation of the Passion to A. D. 34, whereupon the whole statement of the belief of orthodox persons is made in such a way that the casual reader would not suspect that Bede was skilfully forestalling

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the questions and objections, and confuting the arguments of certain computists who relied upon data not furnished either by the Law or the Gospel, and who did not share that belief of the Church which regarded A. D. 34 as the true year.

Bede dates the Passion as follows:

(*q*) 'Quoniam igitur ut supra memorauimus DXXXII. annis circulus paschalis circumagitur, his adde xxxiii., uel potius xxxiiii., ut illum ipsum quo passus est Dominus attingere possis; annum fiunt dlxui. Ipse est ergo annus dominicae passionis et resurrectionis a mortuis. Quia sicut DXXXIII. primo, ita DLXVI. tricesimo quarto per uniuersos solis et lunae concordat discursus'.

Bede gives no calendar date, of course. The computistical criteria of A. D. 34, A. P. 1, are Golden Number XVI., Epact xv., Sunday Letter C. Consequently, *a. d. viii. kal. Apriles* in it fell on Thursday, moon 18, and not on Friday, moon 15, which is the concurrence required by the computation *sec. E. V.* This is noteworthy because Bede indulges at this point in a little playful satire at the expense of those computists who relied upon the tradition respecting the calendar date of the Crucifixion which assigned it to *a. d. viii. Kal. Apriles.* He goes on to say:

(*r*) 'Et ideo circulis beati Dionysii apertis si DLXVI.*um* ab incarnatione Domini contingens annum, quartam decimam lunam in eo, ix. kal. Apriles, quinta feria reperiris, et diem Paschae dominicum vi. kal. Apriles luna decima septima, age Deo gratias quia quod quaerebas, sicuti ipse promisit, te inuenire donauit'.

Now Bede knew perfectly well that in A. D. 34, and A. D. 566, *a. d. vi. Kal. April.* neither fell on Sunday nor on moon 17. Why then did he go out of his way to enumerate these criteria and invite a search to be made for them in a year in which they are not to be found? The reason is because these criteria formed the basis of the arguments of a certain class of computists who rejected the Catholic view of the question and sought to discover the date of the Passion by wedding the criterion of the Gospel, viz. *feria sexta,* and the criteria of the Jewish Law, viz. *luna xv., primi mensis* (which they computed by Dionysian rules),

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to the traditional criterion, viz. *viii. Kal. April.*, which had been handed down from very early times. But computists who treated the question in this way were obviously fore-runners of Marianus Scotus, for the criteria enumerated just now are exactly those that require the concurrence of Golden Nnmber XIII. and Sunday Letter B. This concurrence, as I have said already, assigns the Passion to a year which is actually A. D. 12.

In the next passage (*s*) Bede declares what the truly Catholic person ought to believe respecting the lunar day and the day of the week on which the Crucifixion took place; then he acknowledges how widely spread was the belief that the calendar day on which Christ suffered was March 25, saying (*t*) 'Quod autem viii. Calendarum Aprilium crucifixus, vi. Cal. earundem die resurrexerit multorum late doctorum ecclesiasticorum constat sententiâ uulgatum'; but he clearly regards this as an opinion only, and he points out that it is not the only tradition, for Theophilus of Caesarea —

> (*u*) 'antiquus, uiz., uicinusque apostolicorum temporum doctor, in epistola synodica quam aduersus eos qui decima quarta luna cum Iudaeis Pascha celebrabant, una cum caeteris Palaestinae episcopis scripsit ita dicit: Et impium non est ut passio dominica, tanti sacramenti mysterium, foras limitem excludatur. Passus namque Dominus ab xi. Calendas Apriles, qua nocte a Iudaeis est traditus, et ab viii. Calendas Apriles resurrexit. Quomodo tres dies foras terminum excludentur?'

The last citation, which is made from the spurious acts of the council of Caesarea, would lead one to suppose that Bede had in mind at the moment the peculiar schism of the Scoto-British Churches, which did exclude March 22, 23, and 24. He gives another tradition after quoting these acts, saying:

> (*x*) 'Galli quacunque die viii. Calendas Apriles fuisset, quando Christi resurrectio fuisse tradebatur, Pascha semper celebrabant'.

Having shewn that traditions about the calendar date of the Crucifixion were not uniform Bede resumes the ironical tone adopted in (*r*) and puts the heterodox computists out of court very skilfully in the following words:

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(y) 'Sin uero annum qualem quaerebas in loco quem putabas inuenire non poteris uel chronographorum incuriae, uel tuae potius tarditati culpam adscribe, tantum diligentissime cauens ne chronicorum scripta defensando intemerabile Legis uel Euangelii testimonium uidearis impugnare, dicendo Dominum Saluatorem uel xv. uel xvi. imperii Tiberii Caesaris, uel xxix. uel xxx. suae aetatis anno sacrosanctum crucis subiisse mysterium, cum Euangelia manifeste significent xv. anno Tiberii Praecursorem Domini praedicare coepisse, ipsumque mox inter alios baptizasse Jesum incipientem iam fieri quasi xxx. annorum'.

Bede, in short, refused to wed the criteria in the Gospels and in the Law to either of the traditional calendar dates, and he shewed that it was not expedient to do so — 1st, because the Church presented no uniform tradition with respect to the date; 2nd, because these criteria do not concur in the year 34, the one supported by ecclesiastical authority; and 3rd, because the Gospel according to Luke assigns the 30th year of Christ to the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, = A. D. 29. The third reason obviously renders it unnecessary to consider whether an earlier year, *e. g.*, A. D. 12, might be that of Christ's Passion.

This analysis of Bede's chapter *de annis Incarnationis* shews that Bede, in A. D. 725, was aware of the existence of a heterodox method of calculating the date of the Passion, and that he thought it important enough to merit confutation. From Bede's arguments we learn, as I have already remarked, that this method turned upon computistical criteria which are identical with those relied on by Marianus Scotus, three centuries later. Now, the same criteria being given, medieval computists necessarily arrived at identical results; hence we need not doubt that the heterodox computists who were contemporary with Bede attained the same result as Marianus did, *i. e.*, they dated the Passion in the year that we know by the style and number of A. D. 12. This identity of result, by itself, does not permit us to assert that VIIth- and VIIIth-century computists were dating events either in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.* or in the corresponding one of the Incarnation; but it does prepare us to find that one of these things really was being done. Exact proof of the pro-

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position involved depends upon the discovery of the records of events connoted by annuary data computed in one or other of these two eras. Such proofs I will now produce, premising my list with the reminder that Marianus Scotus[1]) was born in 1028.

Chapter 5.

A Table of Proofs of the use of the Computation *sec. E. V.* before the birth of Marianus Scotus.

Proofs	Work	MS.	Date of MS. A. D. or century		Date of Compilation (where relevant)
a	Gregory's 'Historia Francorum'.	Corbie MS., now Paris MS. *no. 17,655.*	—	VII.	—
b	'Annales Cambriae'	Harley, Cotton, and Public Record Office MSS.	—	XI. XIII. XIII.	*c.* 950
c *d*	'The Saxon Chronicle'	Archbp. Parker's MS., Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, *no. 173.*	892	—	*c.* 850
e	Interpolation in Bede's 'Chronica Minora'	Munich MS. *no. 18,628.*	—	X.	—
f	'The Saxon Chronicle'	Cotton MS., *Otho B. XI.* (*deperd.*)	*c.* 1025	—	*c.* 850
g	Ethelwerd's Chronicle	Cotton MS., *Otho A. X.* (*deperd.*)	—	XI.	*c.* 1000
h	'Annales Xantenses'	Cotton MS., *Tiberius C. XI.*	—	XI.	IX.
i	Chronological Additions to Bede's 'H. E.'	Harley MS., *no. 4978.*	—	X.	852
k	Chronological Additions to Bede's 'H. E.'	Bishop More's MS., Cambridge Library, *KK. V. 16.*	737	—	737

[1]) The other dates of Marianus's life are — his retirement from the world, 1052; his ordination as monk in the Irish monastery of St. Martin at Cologne, 1056; his consecration as priest in 1059, by Sigefrid, abbot of Fulda, at Wurtzburg; his retirement to Mentz from Fulda, where he had lived as a recluse, in 1062, and his death at Mentz in 1082-3, or 1086. *Cf.* 'Monumenta Historica Britannica', i. p. 84, Pref.; p. 522, note *a*; also Waitz,

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a) The Obit of St. Martin of Tours. The earliest MSS. of the 'Historia Francorum' of Gregory of Tours († 594) date from the VIIth, VIIIth and IXth centuries, and St. Martin's death is assigned in all of them to 'anno a passione dominica ccccxii'. This is quite wrong and the years indicated, viz. A. D. 412, 423, 439, 440, and 444, are impossible ones. St. Martin died after midnight on the Lord's Day, 11 November, 395, and this year in the era of the Passion computed *sec. E. V.* is *An. CCCLXXXIIII.* A VIIth-century computist who had this datum before him might reduce it to A. D. by adding 28, as if it were in the era of the Passion according to Prosper. He would consequently assign the obit to An. 412 (384 + 28). The retention here of the passional formula where that of the Incarnation should appear is not an isolated case (*v. infra*, § VI. xxvi., xxvii.). Compare § 1, note *i.*, below.

b) The Era-year of the 'Annales Cambriae'. This work was compiled in the Xth century and its author intended apparently that the earliest events he calendared should be dated from the year of the Saxon Advent. By some accident he expressed the year wrongly and equated it with 445. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to account for this. The true explanation I believe to be as follows: The year of the consulship of Felix and Taurus, to which the Welshmen assigned the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, is A. P. 417 according to Gospel Verity; this year, if wrongly assigned to the era of the Passion computed according to Prosper, and reduced to the Dionysian era by adding 28, gives 445 — the year indicated as Annus 1 of the 'Annales Cambriae'. Compare § 1, note *ii.*, below.

c) The two West-Saxon Chronicles amalgamated in the Winchester Chronicle. The Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle was compiled about A. D. 850, and the Parker MS. of it was written out in A. D. 892. At the beginning of the record of West-Saxon affairs there is a series of errors which is due to the ignorant amalgamation of two distinct chronicles. The events in these

'M. H. G.', Scriptorum Tomus V., 484. There are two MSS. in the Bodleian Library written by Robert Losinga, bishop of Hereford, 1079—1095, in which, so it is said, Marianus's work is abridged and simplified.

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chronicles were dated in different eras, one chronicler employing the computation I have denoted *A. D. I.* (*v.* Bd. III, S. 507); the other that which I refer to as *A. D. sec. E. V.* For instance: Cerdic and Cynric arrived, we are told, in A. D. I. 495 (= A. D. 492). They began to reign, according to the Preface, in the sixth year after, *i. e.*, in A. D. I. 500, A. D. 497; but the Annals say that they began to reign in A. D. 519. Now, A. D. 519 [*sec. E. V.*] = A. D. 497, A. D. I. 500. The explanation of the other errors referred to is quite clear, but lengthy; *v.* § III, note *ix.*, below.

d) *The Obit of Bishop Sexwulf.* In the Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle the death of Sexwulf is dated A. D. 705. He really died in A. D. 691, A. D. I. 694. The computist who was responsible for the insertion of this obit in the Winchester Chronicle must have had the figures DCXCIIII. before him, and it would appear that he supposed that he was dealing with a computation in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.*, for A. P. 694 *sec. E. V.* = A. D. 705, the year he assigned. Compare § V, note *xx.*, below.

e) *The Date of the Sixth General Council.* In the Xth-century Munich MS. of Bede's 'Chronica Minora' the sixth General Council of Constantinople is assigned to A. D. 705. It was really held in A. D. 680, A. D. I. 683. A. D. I. 683 reduced erroneously to the era of the Incarnation *sec. E. V.* = 705, the year given by the Xth-century copyist. Compare § III, note *x.*, below.

f) *The Conversion of King Lucius.* In the Winchester Chronicle referred to in *c* and *d* the Lucius legend appears in the annal 167, but in Wheloc's edition of the Saxon Chronicle printed in 1643 from the Cotton MS. *Otho B. XI.*, which was written *c.* 1025, it appears in annal 189. Now *A. D. CLXXXVIIII. sec. E. V.* = A. D. 167. Compare § III, note *xii.*, below.

g) *The Mission of Birinus.* Ethelwerd compiled his Chronicle at the end of the tenth century and he says that Birinus began to convert the West Saxons when 'transactus est numerus annorum ab aduentu in Brittaniam de Germania eorum fere centum uiginti'. Birinus came to Britain in about A. D. 634, and 634 *minus* 120 = about A. D. 514 for the arrival of Cerdic. This is correct, if we assign it to the era of the

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Incarnation *sec. E. V.*; for A. D. 492, A. D. I. 495, and A. D. 514 *sec. E. V.* mark the same year of grace. Ethelwerd, it is clear, made use unwittingly of a date computed in the era of the Incarnation *sec. E. V.*, when he deducted the annus of the West-Saxon advent from the date of Birinus's mission. Compare § III, note *xi.*, below.

h) *The Date of Dryhthelm's Vision.* In the 'Annales Xantenses', which were compiled in the IXth century, the vision of the other world seen by Dryhthelm, the monk of Melrose, is assigned to the year 671. Chronologists who rely upon Bede give the date as 693. Now 693 *sec. E. V.* does equate A. D. 671, hence it would seem that the compiler of the 'Annales Xantenses' had the date 693 before him, and that he mistakenly supposed that it was computed according to Gospel Verity and reduced it to the Dionysian era by deducting 22, according to rule. Compare § IV. note *xvi.*, below.

i) *The Frankish Computations of A. D. 852.* In a short chronology written in a continental hand of the Xth century at the end of the Harley Ms. no. 4978 (a copy of Bede's *H. E.*), the obits of Martin, Clovis and Remy are assigned respectively to A. D. 'ccccxliiij.', 'dlvi.', and 'dlxxvi.'; and the interval between the baptism of Clovis and the annus praesens is given as 'cccxi. anni'. These dates and the accompanying interval are misleading. Martin died in 395; Clovis was baptised in 496 and died in 511; and Remy died in 531. Now, as 511 = 'dlvi.', 496 would be equated by *dxli.*, and this year *plus* 'cccxi.' gives 852 as the year in which the chronology was compiled. The years assigned were arrived at by a succession of errors, as follows. A. D. 395, the year of Martin's death, = A. P. 384 [*sec. E. V.*]; A. P. 384 [*secundum Prosper.*] = A. D. 412; this erroneous date, if misstyled A. P., = A. D. 'ccccxliiii.' A. D. 511, the year of Clovis's death, = A. P. 500 [*sec. E. V.*]; A. P. 500 [*sec. Prosper.*] = A. D. 528; this erroneous date, if misstyled A. P. [*sec. Prosper.*], = A. D. 'dlvi.' A. D. 531, the year of Remy's death, = A. P. 520 [*sec. E. V.*]; A. P. 520 [*sec. Prosper.*] = A. D. 548; this erroneous date, if misstyled A. P. [*sec. Prosper.*], = A. D. 'dlxxvi.' Compare § VI. note *xxvi.*, below.

k) *The Obit of Egfrid of Northumbria.* In the Chronological Memoranda which were written in the year 737 at the end of

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the More Ms. of Bede's 'H. E.' we are told that 63 years had passed away since Egfrid's death. A. D. 737 *minus* 63 = A. D. 674 for Nechtan's victory; but that is 11 years too early, the true date being 685. This mistake is well known to all students of early English history, and it has never been explained. Now, A. D. 685 is annus DCLXXIIII. in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.*, and it would appear that the chronologist of A. D. 737 had the heterodox passional date before him, and that he deducted it from the annus praesens without reducing it to the Dionysian era. The same explanation applies to the erroneous date he indicates as that of Egfrid's brother Aelfwin's death. Compare § VIII. note *xxxi.*, below.

We will now proceed to examine the complications which sprang from the existence, side by side, of different methods of numbering the Julian year.

Chapter 6.

Computists and compilers of chronicles in early medieval times would seem to have been embarrassed very frequently by the impossibility of determining the eras in which the data they wished to deal with were computed. The figures which date an event are clearly no guide by themselves; we must know their history and connexion. Such a datum as *anno dccc°.* cannot have an exact meaning for us unless we are told what era the annus is computed in. 'Anno dccc°.' may be computable in any one of the three eras of the Passion, or in any one of the three eras of the Incarnation. Even when the class of era is indicated we are still at a loss, therefore, unless we are told which particular one of its class it belongs to. For instance: *anno dominicae passionis dccc.* may be equated with either 811, 828 or 833. Of these 811 may be 17 years or 22 years too early; 828 may be + 17 or — 5 years out; and 833 may be 22 years or 5 years too late. It follows from this that *the numerical value of the divergence frequently indicates the stages of error through which the computation has passed.* The conversion of the people of Kent, for instance, is dated by a certain chronicler in A. D. 580, which is 17 years too early: cf. § II., note v., *infra*. Now, a prochronism of 17 years only occurs regularly when a date in the era of the Passion according to Prosper has been wrongly

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ascribed to the era of the Passion according to Gospel Verity. A. P. 569 = A. D. 597, of course, but if the annalist had been dealing with computations in the so-called Gospel era of the Passion he might very easily reduce A. P. 569 to the era of Dionysius by adding 11 — the regular of reduction out of the Gospel era of the Passion into the vulgar era of the Incarnation. This would yield A. D. 580, which datum conveys the prochronism referred to. A great number of similar instances could be given from various chronicles, though, when the computistical difficulties and other circumstances attending upon the compilation of a chronicle in early times are taken into account the small number of errors in some of the best work should excite our respectful admiration. Errors are much more numerous among the smaller annalists, but they frequently bear distinct marks of their origin, and may be said to preserve a strong family likeness, upon the whole. In applying my discovery to annalistic work done in later times than William of Malmesbury's I shall only take the leading eras and the more generally used years into consideration; so, after giving a list of the various eras and *capita anni* with which I intend to deal, I will tabulate the errors which may be styled regular, and which are due to ascribing annuary data to the wrong eras when reducing them to the era of Dionysius and other computists.

The Dates of the *Capita Anni* of various Eras.

	Annus	*Style*	*Authority*	*Calendar Date*	*A. D.*
a	I	a Passione secundum	Evangelium	25 March	12
b	I		Prosperum		29
c	I		Bædam et al.		33 *et* 34
d	I	ab Incarnatione secundum	Dionysium	[24 September?]	B. C. 1
e	I		Bædam in Chronicis	24 September	B. C. 4
f	I		Evangelium	?	B. C. 23

In the following scheme I refer to these systems by their distinguishing letters set down in col. 1, and I use certain symbols, viz. (><) for — *is wrongly ascribed to*; (—) for — *a prochronism* of; and (+) for — *a parachronism of. E. g.* the

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first line in the following table signifies — If a datum given in the era of the Passion computed *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* be wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion computed according to Prosper and others, and be then reduced to the era of the Incarnation computed according to Dionysius, by adding 28, according to rule, we get a parachronism of 17 years.

I.	If a date in	*a* ⋈ *b*	and reduced to	*d*	we get	+ 17.
II.	„	*b* ⋈ *c*	„	„	„	. . . . . — 17.
III.	„	*a* ⋈ *c*	„	„	„	+ 22.
IV.	„	*c* ⋈ *a*	„	„	„	. . . . . — 22.
V.	„	*d* ⋈ *a*	„	„	„	+ 11 or 12.
VI.	„	*d* ⋈ *b*	„	„	„	+ 28 or 29.
VII.	„	*d* ⋈ *c*	„	„	„	+ 30, 31, 32, 33.
VIII.	„	*a* ⋈ *d*	. . . .		„	. . . . . — 11 or 12.
IX.	„	*b* ⋈ *d*	. . . .		„	. . . . . — 28 or 29.
X.	„	*c* ⋈ *d*	. . . .		„	. — 30, 31, 32 or 33.

This table does not exhaust all possible errors but it enumerates all those with which it is necessary to deal at present. I now give a list of the instances we are about to examine, grouping them under their respective numerals. The extension of the formulae of error will be found subsequently, at the head of each section.

I. The parachronism of 17 years:

i. The obit of St. Martin of Tours.
ii. The era-year of the Xth-century 'Annales Cambriae'.
iii. The obit of Wulfstan, Archbishop of York.
iiii. The dates of Irish regal obits in the Annals of Ulster.

II. The prochronism of 17 years:

v. The mission of St. Augustine to Kent.
vi. The obit of St. Patrick.
vii. The obit of St. Columba.
viii. The obit of St. Gregory the Great.

III. The parachronism of 22 years:

ix. The West-Saxon invasion of Britain.
x. The Sixth Synod of Constantinople.

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xi. The mission of Birinus to Britain.
xii. The Saxon Chronicle, *W*, and King Lucius.
xiii. The 24th year of King Merfyn.
xiiii. The mission of St. Patrick to Ireland.
xv. The advent of Hengist and Horsa.

IV. The prochronism of 22 years:

xvi. The vision of Dryhthelm.
xvii. The obit of Bishop Asser.
xviii. The mission of St. Augustine to Kent.
xix. The accessions of the kings of Kent.

V. The parachronism of 11 (12) years:

xx. The obit of Bishop Sexwulf.
xxi. The obit of St. Patrick.
xxii. The obit of St. Bride.
xxiii. The obit of St. Swithhun.
xxiiii. The obit of St. Ibar.

VI. The parachronism of 28 years:

xxv. The obits of Clovis and Remy.
xxvi. The charter of Wulfrun.
xxvii. The fifth year of King Edmund.
xxviii. The obit of St. Patrick.

VII. The parachronism of 30 (31) years:

xxix. The accession of Pope Hormisdas.
xxx. The first note of solar eclipse in the 'Annales Cambriae'.

VIII. The prochronism of 11 (12) years:

xxxi. The obits of King Egfrid and his brother Aelfwin.
xxxii. The obit of Abbess Ethelburga.
xxxiii. The summons to Bishop Asser.
xxxiiii. The advent of the Saxons.
xxxv. The obit of St. Columba.
xxxvi. The obit of Abbot Adamnan.
xxxvii. The obit of St. Patrick.

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IX. The prochronism of 28 (29) years:

xxxviii. The Chronographer of the year '354'.
xxxix. The advent of the Saxons.
xl. The mission of St. Patrick to Ireland.

X. The prochronism of 33 (34) years:

xli. The birth of St. Patrick.
xlii. The obit of St. Benedict.
xliii. The obit of Venerable Bede.
xliiii. The first Easter celebrated by the Saxons in Britain.
xlv. The obit of King Cenwulf.

Chapter 7 (sections I—X).

I. A Parachronism of 17 years appears when a datum in the era of the Passion *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* having been ascribed by mistake to the era of the Passion *secundum Prosperum* is then reduced to the Vulgar Era.

(i.) (*a*) Arcadi uero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus ... feliciter migrauit ad Christum. Transiit autem media nocte quae dominica habebatur, Attico Caesarioque consulibus.

(*b*) Explicit liber primus continens annos $\bar{\text{V}}$. D. XCVII. qui computantur a principio mundi ad transitum Martini episcopi.

Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis 'Historia Francorum', i. xlviii.; Corbie MS. (Paris no. *17,655*), *scr. saec. VII.* Edidit W. Arndt, 1884, 'SS. Rer. Meroving.', tom. I, pp. 55, 56.

(*c*) A passione ergo Domini usque transitum Sancti Martini anni CCCCXII. computantur.

Ibid. u. s., and IV. li., X. xxxi.; pp. 149, 188.

For reasons which will appear presently I regard the datum (*c*) as an interpolation in Gregory's text. Gregory, I believe, gave only one annuary datum for Martin's death, namely A. M. 5597. This may be referred to the mundane era used in Gaul and applied by Prosper of Aquitaine and his countryman Victurius. In this era the year 5202 = A. D. 1; therefore A. M. 5597 falls in A. D. 395—396. The mundane year, it must be remembered, was current from September 1 to

August 31.[1]) Now St. Martin's Day is *III. Id. Novembres*, = November 11, and the ferial letter of that day is *g*. Consequently, as Martin died on a Sunday, the Sunday Letter of the year must be *G*. These data concurred in A. D. 395, and therefore the year of the world, the A. D. indicated by it, the day of the week, and the calendar date of the obit are all in harmony. But the consular and imperial years neither agree with the other data nor with each other. Atticus and Caesarius were consuls in A. D. 397, but the November of that year fell in the third, not the second year, of the sons of Theodosius. The year connoted by these consuls may have commenced on September 1, 396, which does concur with the regnal year, but 11 November, 396, fell on a Tuesday, not on Sunday.

The computation in (*c*) is quite erroneous. Gregory of Tours, in his episcopal office, used the Paschal Tables of Victurius of Aquitaine,[2]) and, of course, knew quite well that November, A. M. 5597, fell in A. P. 369. The want of agreement between the A. P. and the A. M. stamps the passage, wherever it may be found, and it occurs in several other MSS. written before the XIth century, as an interpolation. A. P. 412 equals either 423, 439, 440 or 444, which are all equally impossible dates, and were certainly not contemplated by Gregory. The true date, as I said above, is A. D. 395 which falls in A. P. [*12*] 384, and that year, if ascribed by mistake to A. P. [*29*] *sec. Prosper.*, and reduced to A. D., equates A. D. 412. The interpolator of Gregory's work had, no doubt, seen Martin's death assigned to A. P. CCCLXXXIIII., and supposing that annus to be computable in the recognised era of the Passion, that dating from A. D. 29, reduced it to A. D. by adding 28, according to rule, and omitted to change the style from the era of the Passion to that of the Incarnation.

The datum A. P. 412 underwent further vicissitudes: (*d*) in the Annals of Waverley 'Annales Monastici' (*vide* § 1, note *iii.*),

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[1]) The mundane year commenced in the West on September 1, together with the Indiction, and the consular year also, in the Vth century. *Cf.* Rühl (*u. s.*, chap. 2) § 5: *Der Jahresanfang*, S. 36; and the extract given above, note 4, from Prosper Tiro.

[2]) Gregory of Tours used the Paschal Table of Victurius and refers to its Easters in his 'Historia Francorum', V. xvii. (A. D. 577), and X. xxiii. (A. D. 590).

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which were written in the XIIIth century, Martin's death is assigned to A. D. CCCCI. 'A. D.' really stands for *A. P.* and the full style would be *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] *CCCCI.*, which falls with A. D. 412. (*e*) In the Annals of Connaught (*v.* § II, note *vi.*), also written in the XIIIth century, the date appears as 'a passione Domini anno CCCCXV°', where *v* (*u*) stands by a frequently recurring mistake for *ii.* (*f*) In the Canterbury (Saxon and Latin) Chronicle *F*, (*v.* § X, note *xlii.*), written *c.* 1095, the obit is dated 'Anno CCCCXLIV.', which equals *a passione ccccxii.* reduced to A. D. by adding 32. (*g*) In the Frankish Chronology (*v.* § VI, note *xxvi.*), written in the Xth century, we find the same preposterous year.

(ii.) The era-year of the 'Annales Cambriae' is A. D. 445, and various attempts have been made to explain why such a year was taken as the epoch. The compiler of these Annals actually intended to count his periods from the year of the arrival in Britain of Hengist and Horsa, and appears to have supposed that he was dealing with the year of the consulship of Felix and Taurus, namely, A. D. 428. The parachronism of 17 years (445 *minus* 17 = 428) shews quite clearly that a datum in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.* [*12*], namely, *CCCCXVII.*, which falls with A. D. 428, was supposed to be computable in the era of the Passion *sec. Prosper.* [*29*], and then reduced to A. D. by adding 28, according to rule.

I do not intend to treat the chronography of the 'Annales Cambriae' at large in this paper, but other notes on errors present therein may be found below; *v.* III. *xiiii.*; VII. *xxx.*; and X. *xliiii.*

(iii.) Anno DCCCLVIII. Wlstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obiit.

'Annales Wigornienses', Cotton MS. *Caligula A. X.*, *scr. ante* 1320; ed. J. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, 'R. B. SS.', no. 36 (4), 1869.

Archbishop Wulfstan died in A. D. 941 = *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 930. *A. P. sec. Prosper.* [*29*] 930 = A. D. DCCCCLVIII. The omission of one of the *C*'s is due to *Dc* dating.[1])

[1]) *Cf.* Ztschr. III. 510, note 1. The most systematic instance of Dc dating is provided by the Annals of St. Vaast's. They commence in A. D. 874

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(iiii.) The dates of the obits of the kings of Ireland during the semi-pagan and schismatic periods of Irish history — viz. from *c.* 430 to 461 and onwards to *c.* 640, as they are given in the Annals of Ulster.

'Annala Uladh', edd. Hennessy & Mac Carthy, from xvth and xvith-century MSS.

Date of Obit.

	Years reigned	Feria in Tigernach	A. D. indicated by Tigernach	A. D. in the Annals of Ulster	Parachronisms in the Annals of Ulster
3 Lugaid	16	iii.	491	506	15
An Interregnum	3				
4 Muircheartach	21	u.	515	533 or 535	18, 20
5 Tuathal	11	u.	526	543	17
6 Diarmaid	21	iii.	547	564 or 571	17, 24
7 Feargus and Domhnall	1	iiii.[1])	548	565 or 572	17, 24
8 Ainmire	3	i.	551	568 or 575	17, 24
9 Baetan and Eochaid	3	u.[2])	554	571	17
10 Baetan	13	uii.	567	585	18
11 Aed mac Ainmirech	12	i.	579	597	18
12 Aed Slaine and Colman	7	iii.	586	603	17
13 Aed Uairidhneach	7	u.	593	611	18
14 Maelcobha	3	i.	596	614	18
15 Suibhne Mend	13	iiii.[3])	609	627	18
16 Domhnall	29	u.	638	641	3

In a monograph published in 1893 on 'The Date of the Obit of St. Gildas of Rhuys' I shewed reasons for accepting the years demonstrably indicated by the ferial signatures in the Annals of Tigernach in preference to the years actually assigned by

with *Anno Domini DCCCCLXXIIII.* The editor (Pertz, 'M. G. H.', Scriptorum Tomus II, p. 196) notes '*a* Cod. DCCCCLXXIIII. et ita deinceps', printing the correct arabic numerals here (viz. 874) and correctly giving the century throughout, without further comment.

[1]) *f. uii.*, MS.
[2]) *f. ii.*, MS.
[3]) *f. uii.*, MS.

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later writers and annalists. I reproduce from my monograph the precedent table giving the annuary data of the regal chronology from Lugaid to Domhnall mac Aedha, and I insert the dates erroneously assigned by the Ulster annalist but generally regarded as correct ones.

The parachronism of 17 or 18 years in the dates in the Annals of Ulster disappears when we reach the obit of Domhnall mac Aedha, and the divergence of 3 years there found may be merely chronographical, for A. D. 638, with *Kal. Ian. feriâ quintâ* = A. D. I. 641 (*cf.* Ztschr. III, 497).

II. A Prochronism of 17 years appears when a datum in the era of the Passion *secundum Prosperum* having been wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* is then reduced to the Vulgar Era.

(v.) Anno DLXXX. S. P. Gregorius misit Britanniam Augustinum.

'Annales Iohannis Asserii *sive* S. Neoti', Trinity Coll. Cambr. MS., No. R. 7. 28, *scr. saecl.* XII.; ed. Thomas Gale, D. D., in 'Historiae SS. XV.', Oxon. 1691, p. 143; and by W. H. Stevenson, 1904.

St. Augustine arrived in Kent A. D. 597, = *A. P. sec. Prosper.* [*29*] 569. *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 569 = 'A. D. DLXXX'.

(vi.) Anno CCCC.LXXX.VII. Ab initio mundi secundum Dionysium V̄.DC.LX. usque ad transitum S. Patricii episcopi; ab Incarnatione vero Domini CCCC.XL.VIII.

'Annales Buellienses', or 'Annals of Connaught', Cotton MS. *Titus A. XXV.*, *scr. ante* 1254; ed. C. O'Conor, D. D., in 'Rer. Hibernic. SS.', 1814, vol. II.

A. D. 448 = *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 437. *A. P. sec. Prosper.* [*29*] 437 = A. D. 465, which is four years lower than the true year. A. D. 465 = *A. D. sec. E. V.* 487 the head-date given above.

(vii.) Anno DLXXXIX. Quies Coluimb Cillę nocte Dominica.
Quies Gregoir Romae, *ut alii dicunt.*

(viii.) Anno DXCVI. Quies Gregoir Romae.

'Annales Inisfallenses', Bodley MS., *Rawlinson, No. 503, scr. ante* 1216; ed. O'Conor, *u. s.*, note vi., vol. II.

The death of Pope Gregory the Great is assigned by some early writers to A. D. 606 = *A. P. sec. Prosper.* [*29*] 578. *A. P.*

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sec. E. V. [*12*] 578 = A. D. 589, as in the text. St. Gregory really died in March, 604/605, and A. D. 604 = A. D. I. 607; A. D. 607 = *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 596, which figures appear in the second text.

The date of Columba's obit is more complicated. *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 589 = A. D. 600, which is really A. D. I., and exhibits the parachronism of 17 years already explained. Columba died on Whit-Sunday, June 9, 580, A. D. I. 583. 583 = *A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 572, and this date, wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion according to Prosper, and reduced to A. D., = A. D. 600, *i. e. A. P. sec. E. V.* [*12*] 589, which figures appear in the text.

III. A Parachronism of 22 years (sometimes 21) appears when a datum in the era of the Incarnation *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* is wrongly ascribed to the Vulgar Era.

(ix.) Anno CCCCXCV. Her cuomon twegen aldormen on Bretene. Cerdic 7 Cynric his sunu, mid .v. scipum, in thone stede the is gecueden Cerdices ora 7 thy ilcan dæge gefuhtun with Walum.

Anno DVIII. Her Cerdic 7 Cynric ofslogon ænne Brettisc cyning tham was nama Natan Leod[1]) 7 .v. thusendu wera mid him, æfter than was thæt lond wearð nemned Natan leaga oth Cerdices ford.

Anno DXIX. Her Cerdic 7 Cynric West Sexena rice on fengun 7 thy ilcan geare hie fuhton with Brettas thær mon nu nemneth Cerdices ford 7 siththan ricsadan West Sexana cynebearn of than dæge.[1])

The Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle, *A*, Corpus Christi College MS. (Parker's), *no. 173, scr.* 892; ed. Plummer, 'Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel', 1892, pp. 14, 16.

The Preface of the Saxon Chronicle informs us that Cerdic and his son Cynric arrived in Britain in A. D. 495 (*cf.* Ztschr. III, 501); that they conquered the West-Saxon land from the

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[1]) The word in the Mss. is undoubtedly Leod, but *C*, *G* and *L* in the socalled Hiberno-Saxon script are much alike, and the initial letter of the word, perhaps *G*, true has been misread *L*. The diphthong eo is the representative of a more ancient iu, and the way in which the name and the epithet are presented is not English. 'Natan Leod' suggests that the annal had a Latin original which read *Natanus Giudus*.

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Welsh; and that Cerdic began to reign about 6 years after he arrived, and reigned for 16 years. The three dates when computed according to the Preface are 495, 500, and 515 or 516; but when computed according to the Annals they are 495, 519 and 534. The computation of the Annals would make it appear that Cerdic did not begin to rule over the West-Saxon land until 24 years after his arrival, and the difficulties that spring from this divergence have often been pointed out adversely by critics of the Chronicle without any solution of the problem being discovered. These difficulties, after all, are chronographical ones, and the following table will resolve them. In it only the dates actually given in the Annals are set down in Roman numerals.

A. D.	A. D. I.	A. D. *sec. E. V.*	
492	[1]CCCCXCV.	514	Cerdic and Cynric arrive at 'Cerdices ora'.
		[3]DXIV.	Stuf and Wihtgar arrive at 'Cerdices ora'.
497	*D*	519	C. and C. conquer the West-Saxon land and begin to rule (Preface).
		[4]DXIX.	C. and C. begin to reign and fight with the Britons at 'Cerdices ford' (Annals).
505	[2]DVIII.	527	C. and C. fight against Natan the Giut.
		[5]DXXVII.	C. and C. fight at 'Cerdices leage'.
508	511	[6]DXXX.	C. and C. conquer Wight and slay many men at 'Wihtgares burg'.
512	515	[7]DXXXIV.	Cerdic dies in the 16th year of his reign. Cynric succeeds.
	[8]DLX.		
557 560	560 563	579 582	Cynric dies, after a reign of 26 years, in A. D. DLX.

M. Plummer in his Notes, vol. ii. p. 2, remarks:

'It is a small matter that the Preface puts the invasion of Cerdic and Cynric in 494, while the Chronicle places it in 495; it is more serious that the Preface places the foundation of the Kingdom of Wessex six years after their arrival, *i. e.*, in

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[1]) 495. In this year two aldermen came to Britain, viz. Cerdic and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdic's ore, and the same day they fought with the Welsh. 508. In this year Cerdic and

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500, while the Chronicle places it in 519. The length given in the Preface to Cynric's reign, 17 years, is a mere graphic error for 27; β reads 26, and the Bede [A.-S.] copy 27; Napier's MS. carries the error a step further, reading 7'.

It must be perfectly clear from the order of the events in the A. D. I. — and the A. D. *sec. E. V.* columns that the compiler of the Saxon Chronicle derived his matter from two distinct sources which dealt with the same events from different points of view and dated them in different eras. Until we reach the VIIth century it is not possible to feel certain that any annuary data in the Chronicle are computed in the vulgar era. So far as the table given above is concerned no event, I believe, is dated according to Dionysian order. Now, one of the sources from which this matter was derived dated events in the era I have denominated A. D. I. (*v.* Zeitschr. III. 497); the other source dated them in the era of the Incarnation computed according to Gospel Verity. As the apparent difference between the two eras is one of 19 years it follows that a regnal period of 19 years' duration would end at the same annuary numbers in A. D. I. as it began at in A. D. *sec. E. V. E. g.*, a reign of 19 years from A. D. I. 515 to A. D. I. 534 would commence in A. D. *sec. E. V.* 534. Bearing this in mind, and remembering that Cynric's date, namely 560, appears to be reliable, we are compelled to conclude that the two systems converged in the year of his accession, namely A. D. I. 534, A. D. *sec. E. V.* 553, and that at least one king is missing from the royal list.

When we examine the chronology of Cynric's life we find him 'arriving' in Britain with Cerdic, whose son he is said to be, and fighting by his side, in A. D. I. 495. As he died in A. D. I. 560, if the date of his 'arrival' is correct he must have been over 80 at his death. The same reasoning applies to Cerdic if he 'arrived' in 495, with a fighting son, and did not die till 534. These dates are not impossible, but they are unlikely. Moreover, it is not to be concealed that the Saxon Chronicle in some Mss. makes Cynric Cerdic's grandson. Creoda, the step in

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Cynric slew a British king whose name was Natan Geôd, and 5000 men with him, after whom that region was called Natan leaga or Cerdic's ford. 519. In this year Cerdic and Cynric began to reign over the kingdom of the West-Saxons and the same year they fought with the Brettas at the place that is now called Cerdic's ford.

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the genealogy intervening between Cerdic and Cynric, is omitted altogether from the Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle, whether we seek his name in the Preface; or in the short genealogies in the annals 552, 597, 674, 685, 688; or in the long pedigree in the annal 855. But this name does appear as that of the son of Cerdic and father of Cynric in the Genealogical Preface to the A.-S. version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ascribed to King Alfred; *v.* Mr. Plummer's note, 'Two Chronicles', i. 293. It also appears in the annal 855 in three MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle; namely, *B* (*scr. c.* 1000); *C* (*scr. c.* 1060) and *D* (*scr. c.* 1075); and in the single leaf of *B*, which is known as β, in the Preface itself; *v.* Mr. Plummer's notes: i. 5(3), 67(4). For these reasons I infer that the original compiler of the Saxon Chronicle did not realise that the earliest West-Saxon events he chronicled were dated in different eras, and that he made matters easy for himself, when he found the two sources converging upon the annuary numbers 534, by cutting out Creoda from the list of kings, and omitting his name from the pedigrees. Later copyists and continuators who could not perceive the difficulty experienced by the original compiler restored Creoda to the Preface, and, at the bidding of the genealogists, no doubt, to the pedigree in 855, also.

Annus CCCCXCV. for Cerdic's 'arrival' is undoubtedly A. D. I., and indicates, as I have already pointed out (*v.* Zeitschr. V. 117), A. D. 492, the year in which King Arthur was defeated at Camlan. The date of Cerdic's 'arrival' in the era of the Incarnation *sec. E. V.,* viz. DXIV., is boldly given as that of the 'arrival' of his two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar. Cerdic's reign may be said to have commenced in A. D. I. 500, according to the Preface, and in A. D. [*sec. E. V.*] DXIX., according to the Annals. A. D. I. DVIII. (= A. D. 505) and its equivalent A. D. [*sec. E. V.*] DXXVII. appear as the date of a victory which one source declared to have been won over a Briton, who is named Natan Leod; but, as I have shewn, Leod = Geod, a by-form of Jute, = Giuth, Giut. Hence A. D. 505 and A. D. [*sec. E. V.*] DXXX. (= A. D. 508) mark the years when the Jutes of the mainland and the Jutes of Wight, respectively, were reduced to subjection by the GeWissas or West-Saxons. The 16th year from A. D. I. 500, *i. e.,* A. D. I. 515, A. D. [*sec. E. V.*] DXXXIV., which indicates A. D. 512, marks the year of Cerdic's death. In the interval,

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therefore, between A. D. 512 and A. D. I. 534, I do not think we need hesitate to insert, or, rather, to restore, Creoda, the son of Cerdic and father of Cynric. I would read and date the West-Saxon pedigree as follows, where the Roman numerals are those actually given in the Chronicle:

Esla[1])
|
Elesa, †492, A. D. I. CCCCXCV., A. D. *sec. E. V.* DXIV.
|
Cerdic, †512, A. D. I. 515, A. D. *sec. E. V.* DXXXIV.
|
Creoda, †531, A. D. I. 534.
|
Cynric, †557, A. D. I. DLX.

(x.) Haec est sinodus Constantinopolim celebrata, DCCV. anno dominicae Incarnationis.

Baedae 'Chronica Minora', MS. Monacensis, *No. 18,628, scr. saec. X.*; ed. Mommsen, 'Chron. Minor.' iii. 241.

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[1]) The West Saxon 'Esla' in the pedigree of King Alfred represents the Gothic 'Ansila', the name of a brother of the great Hermanaric; *vide* Jornandes (bishop of Ravenna *c.* 530), 'De Rebus Geticis'. The Gothic 'Ansila' postulates *ôsila* in the oldest Low-German, and this yielded the Old-Saxon 'Osla' (*ôsla*) and the Anglo-Saxon 'Esla' (*êsla*). Osla or Esla is the leader whom the Cambro-Britons called 'Gyllellvawr', *i. e.*, *cultelli magni.* He is mentioned thrice in the *mabinogi* of Rhonabwy, and in connexion with Badon, which would require us to date his activity from 450 to 470. He also appears, very curiously, in the Welsh Genealogies; *sc.* in the Lhuynweney MS. *scr. c.* 1560, and the Peniarth MSS. — 137, *scr. c.* 1541, and 118, *scr. c.* 1590. *Vide* Archiv. ii. pp. 154, 6, 7. Osla Gyllellvawr's son Mwg Mawr Drefydd is mentioned in two of Llywarch Hên's poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen, *scr. ante* 1225; viz. 'Llym awel llum brin', and 'Enwev meibon Llywarch hen'. *Vide* Rhŷs and Evans's Facsimile, fo. 47, l. 1, *mug maur treuit,* l. 6. *mugc*; and fo. 54 verso, l. 5, *mug maur treuit.* Mwg = an Old-Saxon †Môc, Anglo-Saxon †Meâc, 'Meâca'; *cf.* 'Widsið', l. 23, for the last name. Mwg Mawr Drefydd was the opponent of Llywarch Hên and his sons. His name in the poems and genealogies is a punning metaphony exactly parallel with that of Fflamddwyn, the etymon of which has nothing to do either with 'flame' or Ida; *cf.* Flamborough, Flamstead, and the patronymic Fleming. None of the genealogies mentioned just now is older than the XVIth century, but Geoffrey appears to have known the brief they have handed down to us, for he makes Osla's grandson Gwynber Dorchawg into a Gwynwas, Gunfasius, king of the Orkneys, (d'Orchawg); 'H. R. B.' IX, xii. Gwynber = Winfar; *cf.* Bith-far, Here-far, Gundo-far, and also 'Winfor-ton', the name of a village in the Welsh Marches. Osla's great-grandson, Eata Glinmaur, was known by

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The Sixth General Council of Constantinople commenced its sittings on November 7, A. D. 680, A. D. I. 683, A. D. *sec. E. V.* (when wrongly reduced from the A. D. I.) DCCV., which figures appear in the text.

E. Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers assign this MS. to the XIth century; *v.* 'Die althochdeutschen Glossen', iv. 566 (Berlin, 1898); but I rather think their ascription refers to the glosses it contains. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. F. Boll, the Keeper of the Munich Library, for the information that this passage is written in the same hand as the rest of the MS., and that he believes it is correctly ascribed to the Xth century by Mommsen, *u. s.*, and the Munich Catalogue.

(xi.) Impletus uero annus sextus [= A. D. 635] uenit Byrinus episcopus ad occidentales Anglos praedicans eis euangelium Christi. Transactus est numerus annorum ab aduentu in Britanniam de Germania eorum fere centum uiginti.

Ethelwerdi Chronicon, II. vi.; Cotton MS. *Otho A. X.* (*deperd. a.* 1731) *scr. saec. XI.*; ed. Sir Henry Savile, *apud* 'Rerum Anglicarum SS. post Bedam', fol. Londin., 1596. Also in 'Monumenta Historica Britannica', i. 506 A.

As about 120 years are said to have elapsed in 635 since the arrival of the West Angles that event must be dated in 514. A. D. *sec. E. V.* 514 = A. D. I. 495, A. D. 492, as explained above in note *ix*. Ethelwerd compiled his Chronicle at the end of the Xth century.

(xii.) Annus CLXXXIX. Her Eleutherius on Rome onfeng biscopdôm ... to tham Lucius Bretene kyning sende stafas ... &c.[1])

The Saxon Chronicle, ed. Wheloc, 1643, from the Cotton MS. *Otho B XI.* (*deperd.*) *scr. c.* 1025; *v.* 'Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel', ed. Plummer, 1892, i. 292; ii. xxviii.

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name to Nennius, who wrote in A. D. 837: see the absurd identification of him, in 'H. B.', cap. lxi., p. 205, with the father of King Eadbert who died in 768. Eata was the victor over Gwrgi and Peredur, whose mother was Llywarch Hên's cousin-german, at Caer Greu, *i. e.*, the City of Creu; ? Crau and so Craucester, now Cra'ster, in Northumberland. *Vide* 'Trioed Arthur ae wyr', no. 27; Peniarth MS. 45 (= Hengwrt 536) *scr. c.* 1290, printed by Skene, 'Four Ancient Books of Wales'.

[1]) 189. In this year Eleutherius became bishop of Rome — to whom Lucius the king of the Brettas sent letters, etc.

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A. D. 164 = A. D. I. 167, and this date wrongly reduced to A. D. *sec. E. V.* by adding 22 gives annus CLXXXIX., as in the text.

(xiii.) A primo anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Brittanniam usque ad annum iiii*um* Mermini regis supputantur anni CCCC.VIIII. (*CCCC.XX.VIIII.* MS. *H*[b]) ... initium compoti: uiginti tres cycli decemnouennales ab incarnatione domini usque ad aduentum Patricii in Hiberniam, et ipsi annos efficiunt numero CCCC.XXX.VIII.; et ab aduentu Patricii usque ad cyclum decemnouennalem in quo sumus uiginti duo cycli sunt, id est, CCCC.XXI. sunt, duo anni in ogdoade usque in hunc annum in quo sumus.

'Historia Brittonum', cap. xvi., ed. Mommsen, pp. 158, 159; Harley MS. *no. 3859, scr. c.* 1100.

In the Preface to the 'Historia Brittonum' (MS. *L.* p. 127) and in the Computus (*ibid.* p. 131), we are told that Nennius wrote the book in A. D. 858, the 24th year of the reign of Merfyn. This agrees with the date indicated by the total of the figures given in the text, namely 438 *plus* 421, if they are a Dionysian computation; but the tradition of the Harley MS. is uncertain. The numerals 'xx.' have been misplaced therein, and I believe we should read the passage thus: '... usque ad annum xxiiii*um* Mermini regis supputantur anni CCCC.VIIII.' The accession of Merfyn does not appear to be dated accurately in 'Annales Cambriae', but we may assume that it occurred about A. D. 815; consequently his 24th year fell in about 838, which is some 20 years earlier than the computation in the Harley MS. indicates. The intricacies of these chronological statements have been studied by Prof. Thurneysen, and he has assigned the compilation of the 'H. B.' to A. D. 826 (*v.* Zeitschr. i. 165). This year was arrived at by adding 421 years to the date given as that of Patrick's mission, viz. 405. But in the first place this date may be computed as A. P. *secundum Prosperum [29]*; moreover, A. P. 405 *plus* 421 does not = A. D. 826, but A. P. 826. Secondly, Prof. Thurneysen omitted to consider the meaning of the phrase 'duo anni in ogdoade'. He may have considered it superfluous, and Prof. Zimmer also, has assured us that the passage has no more to do with the matter than the Lord's

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Prayer.[1]) I have pointed out (Archiv f. c. Lexikogr., i. 515) that 'duo anni in ogdoade' means that the year had the Golden Number II.; but neither 826 nor 858 has this Golden Number, therefore neither is correct. G. N. II. really connoted at this period Paschal years current in 817-818, 836-837, and 855-856.

If we take the passage as corrected above, and add 409 to the British date of the coming of the Saxons, namely 428, we get A. D. 837, which, as we have just now seen, had G. N. II. A. D. 837 = A. D. *sec. E. V.* DCCCLVIIII., the year actually indicated in the text, but mistakenly treated as if it were in the recapitulation of the Paschal era of DXXXII. years and reduced by I to make it agree with the Dionysian order of the years of the Incarnation. It will be remembered that computists add I to the A. D. in order to get the full tale of decemnovennal years; conversely, having the latter datum they deduct I.

(xiiii.) Anno VI°. Marciani. Sanctus Patricius monente angelo Hiberniam petiit.

'Annales Cambriae', Public Record Office MS., *B*, *scr. c.* 1286, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, 1860; 'R. B. SS.', no. 20, p. xxxvi.

St. Patrick's mission to Ireland fell in A. D. 433 = A. D. *sec. E. V.* 455. The sixth year of Marcian was current from June, A. D. 455. It is clear that the identity of the annuary numerals caused the compiler of *B*, or its prototype, to ignore the difference in eras.

(xv.) Anno XIII°. Leonis Maioris. Aduentus Anglorum Horsi et Hengisti tempore Wortigerni regis.

'Annales Cambriae', *u. s.*, note xiiii.

The 13th year of Leo was current from June 26, A. D. 469. That year, regarded as A. D. *sec. E. V.*, = A. D. 447, which is the year from which the Venerable Bede computed several of his intervals in the era of the Saxon Advent (*cf.* Zeitschr. iii. 506).

IV. A Prochronism of 22 years appears when a datum actually computed in the Vulgar Era is wrongly ascribed to the era of the Incarnation *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* and then reduced to the Vulgar Era by deducting 22, according to rule

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[1]) 'Der Computus ist an der Stelle, wo er steht, ausserdem dem Zusammenhang nach so absurd, als wenn das Vaterunser dastünde'; 'N. V.', S. 46. Dr. Mac Carthy, also, mistakenly says that the terms Ogdoad and Hendecad have no chronographic value; Introd. 'Annall. Ultt.', iv. li.

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(xvi.) An. DCLXXI. Hoc anno quidam in Britannia a morte resurgens multa quae uidit de locis penarum et purgatorii ignis loco enarrauit.

'Annales Xantenses', ed. Pertz, 'M. G. SS.' ii. 220, 1829; Cotton MS. *Tiberius C. XI.*, *scr. saecl.* XI.

Bede gives no definite date, but later writers assigned the Vision of Dryhthelm to A. D. 693: *v.* Saxon Chronicles, *D*, *E*, *scr. c.* 1100 and 1120, respectively. A. D. 693, computed *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem*, = A. D. 671, as in the text. These annals were compiled in the IXth century; Pertz, *u. s.*

(xvii.) A. D. DCCCLXXXIII. Assero Sciréburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Suith[h]elmus, qui regis Aelfredi eleemosynam ad S. Thomam in Indiam detulit, indeque prospere rediit.

'Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicon', ed. Benjamin Thorpe, Lond., 1848, i. 98, note 3. Trinity College, Dublin, MS., *scr. c.* 1130.

The uncertainty about the date of Asser's obit has given rise quite unnecessarily to doubts about the authorship of the 'Gesta Aelfredi'. Asser attested charters dated A. D. 904 (*v.* 'Cod. Diplomat. Aevi Saxonici', ed. J. M. Kemble, Nos. 437, 1082, 1085), and his death is assigned in the 'Annales Cambriae' to ann. CCCCLXIV. A. D. 445 (= I.) *plus* 464 = A. D. 908. A. D. I. 908 = A. D. 905, and this year, styled A. D. *sec. E. V.* by mistake, = A. D. 883, the figures given above.

An identical error occurs in another MS. copy of Florence's Chronicle, Thorpe's MS. III. (Bodley MS. *no. 297*). In this MS. Swithhelm's death is dated A. D. 892. This MS. has many additions introduced from other chronicles (*v.* Thorpe, pref., ii. xii.), and A. D. 892 = A. D. *sec. E. V.* 914. Now A. D. 914 is the true date, and it has been wrongly ascribed to the Gospel Era and then reduced to A. D. in the regular way by deducting 22.

(xviii.) An. DLXXII. (*rectius* U.) Augustinus uenit in Angliam.

'Annales Monasterii Wintoniensis', Cotton MS. *Domitian A. XIII.*, *scr. c.* 1300; ed. H. R. Luard, *u. s.*, note *iii.*, vol. ii.

A. D. 597, the correct date, when reduced by 22 = A. D. 575, the figures suggested by the text. This annal is interpolated on the margin of the page.

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					The accepted date:
(xix.)	An. DXCIII.	Eadbaldus	successit.	593 + 22 = 615	616.
	„ DCXVII.	Ercombirtus	„	617 + 22 = 639	640.
	„ DCXLI.	Egbertus	„	641 + 22 = 663	664.
	„ DCL.	Lotharius	„	650 + 22 = 672	673.
	„ DCLXI.	Edricus	„	661 + 22 = 683	685.
	„ DCLXVIII.	Wichtredus	„	668 + 22 = 690	690.
	„ DCCI.	Edbertus	„	701 + 22 = 723	725.

'Annales Monasterii Wintoniensis', *u. s.*, note *xviii.* These are all marginal interpolations.

The compiler or interpolator of these Annals appears to have had a list of the Kentish kings before him dated *per annos praeteritos, v.* Zeitschr. iii. 500; these dates he mistakenly ascribed to the era of the Incarnation *sec. E. V.* and reduced them to A. D., as he supposed, by deducting 22.

V. A Parachronism of 11 (sometimes 12) years appears when a datum actually computed in the Vulgar Era is wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* and reduced to the Vulgar Era.

(xx.) Anno 705. Her Aldferth Northanhymbra cyning forthferde, 7 Seaxwulf biscop.

The Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle, *A*, *scr.* A. D. 892; ed. Plummer, *u. s.*, note *ix.*, p. 40.

The Chronicles *B* (*scr. c.* 1000), and *C* (*scr. c.* 1060) agree with *A*, but Mr. Plummer has shewn, 'Bede', ii. 216, that Bishop Sexwulf must have died before 693, because Wilfrid succeeded him in 692. Now A. D. 691, wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.*, and reduced to A. D. according to rule, equals A. D. 702, A. D. I. 705 — the year assigned, in so far as the numerals are concerned.

(xxi.) Ipsa [*sc.* ecclesia Glastoniensis] quippe multo ante beatum Patricium, qui anno Incarnationis dominicae CCCCLXXII. decessit, in ius ecclesiasticum transiuit...

'Vita Sancti Dunstani', by William of Malmesbury, ed. W. Stubbs, D.D., in 'Memorials of Dunstan'; 'R. B. SS.', no. 63, 1874, p. 251; Bodley MS. *Rawlinson Misc. 263, scr. c.* 1300.

St. Patrick died in A. D. 461; this year, wrongly regarded as A. P. *sec. E. V.*, = A. D. 472, as in the text. It might at first

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sight be considered strange that William of Malmesbury himself should be numbered among those who were deceived by the false chronological views elaborated by Marianus, but we cannot feel sure that the hand of a Glastonbury interpolator may not have been at work here. The whole subject of the connexion of Malmesbury with the Glastonbury literary frauds in the XIIth century has been recently investigated by Mr. W. W. Newell; *v.* Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. xviii. (1903), pp. 460-512. Mr. Newell has demonstrated that Malmesbury did not make use in his little work 'De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae' of the British fables that he condemned in his History, and that the *libellus* became by 1192 the framework over which the necessitous Glastonbury interpolators of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries spread their literary frauds.

(xxii.) A morte Patricii usque ad obitum sanctae Brigidae lx. anni.

'Historia Brittonum', cap. xvi. p. 158, ed. Mommsen, Durham MS. *B. II, 35, D, scr. c.* 1150 (*et al.*).

A. D. 461, the true date of St. Patrick's death, *plus* lx. = A. D. 520; but the year of *quinta feria* to which Tigernach assigned St. Bride's death, is A. D. 509. 509, however, if wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *sec. E. V. [12]* postulates A. D. 520, the sixtieth year from Patrick's death.

(xxiii.) Anno DCCCLXXII. Sanctus Swithunus episcopus Wyntoniensis obiit.

'Annales Wigornienses', *v.* note *iii., supra.*

The Canterbury (bilingual) Chronicle, F, has 861; that year wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *sec. E. V. [12]* equates A. D. DCCCLXXII., as in the text.

(xxiiii.) [*a*] An. CCCCLXXXVIII. Kl. — Mors Episcopi Ibair.

[*b*] An. D. Iobar episcopus ob. IX. cal. Mai. aetat[is suae anno] CCCCIV.

[*c*] An. D. xxii. Lugaidh. St. Ibhar died April 23, aged 304 years.

a) Annals of Connaught, *u. s.*, note *vi.*
b) The Martyrology of Donegal.
c) Annall. IV. Magg. [1])

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[1]) *Cf.* 'Annales Inisfalenses' (Bodley MS. *Rawlinson B. No. 503*), ed. C. O'Conor, D.D., 'Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores', Vol. III.

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A. D. CCCCLXXXVIII., wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *sec. E. V. [12]* and reduced to A. D. again, equates A. D. 499 or 500.

VI. A Parachronism of either 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 or 33 years appears when a datum in the Vulgar Era is wrongly ascribed to an era of the Passion other than that computed *secundum Veritatem Evangelii,* and reduced to A. D.

(xxv.) Regnante D. N. I. X., anno a passione eiusdem Domini et Saluatoris DCCCC.XC.VI., indictione septima ... Scriptum in mense Octobris, in dominico die, XVII. Kal.; luna xxii. [*rectius* xxv.], indictione VII.

The Charter of Wulfrûn to the Monastery at Wolverhampton; 'Monasticon Anglicanum', ed. 1830; VI. pt. 3, p. 1443a.

The Seventh Indiction of Constantinople in the series current at the period in question began on September I, A. D. 993, A. D. I. 996. These figures tally with the annuary numbers and with the Indiction given in the text. It is quite clear, therefore, that 'anno a passione Domini' is an error in ascription, though it may be systematic. A. D. 993, A. D. I. 996, has Sunday Letter A, and in the month of October the Ides and the 22nd of the month fell on Sunday. *XVII. Kal.* [*Novembres*], the date in the text, fell on Monday, however, but it commenced at vespers on Sunday. The Golden Number of A. D. 993, A. D. I. 996, was VI., and this has 25 days of epact; consequently as the lunar regular of the Kalends of October is 16 the moon of the tables was (16 + 25 =) 11 days old, and on the 15th of the month it was xxv. days old. All these dates, therefore, are in exact agreement. The Seventh Indiction was current in October, A. D. I. 996; the Julian Calendar date was changed to the 16th, *i. e.,* XVII. Kal., at vespers on Sunday, the Ides; and the lunar calendar date, namely *xxv.,* remained the same till sunset, when it became luna xxvi. The tenth hour, or Vespers, ends at about 3.20 on October 15, in the English Midlands, and sunset occurs on that day a few minutes after 5. The datal clause, therefore, of the Charter of Wulfrûn is unimpeachable, and that is the case whether it was appended to that particular charter or, originally, to some other. Whether that charter is a fraudulent one I do not pretend to say, but this datal clause provides no reason for rejecting it. The charter to which this clause is now attached

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may very well have been witnessed on Sunday, October 18, A. D. 993, A. D. I. DCCCC.XC.VI., in the VIIth Indiction, after the Julian calendar date had been changed from *Idibus* to 'XVII. Kal.', *i. e.*, after 4 P. M., and before sunset, when *luna xxv.* was extinguished, *i. e.*, before 5 P. M.

(xxvi.) [*a*] Ab Incarnatione Domini usque ad transitum Sancti Martini, anni CCCCXLIIII.

[*b*] Ab I. D. usque ad baptisma Francorum, anni ... [525, margin].

[*c*] Ab hinc usque in presens, anni CCCXI.

[*d*] Ab I. D. usque ad transitum Chlodouei, anni DLVI.

[*e*] Ab I. D. usque ad transitum Sancti Remigii, anni DLXXVI.

[*f*] A transitu Remigii usque in presens, anni CCL... [270, margin].

Additions made by the copyist of Bede's 'H. E.' in the Harley MS., *no. 4978; scr. saecl.* X., fo. 151 b. Ed. Plummer, 'Bede', Introd. p. c.

The Arabic numerals in brackets are written in the outer margin of the page in a modern hand which seems to me to be the same as that which wrote '13 die mense Augusti, A. D. 1724', at the top of the first page of the book. The numerals of *b* have disappeared under the paste of the binding; some of *f* are rubbed off the parchment, and it is, of course, quite possible that the marginal note is erroneous. *b.* Clovis was baptised in A. D. 496, A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 485. This datum, wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *[29]* according to Prosper, and reduced twice to A. D., = A. D. 541. *Cf.* note xxviii. *infra.* *c.* 541 *plus* the interval CCCXI. dates the annus praesens in A. D. 852. *d.* The death of Clovis occurred in A. D. 511, A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 500. A. P. 500 twice reduced to A. D. = DLVI., the year assigned. *e.* St. Remy died in A. D. 531, A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 520. A. P. 520 twice reduced to A. D. by adding 28 = DLXXVI., the year assigned. *f.* A. D. 852 (the annus praesens) *minus* DLXXVI. gives an interval of 276 years, whereas the marginal note only gives 270, and the surviving numerals indicate no more than 'CCL...'. Mr. Plummer (*u. s.*, p. c.) dates the annus praesens by adding the interval in *c* to the true year of the baptism of Clovis, viz. 496. But this misconceives the nature of

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the problem, inasmuch as it assumes that the IXth-century computist dated the annus praesens in the same era as the conversion and the obits were dated in. A more correct view would, I think, regard the intervals he handed down as false ones; that is to say, they were not intervals between the events, but intervals between years dated in one era and the annus praesens dated in another. Mr. Plummer's suggestion that the dates seem to be computed in 'the Julian era, which precedes the Christian era by forty-five years', is a mistake, because there is no such era. A IXth-century computist would not count the years of the Incarnation from Julius Caesar, and the following table will make his position clear.

	The true A. D.	A. P. *sec. E. V.*	The double reduction, as if A. P. *sec. Prosper.*	The date in Harley MS. *no. 4978*	The false intervals	The annus praesens
The Conversion of Clovis . .	496	485	+ 28 + 28 =	[DXLI.]	*plus*... CCCXI.	= 852
The Death of Clovis	511	500	+ 28 + 28 =	DLVI.	—	
The Death of Remy	531	520	+ 28 + 28 =	DLXXVI.	*plus*... CCL[XXVI.]	

St. Martin died in 395 which = A. P. *sec. E. V.* 384. A. P. 384 ascribed to Prosper's era of the Passion, and reduced to A. D., = 412, a date which crops up again and again — *v.* note i. A. D. 412, wrongly dated *a passione* and reduced to A. D. by adding 32, = CCCCXLIIII., as in the text.

(xxvii.) A Passione Christi peracti sunt anni DCCCCXLVI.; ab incarnatione autem eius sunt anni DCCCC.LXXVI.; et quintus [est] annus Eadmundi regis Anglorum.

'Historia Brittonum', MS. *Vatican. Reginae*, no. 1964, *scr. saecl. XI.*, cap. 1.; ed. Mommsen, 'Chron. Minor.' iii. 145.

This passage has caused a great deal of discussion; *v.* Mommsen, *u. s.*, p. 117, note 2; and Zimmer, 'N. V.', p. 167 seq. In the first place 'a passione Christi' is a mistaken ascription identical with that considered just now in note *xxv.* — a document of the same century. Secondly, 'ab incarnatione', etc., appears to me to be an addition made by a continental scribe who did not

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know when Edmund reigned and who was misled by the erroneous, though perhaps systematic, ascription 'a passione Christi'. This really stands for the formula *ab Incarnatione Christi,* and 'peracti sunt anni 946' indicates that 947 was current: compare my remarks on the computation *per annos praeteritos* in this journal, iii. 501, sqq. A. D. 947 was not the fifth year of King Edmund, however, and we must understand A. D. I. This assigns Edmund's fifth year to A. D. 943-4, and his accession, therefore, to A. D. 939. The Winchester (Saxon) Chronicle, which was practically contemporary with Edmund's predecessor, King Athelstan, in the portion of it concerned, dates the death of that king *a. d. VI. Kal. Novembres,* anno DCCCCXL., and the Old-English year, as I have shewn in the *Athenæum,* September 22, 1900, p. 380, commenced in the month of September. Consequently, the month of October, DCCCCXL., fell in our 939, and the first year of Edmund's reign was current from October 27, 939, to October 26, 940. His fifth, therefore, in which the Edmundine recension of the 'H. B.' was made, was current from October 27, A. D. 943 (A. D. I. 947) to October 26, 944 (A. D. I. 948). I have shewn in the *Athenæum,* June 25, 1904, p. 819, that Edmund was crowned on November 30, St. Andrew's Day, A. D. 939 — DCCCCXL., = A. D. I. 943.

There are two other passages bearing upon this point in the Vatican and Paris MSS. of the 'H. B.'

> (*b*) Regnante Gratiano Equantio Romae Saxones a Gurthigirno suscepti sunt anno CCCXLVII. post passionem Christi. A tempore quo aduenerunt primo ad Bryttaniam Saxones usque ad primum imperii ann*um* regis Eadmundi DC.XLII.; ad hunc in quo nos scribimus annos traditione seniorum DC.XLVII. didicimus, quippe quia isti imperii quintus antedicti regis est annus.
>
> Cap. xxxi. p. 172, text and note 1.
>
> (*c*) ... quando Gratianus Aequantius consul fuit in Roma ... Saxones a Guorthegirno anno post Domini passionem CCCXLVII. suscepti sunt, ad hunc quem nunc scribimus annum DC.XLVII. numeramus.
>
> Cap. lvi., p. 201, note 2.

I have restored the points to the Dc. dates because they are important. They have been ignored in all cases by Zimmer and

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Mommsen; but Petrie and Hardy, who knew the meaning of them, printed them in many instances. I have already said in this Journal (iii. 510*), on the authority of the last-named scholars, that such a date as *DC.I.*, in a certain style, does not mean 601, but 501. Similarly *DC.XLVII.* does not mean 647, as the two scholars first named supposed, but 547.

The computations in *b* and *c* are obviously based upon the Passion datum CCCXLVII. Let us then deduct that interval from the Dionysian years we have already computed: 939 and 944 *minus* CCCXLVII. = 592 and 597, respectively. But the computation in *b* says 542 and 547, hence DC.XLII. and DC.XLVII., should be DC.XCII. and DC.XCVII., respectively, and the secondary cause of our difficulties becomes apparent. The scribe of the Vatican MS. misread the Anglo-Saxon ⊏ (= *C*) as L,[1]) and all we have to do to harmonise the computations in *a*, *b*, and *c*, is to read DC.XCII. and DC.XCVII., as suggested. The addition of these intervals to A. P. CCCXLVII. gives us A. P. 939 and A. P. 944 as the first and fifth years, respectively, of the reign of Edmund, King of the Angles. They are necessarily years computed from the Incarnation, and they have been erroneously, though perhaps systematically, styled years *a Passione*.

(xxviii.) An cccc.lxxx.viij. Quies Patricii XVI. Kal. Aprilis, anno cccc.xxx.ii. a passione Domini.
'Annales Inisfalenses', *vide supra*, note vii.

In years of the Passion January, February and 24 days of the month of March fall at the end of the year, consequently the regular of reduction from A. P. *sec. Prosperum* to A. D. *sec. Dionysium* should be increased by us in those months to 29. Hence *XVI. Kal. April., a. p. D. cccc.xxx.ii.* = March 17, 461, which is believed to be the correct date of St. Patrick's obit. A. P. CCCC.XXXII. + 28 = A. P. CCCC.LX. and A. P. CCCC.LX. + 28 = An. cccc.lxxx.viij., as given in the text, the parachronism having been doubled. *Cf.* note xxvi. *supra*.

VII. A Parachronism of 30, 31, or 33 years also occurs when data in the Vulgar Era are wrongly ascribed to an era of the Passion and are reduced to A. D. again.

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[1]) *Cf. supra*, note 1, p. 364.

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(xxix.) Et ueniens sanctissima in aquilonalem plagam Hiberniae, uidelicet in prouincia Ultorum, Brigida illico doloribus correpta est et post breue spatium temporis ... aetatis suae anno LXXX., anno uero XXX. post obitum S. Patricii Archiepiscopi, regnante in Themoria regnum Hiberniae Murchiartach mac Erc, cui successit in regno Tuathal Moelgarbh, primo autem anno regni Iustiniani imperatoris, sedente in sede apostolica papa Hormisda, anno quoque ab incarnatione Domini DXLVIII. (Calendis Februarii) ... felicissime obiit.

'Quarta Uita Sanctae Brigidae', ascribed to Anmchad, Bishop of Kildare (†980), but no MS. is known to exist; ed. 'Actt. SS.', February, tomus 1, 1863, p. 171 F. *Cf.* Hardy, 'Catalogue', no. 310, i. 108.

The Bollandists discuss the question *Quando obierit S. Brigida?* in the viiith chapter of their Preface to the Life, pp. 109, 110. Their reply to it is 1 February, 523, and they neglect Tigernach, who enters the obit against *feria u.* and *feria ii.*, marking the caput anni of the January year and the September year, respectively, current in February, 509. I have already pointed this out in my pamphlet on St. Gildas where, also, I shewed that Muircheartach reigned from 494 to 515. Now, Justin the Elder died on August 1, 527, after his nephew Justinian had been associated with him in the empire; and the first year of Hormisdas was current in 514-515. How are we to reconcile all these conflicting annuary data with the given year DXLVIII.? The solution of the problem is perfectly easy if the principles of computation the acceptance of which I have been urging in this paper be borne in mind. A. D. 515, for Muircheartach and Hormisdas, if wrongly ascribed to A. P. and reduced, = DXLVIII., and the other data cohere as follows:

A. D. 509, the true year of St. Bride's death = A. P. *sec. E. V.* 498;

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">A. P. sec. Prosperum 498 = A. D. 526,</td><td rowspan="3">= A. D. sec. E. V. DXLVIII., the year given in the Vita as that of Justinian's accession.</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. D. 515, if wrongly ascribed to A. P. and 33 added,</td><td>=</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. D. 515, if wrongly ascribed to A. P. sec. E. V. and reduced to A. D.,</td><td>= A. D. 526</td></tr>
</table>

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(xxx.) Annus [VII]. Dies tenebrosa sicut nox.
'Annales Cambriae', MS. *B, scr. c.* 1286; *v. supra,* note xiiii.

The year 7 in these Annals ought to connote A. D. 451, but the solar eclipse recorded was undoubtedly the one which occurred on 20 July, A. D. 445. A. D. 445 = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 434, and that really was the seventh year, by numbers, from the Saxon Advent correctly assigned to 428. The year VII. is also synchronised with 'annus xix. ab initio Leonis Maioris regni', *i. e.,* with A. D. 475-6. Now, I have already shewn above, in note xv., that the 13th year of Leo was synchronised with an event that happened 41 years before; similarly, here we get his 19th year synchronised with A. D. 434 (475 *minus* 41). The inference that may be drawn justly from this is that the compiler of the 'Annales Cambriae' had a note of a solar eclipse dated in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V. [12]* 434, and that he assumed that the numerals marked a year in the era of Dionysius, with which he was familiar, and incorporated the annal in the wrong place. Subsequent elaborators confused the matter still worse.

The 'Art de Vérifier les Dates', in its chapter on the chronology of eclipses says: '445. * 20 juillet à 5 et demi soir. Europe au Nord-Ouest'. This eclipse was recorded by Irish annalists as well as British ones, and in the Inisfallen Annals (Bodleian MS. *Rawlinson B. 503*) we find:

K. iu. Stella crinita apparuit.
K. ... ...
Kl. Eclipsis solis in nona hora.

There are no other annuary dates given here in these Annals, but the notice about the comet and the record of the hour at which the eclipse occurred enable us to date both events with relative certainty. According to M. Pingré (*u. s.* p. 297) the middle of the eclipse coincided at Paris with 5. 30 *P. M.,* which is equated by 4. 54 *P. M.* at Tara; consequently the eclipse commenced at that place at about 3 o'c. Now, on July 20, as the sun sets in these latitudes at about 8 o'c., the ecclesiastical hours are of about 80 minutes duration; consequently, as the eclipse began at Tara at about 3 *P. M.* it began in the 9th hour which was current between 2. 40 and 4 o'c. This tallies with what the Irish annalist tells us; but the signature *Kal. iv.*

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indicates A. D. 441 as the year of the comet, and as this is correct we must assign the eclipse to 443. It is much more likely, however, that 'iu' is a misreading of *ui* than that it is the equivalent of *iiii.*; in either case, however, the interval between the cosmical events calendared should be two years longer than it is.

Idatius, who was writing in the second third of the Vth century, and who, no doubt, saw this comet, says (*v.* Migne, 'Patrol.', li. 881; ed. Mommsen, 'M. G. H.', Chron. Minor., II).

> 'Cometae sidus apparere incipit mense Decembri, quod per menses aliquot uisum subsequentis in pestilentia plagae, quae fere in toto orbe diffusa est, premisit ostentum'.

Marcellinus, who wrote *c.* 530, tells us (*v.* Migne, 'Patrol.', li. 927):

> 'Ind. X. Eudoxio et Dioscoro coss.
> Stella quae crinita dicitur per plurimum tempus apparuit'.

The comet, therefore, which was calendared by the Irish annalists must have been that of A. D. 441-442, which years began *f. iiii.* and *f. v.*, respectively. The signature of the annal, namely 'iu.', may be a misreading of *ui.*, but the solar eclipse of two years later recorded in the 'Annales Inisfalenses' and in the 'Annales Cambriae' can be no other than that of A. D. 445, as I have suggested already.

This comet I believe to be the one described by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his 'Historia Regum Britanniae', VIII. xiv., where it is synchronised with the death of 'Aurelius Ambrosius' and the accession of Uthyr. It must be remembered that Cat Guoloph, the battle resulting from the contention between Ambrosius and Guitolinus, is dated 12 years after Guorthigirn's reign. Whether 'post regnum Guorthigirni' ('H. B.' cap. lxvi.) means from the death of Gwrtheyrn, I cannot tell; but as he was ruling in A. D. 428 it is clear that the strife between Ambrosius and Guitolin occurred *post* A. D. 439.[1])

[1]) Other attempts to date this comet in the early years of the VIth century may be found in Pingré's 'Cométographie, ou Traité historique et théorique des Comètes', Paris, 1783.

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VIII. A Prochronism of 11 (sometimes 12) years appears when a datum in the era of the Passion *secundum Evangelicam Veritatem* is wrongly ascribed to the Vulgar Era.

(xxxi.)	[*a*]	Baptizauit Paulinus ante annos . . .	CXI.
	[*b*]	Eclypsis ante annos.	LXXIII.
	[*c*]	Penda moritur ante annos	LXXIX.
	[*d*]	Pugna Ecgfridi ante annos	LXIII.
	[*e*]	[Pugna] Aelfuuini ante annos viii. . .	[LXXI.]
	[*f*]	Angli in Britannia ante annos. . . .	CCXCII.

'Chronological Fragment', More MS. of Bede's 'H. E.', *scr.* 737. ed. Sweet, in 'The Oldest English Texts'; E. E. T. Society's Publication, no. 83, p. 149.

The text of this Northumbrian Fragment is given by Sweet, and also in 'M. H. B.' It follows in the More MS. immediately after a fragment of verse composed by Cædmon, and it is written in a hand that may well be the same, it is said, as that of the 'Historia' itself. The MS. was fully described by Henry Bradshaw in vol. 2 of 'Facsimiles of MSS. and Inscriptions', edited by E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson (Lond. 1873-1883) for the Palæographical Society. The Plate no. 140 in that work reproduces the song composed by Cædmon, a list of Northumbrian kings down to 737 (but not mentioning Eadberct, who succeeded in that year), and a few computations, given above, of intervals that had elapsed since certain events of historical importance had taken place. The strong resemblance of the handwriting of the More MS. to that of the Kalendar and Martyrology of St. Wilbrord, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *fonds latins, no. 10,837,* which certainly belongs to the first half of the VIIIth century, led Mr. Bradshaw to believe that the MS. may have been written at Epternach, or at some such Anglo-Saxon colony on the continent of Europe. The fact that certain mistakes were made by the author of the Chronological Fragment in calculating some of the intervals he dealt with has led to the otherwise unfounded supposition that at least some of the notes were made later than A. D. 737. It was certainly written in that year, however; *vide* 'Monumenta Historica Britannica', Preface, i. 173, and Zupitza, 'Ueber den Hymnus Cædmons', in the *Ztschr. f. d. Alterthum, neue Folge,* Bd. X.

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In *a,* 737 *minus* 'CXL' dates Edwin's baptism in 626,[1]) *i. e.,* 'in anno CLXXX. ab aduentu Anglorum', as Bede, 'H. E.', II. xiiii., p. 113, says correctly though he erroneously assigned it to the year 627: *cf.* Zeitschr. III. 506. *b* tallies with what we know. In *c* 737 *minus* 'LXXIX.' assigns Penda's death to 658, which is quite correct if we style it A. D. I., and remember that the year of the Incarnation began, in Bede's time, on September 24.[2]) Penda was slain on November 15, A. D. 654—DCLV. = A. D. I. 658. In *d,* the discrepancy between the Fragment and the chronology of Venerable Bede has never been accounted for. 737 *minus* 'LXIII.' = A. D. 674 for Egfrid's death. But we know that he died in 685, in battle against the Picts. Similarly 'ante annos VIII.' gives A. D. 666 for Elfwin's death, which is equally strange, because the battle on the Trent between the Mercians and the Northumbrians, in which he fell, took place in the 9th year of Egfrid, *i. e.,* in 678-9. As Egfrid fell eight years after, it is clear that he reigned *plus* 8 *plus* 7 years, *i. e.,* more than 15 years. Now, that is just what Tigernach says[3]) viz. 'xvmo anno regni sui consummato'; while Bede says 'xvmo anno'; 'H. E.' IV. xxvi., p. 297. It is possible that Bede counted Egfrid's years from the date of his coronation, and that the authority used by Tigernach counted from Egfrid's accession.

The reason for the prochronism of 11 years appears to me to be this: A. D. 685, the actual year of Egfrid's overthrow, = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* DCLXXIIII., and A. D. 678, the actual year of Elfwin's death, = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* DCLXVI. (from January 1

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[1]) The recognition of this fact would have helped Mr. Plummer to clear up the difficulties pointed out by Dr. Bright in connexion with Edwin's 'delay' to obey the voice of Paulinus, because it would have helped to shew that Bede was in error in dating Paulinus's consecration in 625.

[2]) Bede tells us in his 'De Ratione Temporum' (Opera. vi. 244) that — 'Incipiunt indictiones ab VIII. Kal. Octobr. [= 24 Sept.] ibidemque terminantur'. In the 'H. E.', V. xv. (p. 316), he says that Adamnan died 'ante expletum anni circulum', and Adamnan's day is September 23. Hence the annalistic year commenced in Bede's time in some monasteries on the same day as the Indiction. *Cf. The Athenæum,* Sept. 22, 1900, p. 380.

[3]) 'The Annals of Tigernach', edited from four fragments of the XIIth and XIVth centuries by Dr. Whitley Stokes; *vide* Revue Celtique: *a*) to Antoninus, tome xvi., 1895, pp. 375-419; *b*) to A. D. 360, tome xvii., 1896, pp. 6-33; *c*) from A. D. 489 to A. D. 766, *ibid.,* pp. 119-263; and *d*) from A. D. 975 to A. D. 1088, *ibid.,* pp. 337-420.

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to March 24). Now, 674 and 666 are the numbers that result from the reduction of 737 by 63 and 71, the intervals indicated in the Chronological Fragment. This solution of the difficulty shews that in A. D. 737 there were computations styled in the era of the Incarnation (as in *c*), and also in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.* (as in *d*) which were independent of Bede's chronology.

In *f*, 737 *minus* 'CCXCII.' = A. D. 445 for the year of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa. This, as we have seen, *supra*, note ii., is the era-year of the 'Annales Cambriae', and, as I have explained already, it is the erroneous equation of A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* CCCCXVII. = A. D. 428.

It is obvious that the compiler of the Chronological Fragment written out in A. D. 737 had before him two events dated in the era of the Passion computed *secundum Veritatem Evangelii.* The first of these, that in *d*, namely, he deducted forthwith from the annus praesens without reducing it to the Dionysian era. The result is the prochronism of 11 years which has hitherto proved so puzzling. The other heterodox passional datum, that in *f*, he erroneously assigned to the era of the Passion computed according to Prosper and reduced the date to the Dionysian era by adding 28. He then deducted this false date from the annus praesens and the result is the parachronism of 17 years in the date of the Saxon Advent which we have just considered.

(xxxii.) An. DCLXIV. Deo dilecta mater Bercinganensis monasterii Æthelburga, prima eiusdem coenobii abbatissa, ... V° Iduum Octobrium die carnis ergastulo est educta.

An. DCLXXV. Porro Æthelburgae sancti Erconwaldi sorori successit Hildelith ad quam sanctus Aldelmus scripsit librum De Virginitate.

Florence, *u. s.*, note xvii., vol. 1, 26, 33.

The death of Ethelberga, Abbess of Barking, is dated by Florence October 11, 664, and the succession of Hildilid in 664 and also in 675. Now A. P. DCLXIV. *sec. E. V. [12]* = A. D. 675. As Ethelburga's successor Hildilid did not die before 709 the later date is more likely to be the true one; *cf.* Plummer's 'Bede', ii. 218, 219. The mistake made by Florence in connexion with Ethelberga's obit is identical with that which he made about Asser; *vide* note xvii. *supra.*

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[xxxiii.] An. DCCCLXXII. Asserum etiam [Aelfredus rex] de occiduis et ultimis Britanniae finibus e monasterio Sancti Dewii aduocauit.

Florence of Worcester, *v. supra*, note *xvii.*

[A. P. sec. E. V.] DCCCLXXII. = A. D. 883. According to Asser's own report he came to England about A. D. 884; *v.* 'Annales de Rebus Gestis Aelfredi', 'Monumenta Historica Britannica', i. p. 487, C, and compare note *xvii., supra.* The wavering of Florence when dealing with the dates of Asser's life has excited unfounded and unnecessary suspicions respecting the genuineness of the 'Annales de R. G. Aelfredi'.

(xxxiiii.) Aduentus Anglorum in Angliam ... anno ab Incarnatione CCCC.XXX.VIII. Gurtheirno existente rege Britonum.

'Annales Cambriae', Cotton MS. *Domitian A 1.*, MS. *C, scr. c.* 1290, ed. Williams, p. xl.

A. D. 449, the date handed down by Venerable Bede, when reduced to *A. P. sec. E. V. [12]* = CCCC.XXX.VIII., as in the text.

(xxxv.) An. DLXVIII. Kl. Columchillę in nocte Dominica, etatis suę anno lxxvii., quievit in XPO.

'Annales Buellienses', *v. supra*, note *vi.*

A. D. *sec. E. V.* DLXVIII. = A. D. 579 when computed correctly; but there is an occasional error in this class of reduction, 12 instead of 11 being sometimes added or taken away. Hence A. P. [12] 568 equals A. D. 580, and in that year not only did June 9, the day of St. Columba's death, fall on Sunday, but also, as Tigernach reports, on Whitsunday: *cf.* Ztschr. f. celt. Philol., iv. 336. The question of difference in the date of celebration of Easter which is due to schismatic calculaton does not affect us here. By Dionysian computation the lunations of the Sundays which fell within the Paschal period in A. D. 580 are as follows:

	March		April		
Sundays:	24	31	7	14	21
lunation:	xxii.	xxix.	vi.	xiii.	xx.

The Scoto-British Churches would not keep Easter earlier than

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March 25, nor on an older moon than xx.: therefore in 580 the Irish and the Britons could not possibly have kept Easter in the month of March. In April there were only two Sundays available — either the 14th or the 21st. If the moon of the schismatic tables were one day older than the moon of the orthodox tables the Irish and the Britons would have kept Easter on April 14, moon xiiii. Tigernach's statement implies that they kept it on April 21, which tallies with Whitsunday on June 9, and I know of only one reason for doubting his report — viz. the possibility of what Dr. Mac Carthy calls 'proleptic attribution'.[1]) By this phrase is meant the attribution of Dionysian methods of Paschal computation to a period anterior to the times of Dionysius, or, as in the British Churches, to the date when his method was adopted. But Tigernach says: 'K. iiii. Quies Coluimcille in nocte Dominica Pentecostes V. id. Iuni'. — and it is almost certain that he did not know the true year of Columba's death. For 'K. iiii.' marks an E-year, whereas Sunday, June 9, necessarily falls with F. Consequently it cannot be right to suggest that Tigernach discovered that June 9 fell on Whitsunday by analysing the computistical position. Even if we substitute *vii.* for 'iiii.' we make no advance, because in B-years June 9 does not fall on Sunday. The only F-years in the last quarter of the VIth century are 580, 586, and 597, and the only one of these in which Whitsunday could possibly fall on June 9 is 580. Computation of the lunations by Dionysian methods will shew that in 586 the schismatic computation must have agreed with the orthodox one in chosing June 2; while in 597 it is probable that Whitsunday fell on May 26 in the schismatic Churches.

(xxxvi.) Kl. — Adamnan ab*bas* Iae *et* sapiens quieuit in Chr*isto*.

'Annales Inisfalenses', *v. supra*, note *vii.*

This annal must be dated An. DCXCIII., but Adamnan died on September 23, 704. It is clear, therefore, that the compiler of the 'Annales Inisfalenses' has taken a datum computed in the era of the Passion *sec. E. V.* and treated it as if it were A. D., whereas he ought to have added 11 to the numerals.

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[1]) Introd. to Annals of Ulster, IV., ci., l. 5.

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(xxxvii.) An. cccc.lxxx.vii. Ab initio mundi secundum Dionysium V.DC.LX. usque ad transitum Sancti Patricii episcopi; ab incarnatione vero Domini CCCC.XL.VIII.

'Annales Buellienses', *v. supra*, note *vi.*

St. Patrick died 17 March, 460-1. A. D. 460 = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 448 wrongly computed: these are the figures given in the text as *ab inc. Dni.* A. P. *sec. E. V.* 448, wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *[29]*, = A. D. 476; and 476 wrongly ascribed to the era of the Passion *sec. E. V. [12]*, and again reduced to A. D., gives cccc.lxxx.vii., the head-date in the text.

§ IX. A Prochronism of 28 or 29 years appears when a datum in the era of the Passion *[29]* according to Prosper is erroneously styled A. D.

(xxxviii.) The work of the 'Chronographer of the year 354 is of such great importance that it is singular that neither Dr. Mommsen nor any other scholar who has dealt with it has put the question — What does 'CCC.LIIII.' in the title of the work mean? We are told that we owe it to Filocalus, who wrote under Pope Damasus; but Damasus was not consecrated until 366. The work itself is always cited as if it had been written in the year of the Incarnation 354, according to Dionysius, but it is impossible for a IVth-century datum to have that meaning. That the title does at least precede the VIIth century is clear from the reference to one of the objects of the compilation which was made by Columbanus in his 'Epistola ad Patres Synodi cuiusdam Gallicanae super quaestione Paschae congregatae'; (*apud* Migne, 'Patrologia Latina', tom. lxxx. col. 266.), as follows: —

'Sed confiteor ... quod plus credo traditioni patriae meae iuxta Do[cum],[1]) et calculum LXXXIV. annorum

[1]) 'Secundus ordo Catholicorum Hiberniae Presbyterorum ... a Dauide episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Brittonibus missam acceperunt'; *v.* 'Councils & Ecclesiastical Documents', edd. Haddan & Stubbs, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 292-4. It is the custom to alter 'Doco' here, into *Cadoco*; but that is not judicious and the important confirmation of the 'Catalogus' by Columbanus's letter has been overlooked. This Do[cus] may have been the Dochu who is mentioned in the Life of St. Cadoc (ed. Rees, cap. xviii. p. 48), and who was one of the senior judges of Britannia along with David, Teilau, Keneder, Maidoc and

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> et Anatolium [1]) ... Pascha celebrare, quam iuxta Victorium, ... qui post tempore Domini Martini et Domini Hieronymi et Papae Damasi post centum et tres annos sub Hilaro scripsit'.

Prof. Mommsen referred to this passage in his second edition of the book ('Chronica Minora', I. p. 34), saying: —

> 'Chronographum a. 354 adlegari a S. Columbano in epistula secunda, scripta a. 603, contendunt Duchesnius ('Liber Pontificalis', 1. p. xxxiv.) et Kruschius ('Neues Archiv', ix. 147). Scilicet cum ibi memoretur Victorius [as above] *q. p. t. d. M. et d. H. et P. D. post c. et t. a. s. H. conscripsit*, ea computatio cum Victorius canonem elaboraverit a. 457, ducit ad a. 354 in quo finit Chronographus — neque id aliqua probabilitate caret quamquam Damaso a Columbano computatio illa non magis tribuitur quam Martino vel Hieronymo; neque recte tribui potest cum corpus id de quo agitur ante scriptum sit quam is papa factus est, neque usquam in eo nomen est'.

Prof. Mommsen, it is clear, regarded 'CCCLIIII.' as a date in the era of the Incarnation computed according to Dionysius.

Dr. Bruno Krusch in his essay on 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande', referred to by Mommsen, quotes the words of Columbanus (beginning after 'iuxta Do-', however), and then says: 'Merkwürdig ist hier die Erwähnung des Papstes Damasus von welchem 103 Jahre bis auf Victurius gezählt werden. Für Damasus also das Jahr 354 statuiert, in welchem bekanntlich unter seinem Einflusse die römische Chronographie des Filocalus redigiert wurde'. This is a great mistake:

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other ecclesiastics, in a dispute between Arthur (†492) and Cadoc himself. The spelling 'Dochu' is significant of Norman influence; *cf.* 'Chenth' for Kent, in Domesday Book. The Annals of Ulster date Dochu's death — 'A. D. cccclxxiii. Quies Docci episcopi sancti Britonum abbatis'. For 'A. D.' we must read *A. P.*, and A. P. 473 = either 484 or 501, accordingly as we understand *sec. E. V.* or *sec. Prosper.*

[1]) The Paschal Tables of pseudo-Anatolius have been analysed and explained from two different points of view in the English Historical Review, July and October, 1895.

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in A. D. 354, as Mommsen observed, Damasus was not Pope, and St. Martin was unknown; while Jerome, if we may accept the chronology of Dupin, was only nine or ten years old.

The datum in the title of this ancient document is really computed in the era of the Passion *[29]*, and must be reduced to A. D. by adding 28. This enables us to date the work of Filocalus in A. D. 382. Several circumstances will be found to group themselves quite naturally around this year. It is the first of the cycle of *LXXXIV. annorum per septem duodecennitates*, which commences — 'Kal. Ianuar., feria septima, luna prima...' It is the year in which Jerome went to Rome, with other supporters of Paulinus of Antioch, to take part in the council convened by Damasus in order to compose the schism respecting the patriarchal succession in the latter Church. It was in the preceding year that Jerome had prepared the 'One Hundred Year's List of Easters', computed by Theophilus of Alexandria, for the Latin Churches, and this Paschal List commenced with the Easter of 380. Those Italian and Gaulish bishops who resented Greek interference, on receiving this One Hundred Year's list would immediately foresee the need to have a Paschal list of their own, so that they might produce it in cases of emergency when the Alexandrian Easter Day did not tally with the Roman one. The result was the compilation we know, which presents the data of the cycle of LXXXIV. stretching back for hundreds of years. The numerals *CCCLIIII.* formed part of the title as early as A. D. 603 at least, as I said above; for Columbanus's mistake [1]) consisted, like that of Duchesne and Mommsen, in regarding them as a date in the era of the Incarnation according to Dionysius. Columbanus then deducted them from 457, the year in which Victurius compiled his Great Paschal Cycle, the result being the interval of 103 years he cites. Columbanus's object in referring to the Chronographer of 'CCCLIIII.' was to exalt the age, and consequently the authority of the Paschal method of LXXXIV., in so far as its Julian- and lunar-calendar limits of Easter are concerned.

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[1]) It is clear that we must assume that Columbanus had become acquainted in Gaul before A. D. 603 with the Dionysian method of computation which St. Augustine introduced into England in 597, and St. Cummian, in Ireland, supported in 631.

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(xxxix.) Saxones ad Britanniam venerunt Felice et Tauro coss. quadringentesimo anno ab incarnatione domini Iesu Christi.

'Historia Brittonum', Harley MS. *no. 3859*, cap. lxvi. Ed. Mommsen, 'Chronica Minora', iii. p. 209.

This is a computation in the era of the Passion according to Prosper's view. A. P. *[29]* CCCC. = A. D. 428, which is quite correct.[1])

(xl.) A natiuitate domini usque ad aduentum Patricii ad Scottos CCCCV. anni sunt.

'Historia Brittonum', *u. s.*, cap. xvi., p. 158.

This, like *xxxix.*, is a computation made *a passione.* A. P. *[29]* CCCCV. = A. D. 433.

§ X. A Prochronism of 33 or 34 years appears when a datum in the era of the Passion computed *secundum Evangelium* is wrongly ascribed to the era of the Incarnation, similarly computed, and then reduced to the Vulgar Era.

(xli.) K. ui. Constantinus a ducibus Constantis fratris sui in bello occisus est [*sc.* A. D. 340]. Patricius nunc natus est.

. . . .

K. u. Patricius in Hiberniam ductus est.

'The Annals of Tigernach', ed. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, tome xvii., 1896, p. 30. Bodleian MS. *Rawlinson B 502, scr. saecl.* XII.

The first *K.* occurs after a bissextile sequence which runs thus: *u., uii. i. ii. iii., u.* At this period, therefore, *K. ui.* necessarily indicates A. D. 342. The second *K.* follows the sequence *iiii., vi. vii. i. ii., iiii.,* and indicates A. D. 358. These dates are much too early and it would appear that they represent the accepted dates of Patrick's birth and capture, namely, 374 and 390, in the following way. A. D. 374 = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 363. A. D. 363 *sec. E. V.* = A. D. 341 or 2. Similarly A. D. 390 = A. P. *sec. E. V.* 379. A. D. 379 *sec. E. V.* = A. D. 357 or 358.

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[1]) It must not be concealed that Prosper Tiro, like Victurius, computed the era of the Passion from a year that was actually A. D. 28.

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(xlii.) Anno DIX. Her scs. Benedictus se abbud, ealra muneca fæder, ferde to heouenan.[1])

'Canterbury (Latin and Saxon) Chronicle, *F*, Cotton MS. *Domitian A VIII., scr. c.* 1100; *v.* Plummer, 'Two Chronicles', ii. xxxvi.

Anno DIX. Benedict*us* abbas migrauit ad d*omi*n*um* xii. kl. Ap*r*il. in s*an*c*t*o sabbato paschę.

'Chronicon Breviusculum' (*inedit.*) Cotton MS. *Nero A. VIII., scr. saec.* XII.

According to Dom Mabillon Benedict of Nursia died on March 21, 543. This date fell in A. P. *see. E. V. [12]* DXXXI., which, being wrongly ascribed to A. D. *sec. E. V.* and reduced to the vulgar era, gives DIX., as in the texts.

The paschal dates in the second text are merely computistical. They may have been elaborated by the compiler of this little chronicle after he had analysed the position presented by the erroneous annus and the calendar date of the obit; for Easter Day did fall on March 22, in A. D. 509.

(xliii.) Kal. u. Beda hic natus est. Hoc tempore Martinus Papa floruit.
Kl. — [= A. D. 690] In hoc anno Beda scripsit librum de Temporibus.

'The Annals of Tigernach', *u. s.*, note *xli.*

Pope Martin reigned from 649 to 655 — an impossible period for Bede's birth. The 'Liber de Temporibus' was written in A. D. 725, hence in dating it in 690 the prochronism has swollen to 35 years.

(xliiii.) An. CCXXI. Primum Pascha apud Saxones celebratur.

'Annales Cambriae', *v. supra*, note ii.

A. D. 445 + CCXXI° = A. D. DCLXV., which is absurd. For *DCLXV.* we must read DꝭLXV. = 565 (*v. Ztschr. f. celt. Philol.,* iii. 440, note 1). This datum results from wrongly ascribing A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* DLXXXVII., *i. e.* A. D. 598, to the era of the Incarnation *sec. E. V.,* and reducing it to the vulgar era by deducting 22, according to rule. A. P. *sec. E. V.* DꝭLXXXVII., *i. e.,*

[1]) *I. e.* — In this year the holy abbot Benedict, the father of all monks, migrated to heaven.

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A. D. 598, is the correct year, because, as Ethelbert was not baptised until June 2, 597, the first Easter generally celebrated in his kingdom must have been that of the following year.

> (xlv.) Anno DCCCL. Cenewlfus rex Wessexonum occiditur, cui Brig[t]ricus successit.
>
> The Annals of Worcester, *v. supra*, note *iii.*

Cenwulf was slain in A. D. 784 = A. P. *sec. E. V. [12]* 772-3. This datum wrongly ascribed to A. D. *sec. E. V.*, and reduced to A. D., gives DCCL., which, being written *DC.CCL* or *DcCCL.*, was misunderstood by the compiler of the Worcester Annals and caused the greatest confusion in his chronicle; *cf.* footnote 1 p. 361, *supra*.

Hornsey, Middlesex. A. ANSCOMBE.

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ZUR KELTISCHEN WORTKUNDE.

1. Cymr. *clir*.

Das cymr. *clir* Adj. 'hell, klar, heiter, rein' läfst sich nicht als eine Entlehnung aus dem engl. *clear* betrachten, denn nach Silvan Evans, Geiriadur Cymraeg 802 b begegnet es bereits bei Dafydd ab Gwilym, zu so früher Zeit aber, in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, hatte das englische Wort jedenfalls noch nicht seine heutige Aussprache mit langem *i*. Man hat zweifellos damals und noch geraume Zeit später das mengl. *clēr* aus afranz. anglonorm. *cler* mit geschlossenem *ẹ̄* gesprochen, vgl. Kluge, Pauls Grundrifs d. germ. Philol. 1², 969 und Luick, Unters. z. engl. Lautgesch. 180 f. Demgemäfs haben denn auch die brittischen Sprachen das engl. *clear* vielmehr in den von jenem *clir* stark abweichenden Formen cymr. *claer* 'clear, bright, shining, splendid', das gleichfalls schon Dafydd ab Gwilym und noch ältere Quellen aufweisen (S. Evans a. a. O. 785 b), und corn. *cleyr clēr* 'bright, clear' (R. Williams, Lex. Cornu-britann. 60 a) herübergenommen, sowie das Bretonische sein *skléar* 'clair, limpide', mbret. *sclaer* aus dem französischen *clair* unter Einflufs des afranz. Verbums *esclairer* bekommen hat (Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 605 f., V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 242).

Wenn also cymr. *clir*, wie ich meine, ein keltisches Erbwort sein mufs, läfst es sich auf ein idg. **k̂lū-ro-s* zurückführen und der Wurzel von alat. *cluere* 'purgare', lat. *cloāca cluāca*, alat. *clovāca* 'Abzugskanal', lit. *szlů'ju, szlaviaũ, szlů'ti* 'fegen, wischen', lit. *szlů'ta* lett. *slûta* 'Besen', auch von gr. *κλύζω* 'ich spüle', *κλύ-δ-ων* 'Woge', *κλυσμό-ς* 'Plätschern' und got. *hlūtr-s* 'rein', ags. *hlúttor* afries. *hlûtter* as. ahd. *hlûttar* 'lauter, hell, rein, klar' anschliefsen. Über die lateinischen und griechischen

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Wörter dieser Sippe, ihre Bezeugung und ihre Formenverhältnisse vergleiche man besonders Solmsen, Stud. z. lat. Lautgesch. 132. 141 f., auch Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb. d. griech. Spr.[2] 228 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 128. 129.

Man glaubt keltische Vertretung eben dieser Wurzel bereits in dem Flufsnamen ir. *Cluath Cluad* 'Clyde', abritt. *Κλώτα εἴσχυσις* 'Firth of Clyde' Ptol. 2, 3, 1 nebst *Are-clōta* d. i. *regio vocabulum sumpsit a quodam flumine, quod Clut nuncupatur* im Leben Gildas, wofür ein urkelt. **Klōtā* aus **Kloutā* erschlossen wird, zu erkennen, vgl. Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 102, Holder, Alt-celt. Sprachschatz 1, 189. 1046 und Walde a. a. O. 129. Unser cymr. *clir* käme genau so von ihr, wie das ihm sinnverwandte lat. *pū-ru-s* mit lat. *pu-tu-s* 'rein' und *putāre* 'reinigen, säubern' zu ai. *pu-nā́-ti* 'reinigt, läutert', *pū-tá-ḥ* 'geläutert, rein', *pū́-ti-ḥ* 'Reinigung', *pavi-tár-* 'Läuterer, Reiniger', *paví-tra-m* 'Seihe, Sieb', ahd. *fouwen fowen*, mhd. *vœwen* 'sieben, Getreide reinigen' gehört. Ad vocem lat. *pūrus*: dafs es Rückbildung aus dem Verb *pūrāre* und dies zunächst zu umbr. pir *pir*, gr. *πῦρ*, ahd. *fûir fiur* 'Feuer' als dessen Denominativ zu stellen sei, wie Skutsch, Bezz. Beitr. 21, 88 f. unter Zustimmung Prellwitzens, Etym. Wörterb. d. griech. Spr.[2] 391 lehrt, halte ich mit Brugmann, Grundrifs 2[2], 1, 352 und Walde a. a. O. 502 für eine bedenkliche Annahme.

2. Cymr. *rhech.*

Der gemeinkeltische Ausdruck für 'farzen, Furz' ist durch air. *braigim* gl. 'pedo', mir. *braigid* 3. Sing. und das Substantiv mir. *broimm* 'a fart', nir. *breim*, gäl. *braim bram*, cymr. corn. *bram* 'crepitus ventris', bret. *bramm* gegeben. Zur Etymologie und Wortbildung vergleiche man die zum Teil unter sich nicht übereinstimmenden Ausführungen von Thurneysen, Keltorom. 92, Brugmann, Grundrifs 1[1], 272, Osthoff, Morphol. Unters. 5, 100 f., Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 183, Macbain, Etym. dict. of the Gaelic language 40, V. Henry, Lex étym. du breton mod. 42 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 241.

Keltische Vertretung des alten indogermanischen Terminus technicus für die zwar nicht salonfähige, aber doch menschliche, allzumenschliche Sache, Verwandtschaft von ai. *pardate* 'farzt'

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und *parda-ḥ* 'Furz', *pardana-m* 'das Farzen, Furz', die man trotz ihres Nichtbelegtseins in der Literatur den sonst oft beargwöhnten indischen Wurzelverzeichnern unbedingt zu glauben hat (vgl. Böhtlingk-Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterb. 4, 574 und Delbrück, Einleit. in das Sprachstudium[1] 37), ferner von gr. *πέρδομαι, ἔ-παρδον* und *ἔ-πραδον* Aor., *πορδή*, ahd. *fërzan* ags. *feortan* aisl. *freta* 'farzen', ahd. *furz*, aisl. *fret-r* 'Furz', lit. *pérdžu pérsti*, lett. *pirdu pirst* 'farzen', lit. *pir̃dis* 'Furz', slov. *prdēti* russ. *perdéti* 'pedere', ist, soviel mir bekannt, bis jetzt nicht überzeugend nachgewiesen. Denn was Rhys, Revue celt. 2, 331 in diesem Sinne vorbringt, cymr. *erthwch* 'flatus et anhelitus ex magno conatu proveniens', *erthychain* 'prospirare, anhelare, vehementer perfremere' und *erthu* 'to make an effort, to puff', will weder begrifflich noch im Lautlichen zu ai. *pardate*, gr. *πέρδομαι* usw. stimmen.

Vielleicht darf man aber cymr. *rhech* Fem. 'crepitus ventris' zum Vergleich heranziehen. Die Wörterbücher von Davies und Owen Pughe[3] verzeichnen dies *rhech* nebst dem denominativen Verb *rhechain* 'pedere, crepitare', Pughe, indem er die Wörter mitsamt ihrem weiteren Zubehör *rhechiad* M. 'a farting, a breaking wind' und *rhechlyd* Adj. 'apt to break wind, or fart' als obsolet vermerkt, nur bei *rhechol* Adj. 'breaking wind, farting' das Totenkreuz wegläſst. Aber volksmundartlich ist *rhech* doch auch heute noch üblich, wie ich es denn meinerseits in Nordwales im Dialekt von Rhyd-ddu, Carnarvonshire, gehört habe.

Man hätte, um *rhech* auf die alte Wurzel *perd-* zurückzubringen, ein urkelt. **rikkā* aufzustellen, das aus **rit-kā* assimiliert einem uridg. **pr̥d-kā* gleichkäme. Die Wortstammbildung wäre von derselben Art, wie die der von Brugmann, Grundriſs 2[2], 1, 476 f. behandelten Gruppe von Nominalschöpfungen, die ein suffixales *k*-Element „mit dem Aussehen eines Primärformans" aufweisen, „ai. *átka-s* av. *aðka- at̰ka-* d. i. *aþka-* M. 'Gewand, Kleid', vielleicht zu ir. *étim* 'ich kleide'", „ai. *vleṣka-s* 'Schlinge', ir. *flesc* F. 'Rute, Gerte' (urkelt. **u̯liskā*), aksl. *lěskovъ* 'e styrace confectus'... zu got. *wlizjan* 'schlagen, züchtigen' (denominat. von **wliza-* 'Rute, Geiſsel' oder dgl.)", lett. *pinka* 'Zotte' zu *pīt* lit. *pìnti* 'flechten'", „aksl. *zvękъ zvąkъ* 'Schall', zu *zvъněti* 'klingen' *zvonъ* 'Schall'", Adjektiva wie „lit. *szvitkus* 'glänzend', für **szvitkas*, zu *szvintù szvìsti* 'aufleuchten'", „*pìlkas* 'grau' vgl. *pal̃vas* 'blaſsgelb'" u. a.

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Was den lautlichen Punkt, die Assimilation von *-tk-* zu *-kk-* im Keltischen, die wir behufs unserer Deutung des cymr. *rhech* anzunehmen haben, anbelangt, so hat dafür bereits Strachan, Transactions of the Philol. Soc. London 1891—93 S. 241 Anm. 1 = Bezz. Beitr. 20, 25 f. Anm. 4 drei Beispiele zusammengestellt, von denen ich zwei als der Etymologie nach genügend gesichert betrachte, die Fälle „[Ir.] *rucce* 'disgrace' (Gael. *ruicean* 'a red pimple') = **rut-kiā, *rudh-kiā,* √ *reu̯dh* 'to be red', cf. Ir. *ruiduich* 'blush', Gaul. *Seno-ruccus* (d'Arbois de Jubainville, Noms Gaul. 69)" und „[Ir.] *cuic* 'secret' = **cutci-* : gr. *κεύθω* (Stokes)"; über das air. *rucce* und gäl. *ruicean* urteilen so auch Macbain, Etym. dict. 268 und E. Zupitza, Kuhns Zeitschr. 36, 230. 238, der letztere Gelehrte, indem er S. 320 die Fälle des Entstehens von kelt. *-kk-* bei Zusammensetzungen aus dem Präfix *ad-* und nachfolgendem mit *k-* beginnendem Wort, mir. *accáine* 'Wehklagen', cymr. *achwyn* : air. *cóinmi* 'ingemiscimus', cymr. *cwyn* 'querela, lamentatio' u. dgl., unter denselben Gesichtspunkt bringt. Diese ur-urkelt. **rut-k-i̯ā* und **kut-ki-* wären denn gleichfalls ihrerseits weitere Belege eben jener primären Nominalstammbildung durch *-k-*. Strachan hat ebendort auch die von Brugmann, Grundriſs 1[1], 378 vertretene Ansicht, daſs *-tk-* im Keltischen vielmehr *-sk-* ergebe, mit Erfolg bekämpft, und Brugmann ist daraufhin denn auch in der zweiten Auflage 2[2], 1, 687 anderen Sinnes über den Punkt geworden.

3. Cymr. *esgid.*

Die alte brittische Bezeichnung des 'Schuhes', die den Bretonen verloren gegangen ist, das mcymr. *eskit esgit* 'calceus', ncymr. *esgid* Fem. und corn. *eskit esgis* Mask., dessen ältester Beleg acorn. *eskidieu* Plur. 'sotulares' im Voc. Corn. bei Zeuſs-Ebel, Gramm. 1079 ist, bringt Robert Williams, Lex. Cornubritann. 139 a mit air. *assa* Mask. 'Sandale, Schuh' zusammen. Ich sehe keine Möglichkeit, diese Vergleichung aufrecht zu erhalten. Das irische Wort hat Stokes, von einem früheren offenbar verfehlten Einfall über seine Herkunft, Revue celt. 8, 369, zurückkommend, letztlich, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 6, befriedigender zu erklären gewuſst, indem er es auf ein urkelt. **aksai̯o-s* zurückzubringen vorschlägt und gr. *κάξ· ὑπόδημα*

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εὐυπόδητον Hesych., auch lat. *baxea* 'eine leichte Art Sandalen', dies als vermutliche Entlehnung aus einer griechischen Weiterbildung **παξεια*, vergleicht, unter zweifelndem Hinweis zugleich auf gr. *πήγνῡμι* 'befestige', wonach man die *-s*-Ableitung dieselbe wie in dem ja auch zu *πήγνῡμι*, lat. *pango, paciscor* sich stellenden lat. *paxillus, pālus* 'Pfahl' aus **paxlo-s* sein lassen könnte. Trifft diese Stokessche Auffassung des ir. *assa*, die sich auch Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 64 aneignet, das richtige, so müfste ein adäquates brittisches Wort etwa in der Lautung cymr. **echaidd*, mcymr. **echeid* erscheinen, und es ist nicht abzusehen, wie von da irgendwie zu mcymr. corn. *eskit* zu kommen wäre.

Ich versuche meinerseits eine formale Analyse dieses *eskit*, bei der sich hoffentlich als wahrscheinlich ergeben wird, dafs darin die Entsprechung von gr. *σκῦτος* Neutr. 'Haut, Leder' enthalten sei.

Das griechische Wort bezeichnet nach üblicher Metonymie sehr gewöhnlich auch verschiedenes 'aus Leder gemachtes', wie Schild, Peitsche u. a., dazu 'Schuh' in den Ableitungen und Kompositionen *σκῦτεύς* 'Lederarbeiter, Schuster' Aristoph., Plat., Xenoph. und Spät., *σκῦτο-τόμο-ς* 'Lederarbeiter, Sattler, Riemer' Hom. und Spät., aber 'Schuster, Schuhflicker' bei Aristophanes und Platon, *σκῦτεῖον* und *σκῦτοτομεῖον* 'Schuhmacherwerkstätte', *σκῦτεύω* 'bin Schuster, treibe das Schusterhandwerk, flicke wie ein Schuster' Xenoph. Man läfst zu *σκῦτος* bekanntlich auch das lat. *scūtu-m* 'Schild' gehören, für welches es freilich noch eine andere nicht minder berechtigte Herleitung gibt, die Erklärung aus **scoito-m* im Anschlufs an die *ei̯*-Formen gleicher Bedeutung mir. *sciath* cymr. *ysgwyd* abret. *scoit* und aksl. *štitъ*, sowie besonders an die *oi̯*-Form preufs. *scayta-n* 'Schild', falls deren Lesung feststeht (vgl. W. Foy, Indog. Forsch. 8, 200 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 556 f.); sicher gehören dazu gr. *ἐπι-σκῦνιο-ν* 'Stirnhaut über den Brauen', lat. *ob-scūru-s* 'dunkel', aisl. *skaunn* M. 'Schild' und *skiól* 'Schirmdach, Zufluchtsort, Schutz', aostfries. *scûl* mnd. *schûl* N. 'Versteck', mnl. md. mnd. *schûlen* 'sich verstecken, Schutz und Obdach suchen', ahd. *scûr* M. 'Wetterdach, Schutz', *scûra* und *sciura* F. 'Scheuer' und nnd. ostfries. *schude* 'Schurz, Schürze' (vgl. ten Doornkaat Koolman, Wörterb. d. ostfr. Sp. 3, 151 b f.), lit. *skūrà* 'Leder', 'Baumrinde', ai. *skunāti* 'bedeckt, überschüttet', dazu aus dem Keltischen

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cymr. *ysgil* 'Versteck', das z. B. von Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wörterb. d. altind. Sp. 342a und Walde a. a. O. 426 unter dieser Verwandtschaft mitgenannt wird. Weiteres, was man anzuschliefsen berechtigt ist, wie insonderheit die Formen mit der alten Wurzelvariante ohne das anlautende *s-*, darunter die alten Wörter für den Begriff 'Haut, Fell', gr. *ἐγ-κυτί, κύτος*, lat. *cutis*, ahd. *hût* ags. *hýd* aisl. *húþ*, preufs. *keuto* 'Haut', lasse ich hier beiseite. Eine eigene Erwähnung finde jedoch in diesem Zusammenhange das got. *skauda-raip* Acc. 'Schuhriemen' insofern, als auch bei ihm eben der Begriff der Fufsbedeckung aus Lederstücken wiederkehrt: man erkennt in dem *skauda-* 'Schuh' richtig dasselbe Wort mit mhd. *schôte* F. 'Schote, Samengehäuse der Pflanzen' und aisl. *skauþer* Fem. plur. 'Scheide, vagina' (O. Schade, Altdeutsch. Wörterb.[2] 782b f., Cleasby-Vigfússon, Icel.-Engl. dict. 540a, Feist, Grundrifs d. got. Etym. 103, Persson, Wurzelerw. u. Wurzelvar. 44, Franck, Etym. woordenboek d. Nederl. taal 872, Heyne, Deutsch. Wörterb. 3[1], 463f. und in Grimms Deutsch. Wörterb. 9, 1606f., Uhlenbeck, Etym. Wörterb. d. got. Sp.[2] 132b, von Grienberger, Unters. z. got. Wortkunde 188f., vgl. auch Fick, Vergleich. Wörterb. 1[3], 817 und ten Doornkaat Koolman a. a. O. 152a).

Das cymr. *ysgil* stellt sich dem afries. *skûl* mnd. *schûl* wie in der Bedeutung so auch im formalen Bau am nächsten oder vielmehr genau gleich, da ihm wie dem germanischen Worte grundsprachliches **skūlo-* als stammhafte Basis gedient hat. Ebenso würde unser mcymr. corn. *eskit* Ablaut und das Formativ des *t*-Suffixes mit gr. *σκῦ-τος*, ferner mit dem nnd. ostfries. *schude*, falls dies langes *ū* hatte (so Franck a. a. O.), und eventuell mit dem lat. *scū-tu-m* teilen, wenn eben dies letztere zu derselben Wurzel gehört und sein *ū* nicht aus einem Diphthong idg. *eu̯* oder *ou̯* hervorgegangen ist. Der Kuriosität halber sei noch erwähnt, dafs vor nun rund zweihundert Jahren schon Lhuyd, Archaeol. Britann. 1 (Oxford 1707), S. 285c aufs Geratewohl die Zusammenstellung von gr. *σκῦτεύς* und welschem *eskidiad* 'Schuhmacher', corn. *eskitias* gegeben hat.

Was fangen wir mit dem *e-* von cymr. *esgid* und corn. *eskit esgis* an? Die vokalische Anlautsentwicklung vor *s-* impura, die von Z.[2] 120 darin gesehen wird, kann es nicht sein, weil erstens das Cornische beteiligt ist, jenen Vokalvorschlag aber bekanntlich von den drei brittischen Dialekten nur der

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cymrische kennt, (Z.[2] a. a. O. 122, W. Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 318 Anm. 1), und zweitens darum nicht, weil der Vokalvorschlag hier ein in der Schreibweise und Aussprache des Neucymrischen durchaus festes *y-* ist, während dafür allerdings die mittelcymrischen Denkmäler mit ihrer noch minder bestimmt normierten Orthographie wechselnde Schreibungen darbieten, die Gesetze und der Llyfr Coch *e-* und *y-*, *estauell, estarn* neben *ystauell, ystarn, escoleycyon* 'scholastici' = ncymr. *ysgolheigion* u. ähnl. mehr, das Book of Llandav *i-* und selteneres *y-*, *Istrathafren* und *Ystrathafren*; vgl. Z.[2] 120 f. und S. 122, wo aber auf corn. *eskit esgis* die gebührende Rücksicht zu nehmen übersehen worden ist. Es kann daher, wenn in den Mabinogion der Plural unseres mcymr. *eskit esgit* sowohl als *yskidyeu* wie als *esgidyeu* geschrieben vorkommt (Zeufs-Ebel S. 120), die *y*-Form hier nur als die ungenauere Wiedergabe derer mit *e-*, wie in den Fällen desselben Denkmals *ystynnu*: ncymr. *estyn* (lat. *extendo*), *ysgynnu*: ncymr. *esgyn* (lat. *ascendo*), *yscyrnic* 'knochig' ncymr. und mcymr. Mabin. *esgyrn* Plur. 'Knochen' (*asgwrn*), betrachtet werden. Die Prothese hat regelrecht als *y-* ja auch das erwähnte ncymr. *ysgil*, und so mufs der vokalische Unterschied zwischen ihm und *esgid* 'Schuh' auf sprach-, nicht auf schriftgeschichtlichem Wege seine Erklärung finden.

Ich denke, dafs wir es mit einem alten nominalen Kompositum, in dessen Vorderglied idg. *ped-* 'Fufs' steckt, zu tun haben: aus einem **ped-skūto-m* oder *-skūtos* Neutr. oder **ped-skūtā* Fem. 'Fufsbedeckung' konnten die Formen corn. *eskit esgis* Mask. und cymr. *esgid* Fem. zwanglos werden. Das brittische Wort würde sich so aufgefafst in der Kompositionsweise an gr. *πέλλῡτρον* 'um den Fufs gewickelter Riemen oder Filz', 'Fufssocke' aus **πέδ-ϝλῡ-τρο-ν* 'Fufsumwickelung' und lat. *pelluviae* 'Waschwasser für die Füfse' aus **ped-luviae* (W. Schulze, Quaest. ep. 317 Anm. 4. 336 Anm. 1, Brugmann, Iw. v. Müllers Handbuch 2[3], 1, 107. 168. Kurze vergleich. Gramm. 227. 299), ai. ved. *pad-ghoṣā́ḥ* Plur. 'Geräusch der Fufstritte', nachved. *pac-chauca-m* 'Reinigung der Füfse' (Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. 2, 1, 57) anschliefsen.

Unsere Aufstellung eines **ped-skūto-* ist nicht der einzige Weg, auf dem die Deutung des *eskit* als 'Fufsbedeckung' sich rechtfertigen liefse. Es bieten, wenn ich recht sehe, noch drei weitere Möglichkeiten sich dar: wir könnten zweitens auch von

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einem **pod-skūto-* und drittens von **pedo-skūto-* sowie viertens von **podo-skūto-* ausgehen. In dem dritten der vier Fälle hätten wir eine Kompositionsweise wie bei lat. *pedi-sequo-s,* falls dies auf einem urlat. **pedo-sequo-s* beruhen würde, während bei dem vierten Falle uns das Griechische mit *ποδο-κάκ(κ)η, -στράβη, ποδό-ψηστρον* u. a., das Altindische mit *pāda-śauca-m* 'das Reinigen der Füſse' neben *pac-chauca-m, pāda-mātrá-ḥ* 'einen Fuſs lang' u. dgl., wofern hier *pāda-* genau = gr. *ποδο-* ist, die Parallelen stellen würde. Für den Fall 2 **pod-skūto-* weniger als für 4 **podo-skūto-* dürfte das ahd. *faz-wesca* 'Fuſsbad' Notk., worin man die Vertretung der Stammform idg. *pod-* im Gegensatz zu der im Nomen ahd. *fuoz* got. *fōtus* selbst durchgeführten Dehnstufenablautung idg. *ō* erkannt hat (Noreen, Abriſs d. urgerm. Lautlehre 50. 78), heranzuziehen sein, da man das darin enthaltene *faz-* schwerlich einem urgerm. **fat-,* eher einem germ. got. **fata-* wird gleichsetzen müssen. Die Erweiterung konsonantisch ausgehender Nominalstämme durch *-o-* im ersten Kompositionsgliede beschränkt Brugmann, Kurze vergleich. Gramm. 305 auf die europäischen Sprachen und bringt dort als keltisches Musterbeispiel das gall. *Cinget-o-rīx* zu air. *cing,* Acc. *cinged* 'Held' bei, während Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. 2, 1, 61 ff. gleichartige altindische Fälle namhaft macht und geneigt ist, die Erscheinung in ihren Anfängen in die Grundsprache zurückzudatieren.

Unsere Heischetypen 3 **pedo-skūto-* und 4 **podo-skūto-* muſsten in der brittischen Sprachentwicklung mit 1 **ped-skūto-* und 2 **pod-skūto-* lautlich zusammenfallen. Der Kompositionsfugenvokal wird hier ja regelmäſsig synkopiert, dies gemäſs dem von Loth, Les mots latins dans les langues britton. 77. 117 dargelegten Gesetze, daſs unter der Herrschaft der älteren, den Hauptton auf der vorhistorisch vorletzten = historisch letzten Silbe erfordernden Wortbetonung „les prétoniques brèves dans les mots de plus de trois syllabes disparaissent"; wie das Lehnwort cymr. *esgob* corn. *escop* bret. *eskop* nach diesem Gesetze aus **epĭscópus* hervorging (Loth a. a. O. 77, vgl. auch denselben Mém. soc. linguist. 6, 340), so wäre auch mit Synkope des *-o-* von urbritt. **edo-skīto-, *odo-skīto-* = idg. **pedo-, *podo-skūto-* zu **e(d)skīto-, *o(d)skīto-* zu kommen.

Bei Benutzung der *e*-Formen **ped-* und **pedo-skūto-,* oder einer von ihnen beiden, hätten wir das anlautende *e-* unseres

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eskit für ein unversehrt aus grundsprachlicher Zeit herübergekommenes anzusehen, und dazu wären wir berechtigt auf Grund dessen, dafs vor erhaltenem *i, y* der nächstfolgenden Silbe auch das *e* der Vorsilbe, abgesehen von einigen lokaldialektischen Besonderheiten, regelrecht verbleibt, keine *i*-Umlautung irgend welcher Art erfährt, das zeigen z. B. die Lehnwörter cymr. *perigl* = lat. *perīclum,* cymr. *meddyg* corn. *medhek* bret. *mezek* = lat. *medicus,* von echt keltischen Wörtern etwa cymr. corn. *melyn* bret. *melen* 'gelb' aus **melino-s* zu *mel* 'Honig' (Ascoli, Suppl. period. all' Archivio glottol. ital. 1905 S. 74 ff.). Gehen wir aber von den Substraten aus, denen wir die Vorderglieder idg. **pod-* und **podo-* gaben, so müfste dann der wortanlautende Vokal des *eskit* als der Umlaut eines älteren *o,* den ein erhaltenes *i* sowie auch *ĭ* = cymr. corn. *y* der nächsten Silbe zu wirken pflegt, betrachtet werden, es stünde also in diesem Falle das *e-* unseres Wortes auf gleicher Linie mit dem *e* der lateinischen Entlehnungen cymr. corn. bret. *melin* = *molīna,* cymr. corn. *cegin* bret. *kegin* = **cocīna* (*coquīna*), ferner von cymr. *gwerin* 'Volksmenge, Schar', abret. *guerin* = mir. *foirenn,* cymr. *defnydd* 'Material' : ir. *domna,* acorn. Vok. *clechti* 'cloccarium' : *cloch* 'Glocke' (cymr. *clochdy* 'Glockenhaus, Glockenstuhl' zufolge Wiederangleichung), corn. *kellys* Part. 'verloren' : *coll* 'Verlust'; vgl. Zeufs-Ebel, Gramm. 90 f., Loth a. a. O. 102 und E. Zupitza, Kuhns Zeitschr. 35, 255. Diesen *i*-Umlaut des *o* weisen die ältesten brittischen Denkmäler zum Teil noch nicht auf oder wenigstens graphisch vernachlässigen sie ihn noch, indem vereinzelt in ihnen Formen wie abret. *molin* 'mola' Coll. can. V (vgl. Loth, Chrestom. bretonne 93 b), abret. *nouitiou* 'nundinae' Gl. Oxon. pr.: mbret. *kyf-newit* 'concambium, commercium' cymr. *newid* 'a change, bargain', zu gall. *Novio*-(*dūnum, -magus* etc.) stimmend abret. *nouuid* 'neu' Chart. Rhed. und mcorn. *nowydh* neben *newydh* gegenüber mbret. nbret. *nevez* cymr. *newydd* begegnen; vgl. Zeufs-Ebel a. a. O. und Loth a. a. O. Und so könnte es schon sein, dafs eine glückliche Erschliefsung neuen Quellenmaterials auf diesem Gebiete uns eines Tages auch eine *o*-Form altbritt. **oskit* bescherte und damit die von uns offen gelassene Alternative zwischen **ped*(*o*)- und **pod*(*o*)-*skūto-* zu gunsten des letzeren Gebildes entschiede.

Ich weise betreffs des *eskit* nun noch darauf hin, dafs schon ein anderer Ausdruck der keltischen Sprachen, der zur Be-

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zeichnung einer schuhähnlichen Fufsbekleidung dient, aus der Wurzel, die wir in dem Schlufsbestandteil des cymrisch-cornischen Wortes finden, aber aus ihrer das unstäte *s-* nicht enthaltenden Seitenform, hergeleitet worden ist: das ir. *cuarán* M. 'Schuh aus ungegerbtem Leder, Socke', gäl. *cuaran,* neuirisch auch *cuaróg,* dazu cymr. *curan* F. 'eine Art Fufs- und Beinbekleidung', 'Stiefel, Schnürstiefel', 'Gamaschen' stellen Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 89 und Macbain, Etym. dict. of the Gaelic language 101 als Entwicklung aus einem alten Stamme **keu̯-ro-* oder **kou̯-ro-* zu den Wörtern für 'Haut', lat. *cutis* und ags. *hýd* ahd. *hût.* Das kann sich nun mit unserer Deutung des cymr. *esgid* und seiner cornischen Schwesterform gegenseitig stützen.

Was wir aber in dem Vorderstück dieses *eskit* suchen, das alte Nomen idg. *ped- pod-* 'Fufs', dessen hat man eine Spur bereits in einem andern keltischen Nominalkompositum zu wittern geglaubt, in air. *odbronn* 'Enkel, Knöchel am Fufs', mir. *odbrand fodbrond* und *adbronn adbrond* M., gäl. *aobrann* nach der von Siegfried und Stokes, Goidel.[2] 57. Academy 4. Juni 1892 S. 544 a Fufsn. Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 329 dafür gewagten etymologischen Erklärung, die auf den Sinn von 'Anschwellung, Auswuchs des Fufses' hinauszukommen sich bemühte. Vgl. darüber Windisch, Kuhns Beitr. 8, 15, Rhys, Revue celt. 2, 325, Macbain a. a. O. 16, Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 730 f. und V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 274 f., die sämtlich Zweifel vorbringen und zum Teil mit anderen Deutungsversuchen aufwarten. „Séduisant, mais rien moins que sûr", urteilt mit Recht Henry a. a. O.

4. Cymr. *uffarn, ffêr, ffern.*

Noch mifslicher als die von Siegfried und Stokes auf die Bahn gebrachte Ursprungsdeutung des air. *odbronn* ist der von Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 730 f. und V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 274 f. daran angeknüpfte Versuch, auf derselben Grundlage den brittischen Wörtern gleicher Bedeutung, dem cymr. *uffarn* Fem. 'Enkel, Knöchel am Fufs', das nach der Angabe Zeufs-Ebels, Gramm. 1067 auch schon als mittelcymrisch *ufarn* in den Gesetzen vorkommt, und mbret. nbret. *ufern* Mask. etymologisch beizukommen. Henry quält sich mit den verzwicktesten Einfällen und Vorschlägen, um namentlich

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der vokalischen Schwierigkeiten, die sich hier gleichsam turmhoch in den Weg stellen, Herr zu werden; „mais tout cela est bien compliqué," ist sein resigniertes Schlufsergebnis. Das cymr. *uffarn* und bret. *ufern* bezogen zu air. *odbrann* und gäl. *aobrann* auch schon Zeufs-Ebel a. a. O. und Robert Williams, Lex. Cornu-britann. 236 a s. v. *lifern*, aber man hat meines Erachtens ganz darauf zu verzichten, eine etymologische Einigung zwischen den Wörtern der beiden keltischen Hauptzweige erzielen zu wollen, dann mag sich eine, wie mir scheint, annehmbare Erklärung der brittischen Formen wohl gewinnen lassen.

Ernault und Henry erinnern beide auch an das Dasein von cymr. *ffēr* und *ffern* Fem., sowie des entsprechenden mbret. *fer-*, das man in den Personennamen *Fer-gant, Fer-march* und dem Ortsnamen *Bran-fereuc* findet (Loth, Chrestom. bretonne 204, Ernault a. a. O. 235), als Bezeichnungen für den 'Knöchel über dem Fufs, talus, malleolus', Henry verwunderlicherweise so, dafs er an Entstehung dieser einsilbigen Wortformen aus cymr. *uffarn* und bret. *ufern* durch Aphärese denkt. Aber *ffēr* und *ffern* müssen doch altkeltische Wörter sein gemäfs der Entsprechung von mir. nir. *seir* Fem. 'Ferse', mir. auch Neutrum nach *do ser -ndeis* Nom. sing. 'deine rechte Ferse' (corrig. *do ṡeir n-dess*) Windisch, Ir. Texte 2, 2, 247, dagegen Mask. nach *da ṡerith* Nom. dual. Corm. Gloss. p. 36, 34, und der weiteren anerkannten Kombination mit gr. *σφυρό-ν* 'Knöchel am Fufs', 'Ferse' und mit preufs. *spercla-n* 'Zehballen'; vgl. Rhys, Lectures on Welsh philol.[2] 2, 227 f., Stokes, Academy 4. Juni 1892 S. 227 b. Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 301, Ernault a. a. O. 235, W. Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 319 f., Brugmann, Grundrifs 1[2], 516. 689 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 588.

Während das bret. *fer-* 'Fufsknöchel' oder 'Ferse' nur, wenn auch mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit, aus den genannten alt- und mittelbretonischen Personen- und Ortsnamen erschlossen wird, hat dagegen das Altcornische das Wort offenkundig genug aufzuweisen, allerdings mit einer gewissen weiter unten näher zu berührenden Bedeutungsabweichung, die es erklärlich erscheinen läfst, dafs es die Etymologen, Stokes, Ernault u. a., neben dem cymr. *ffēr* und ir. *seir* mit aufzuführen unterlassen. Im cornischen Vokabular ist *fer* Glosse zu 'crus', bedeutet dort also 'Schienbein, Unterschenkel, Bein', und in demselben Denkmal übersetzt *logoden-fer* das lat. 'sura', also 'Wade', wörtlich 'mus

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cruris, Maus des Unterschenkels'. Die Identität dieses somit doppelt überlieferten acorn. *fer* mit dem cymr. *ffĕr* 'talus' erkannten schon Zeufs-Ebel, Gramm. 1067 und Rob. Williams a. a. O. 148 a (vgl. auch denselben S. 237 b s. v. *logoden*). Nach nicht unwahrscheinlicher Vermutung aber gaben dieselben Gelehrten dem Cornischen auch das dem cymr. *uffarn* und bret. *ufern* entsprechende Wort zurück, indem sie, Zeufs-Ebel a. a. O. und Williams S. 236 a, in der Glosse des Vokabulars „*talus, lifern*" für *lifern* durch Konjektur *ufern* herstellten.

Auf die stichhaltig erscheinende Erklärung kann uns die zu cymr. *uffarn* bestehende Wortformvariante *ucharn* leiten: es ist hier an Zusammensetzung mit cymr. *uch* Adv. 'oben, über', Adj. 'oberer, höherer', bret. *uc'h* Adj. 'hoch' zu denken, und ich möchte *uffarn,* bret. und eventuell auch acorn. *ufern* als Assimilationsprodukt aus **uch-farn* oder beziehungsweise **uch-fern* 'die obere *ffern*' ansehen, in der Seitenform *ucharn* wäre durch richtig gehende Volksetymologie der Begriff 'oberer' wieder verdeutlicht worden.

Wie konnte aber nur der Knöchel den Britten 'obere *ffern*' heifsen? Man versteht das, wenn man als Gegensatz dazu die Ferse, den dem Knöchel entsprechenden unteren Knochenvorsprung, denkt; man hätte also nur anzunehmen, dafs die Bedeutung 'Ferse', die das verwandte ir. *seir* aufweist, dem brittischen *ffern* auch einmal zu eigen gewesen sei. Für das ir. *seir* ist nun aber bemerkenswerterweise die Bedeutung 'Ferse, Hacke' nicht die einzig vorliegende: es bedeutet aufserdem eben auch den 'Enkel, Fufsknöchel'. Darauf weisen Atkinson, Ancient laws of Ireland 6 (Gloss.) S. 650 und Stokes(-Windisch), Ir. Texte 4, 1, 425 a hin, beide Gelehrte, indem sie namentlich das öfters vorkommende Beiwort von Menschen und edlen Rossen *sered-choel* oder *-chael* von den langen, dünnen Knöcheln als einem Merkmal schlanker Füfse verstehen; Atkinson übersetzt dies Bahuvrīhikompositum mit „of slender ankles", Stokes mit „slim-ankled, *τανύσφυρος*", während er früher, Bezz. Beitr. 11, 88, Anm. 2, den minder passenden Sinn von „slender-heeled" darin sah. Nur in dem Punkte irrt wohl Stokes, dafs er jetzt dem *seir* die andere Bedeutung 'heel, Ferse' entgegen den lexikalischen Angaben von O'Brien und O'Reilly (auch von Dinneen, Irish-Engl. dict. 634 b) ganz absprechen zu dürfen glaubt; auf die 'Ferse' oder 'Hacke' kann sich doch ir. *seir* auch nur in

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der Ableitung *seirth-id* 'Hintermann, Leibdiener, Knappe', d. i. eigentlich 'Fersenmann', beziehen (vgl. Atkinson a. a. O.).

Entsprechend hat das zu ir. *seir* und cymr. *ffēr, ffern* wurzelhaft zugehörige griechische Wort *σφυρόν* beide Bedeutungen, die von 'Fuſsknöchel' usuell, die andere okkasionell, indem es vereinzelt bei Dichtern die 'Ferse' und in weiterer Übertragung den 'Fuſs' überhaupt bezeichnet, dies z. B. an der Euripidesstelle Alk. 586 *βαίνουσα σφυρῷ κούφῳ*. Und vollends das lat. *tālus* vereinigt auf gleicher Linie die drei Bedeutungen 'Fesselknochen, Sprungbein', 'Fuſsknöchel, Knorren' und 'Ferse', indem die Prosa sowohl wie die poetisehe Sprache in diesem dreifachen Sinne das Wort gebrauchen kann und gebraucht; es könnte also gewiſs nicht befremden, wenn im Latein bei genauerer begrifflicher Unterscheidung, etwa zu anatomischem Zwecke, der Fuſsknöchel als der *tālus superior* der Ferse als dem *inferior tālus* gegenübergestellt würde.

Sehen wir auf die weiteren wurzelhaften Zusammenhänge, in die man unsere Wörter cymr. *ffēr, ffern,* acorn. *fer,* ir. *seir* und gr. *σφυρόν*, preuſs. *sperclan* 'Zehballen' bringt, auf ihre Verwandtschaft mit gr. *σπαίρω* und *ἀσπαίρω* 'mache eine stoſsende Bewegung', 'zucke, zappele', lat. *sperno* 'stoſse zurück, stoſse fort', 'verwerfe, verschmähe, verachte', ags. *spornan spurnan* as. ahd. *spurnan* 'mit dem Fuſse stoſsen, treten', ags. *speornan* aschwed. *spiærna* 'mit den Füſsen ausschlagen, mit dem Fuſse wegstoſsen', ahd. *fir-spirnit* 'stöſst an, tritt fehl', *spornôn* 'mit der Ferse ausschlagen, calcitrare' aisl. *sporna* 'treten, betreten', aisl. *spyrna* 'mit dem Fuſse stoſsen, treten', ahd. *sporo* ags. *spora spura* aisl. *spore* 'Sporn', lit. *spiriù spírti* 'hinten ausschlagen, mit dem Fuſse stoſsen', lett. *sper'u spe'rt* dass. und ai. *sphuráti* 'stöſst (mit dem Fuſse) weg, tritt, schnellt, zuckt', ved. *ápa spharīḥ* Aor. Injunkt. 'schnelle weg, entziehe dich rasch', avest. *sparōit* Opt. praes. 'er möge treten, möge stoſsen', *fra-sparat* Imperf. 'schnellte hervor' (vgl. Verf., Indog. Forsch. 6, 16f. und die dort gegebene, allgemein gebilligte Erklärung des lat. *asper* aus **ap-sparo-s* 'abstoſsend, wegschnellend', so auch Brugmann, Indog. Forsch. 13, 159 f. und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 48, 588), so wird es auf diesem Hintergrunde wahrscheinlich, daſs bei jenen cymr. *ffēr, ffern* und Genossen von den zwei Bedeutungen, mit denen wir es bei ihnen vorzugsweise zu tun haben, 'Ferse, Hacke' und 'Fuſsknöchel', die erstere doch wohl die ursprünglichere gewesen

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sein müsse. Dann erscheint es aber nur um so mehr in der Ordnung, dafs die brittischen Kelten mit cymr. *uffarn*, bret. *ufern* den 'Knöchel' als die 'obere Ferse' bezeichneten, und es wäre nur nebenher zu konstatieren, dafs sie bei dem Simplex *ffēr, ffern* eben diesen älteren Sinn des Wortes, den das ir. *seir* festhielt, eingebüfst hätten, wodurch denn die völlige Bedeutungsgleichheit mit dem Kompositum *uffarn, ufern* sich ergab. Für den Begriff 'Ferse, Hacke' haben es die Britten dann bei dem Allgemeingebrauch eines anderen ebenfalls gemeinkeltischen Wortes, des ćymr. *sawdl* mbret. *seuzl* nbret. *seul* Mask. = air. mir. *sál* Fem., doch wohl aus **stā-tlā* 'Fufsgestell, Basis' (vgl. Stokes, Corm. Gloss. transl. p. 154, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 289. Bezz. Beitr. 23, 61, Strachan, Transactions of the Philol. Soc. London 1891—93 S. 241 = Bezz. Beitr. 20, 26, Ascoli, Supplem. period. all' Archivio glottol. ital. 2, 107. 109, Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 625, Macbain, Etym. dict. of the Gaelic language 270, V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 245 f.), bewenden lassen.

Was dann noch die Bedeutung 'crus', 'Schienbein, Unterschenkel, Bein' bei dem acorn. *fer* anbelangt, so mufs diese auf einer weiteren Übertragung des ursprünglicheren Wortbegriffes 'Ferse, Hacke' oder 'Fufsknöchel' beruhen: nach dem unteren Fufsteil konnte durch Erweiterung des Begriffsumfanges der ganze Fufs sowie das Schienbein und der ganze Unterschenkel von der Ferse aufwärts bis zum Knie als *fer* bezeichnet werden. Das ist so wie nach dem vorhin S. 407 erwähnten gr. *σφυρόν* im Gebrauche der Dichter für 'Fufs', *σφυρῷ κούφῳ* bei Euripides so v. a. *ποδὶ κούφῳ*, bei demselben Iphig. Aul. 225 die *μονόχαλα σφυρά* von den Pferdefüfsen mit ungespaltenen Hufen gesagt; dann aber auch wie im Latein *tālus* „per syncdochen dicitur de imo crure, vel pedibus", wofür Beispiele, freilich nicht durchaus passende, bei Forcellini- de Vit, Lex. 6, 19a, Juvenals *nūdō tālō* 'nackten Fufses, barfufs' u. dgl. Ich frage beiläufig: ist auch für das Bretonische, das ja dem Cornischen immer besonders nahe steht, mit der abgeleiteten Bedeutung des *fer* als 'crus' behufs der Auffassung jener Eigennamenformen *Fer-gant, Fer-march* und *Bran-fereuc* (s. o. S. 405) zu rechnen, da z. B. der Personenbezeichnung mbret. *Fer-march* den Sinn von 'Rossesbein, das (flinke) Bein eines Pferdes habend' zu geben eher ansprechen dürfte, als darin die 'Pferdehacke' oder den 'Pferdeknöchel' zu suchen?

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Wie erklärt sich das *a* in cymr. *uffarn* und *ucharn* gegenüber dem *e* von *ffēr, ffern,* acorn. *fer* und bret. *ufern*? Auf diese Frage wird sich eine befriedigende Antwort im Verein damit geben lassen, dafs wir das Verhältnis der deutlich vorliegenden zwiefachen Stammbildung, wobei auf der einen Seite cymr. *ffēr,* acorn. *fer* und ir. *seir* ohne *-n* und auf der anderen die hinten um den Nasal reicheren Formen cymr. *ffern, uffarn,* bret. *ufern* nebeneinander hergehen, klarzustellen versuchen.

Nun gehen das cymr. *ffēr* und acorn. *fer* zusammen mit ir. *seir* wegen der diesem letzteren zugehörigen Formen mir. *serid* Dat. sing. Corm. Gloss. p. 41, 18, *da ṡerith* Nom. dual. masc. ibid. p. 36, 34 und *di pherid* Acc. dual. fem. LU. 69 a, 29, *sered-choel* Adj. „slim-ankled, τανύσφυρος“ und *seirth-id* 'Hintermann, Leibdiener' (s. o. S. 406 f.), nir. *seiridh* Acc. und Nom. sing. neben nir. *seir* als ursprünglichem Nominativ auf den Stamm urkelt. **sferet-* und dessen alte Nominativbildung **sfere(t)-s* oder **sferet* Neutr. zurück.[1]) Das *-et*-Thema setzt auch Stokes, Bezz. Beitr.

[1]) Mit *sf-* scheint mir am besten der Lautwert getroffen zu sein, den das aus anlautendem idg. *sp-* und *sph-*, aus jenem z. B. in air. mir. *selg* 'Milz', mbret. *felch* : avest. *spərəzan-*, gr. σπλήν, sich ergebende Produkt, die Vorstufe des historischen ir.-gäl. *s-* und britt. *f-* (cymr. *ff-*), im letzten Stadium gemeinkeltischer Lautentwicklung erreicht hatte. Mit Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 319 f. 8, 200 ff. (vgl. auch Brugmann, Grundrifs 1², 516) ein *sv-*, „wo *v* Spirant ist“, zum Unterschied von *su̯-* = ir.-gäl. *s-*, britt. *chw-*, anzusetzen halte ich nicht für geraten, da keine Veranlassung vorhanden ist, ein stimmhaftes Element in die Gruppe, die ein solches weder von Anfang an hatte noch in ihren letzten Ausläufern kennt, hineinzubringen; mufs ja doch im Gegenteil gerade urspr. *su̯-*, um im Irisch-gälischen *s-* und bei Lenierung *-f-* zu ergeben, in Fällen wie altir. *sé* '6', *seser* '6 Mann' : *mór-feser* '7 Mann' (vgl. Thurneysen, Revue celt. 6, 314 Anm. 5, Brugmann a. a. O. 329, Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 320. 322, Holger Pedersen, Aspirationen i Irsk 69), sein *u̯* irgendwie haben stimmlos werden lassen. Was inlautendes altes *-sp-* und *-sph-* betrifft, so pflichte ich unbedenklich Strachan bei, wenn er Bezz. Beitr. 20, 36 Anm. in mir. *di pherid* „a clear instance of the treatment of intervocalic *sp*“ sieht (vgl. auch Brugmann a. a. O. 516 und Pedersen a. a. O.); ein zweites solches Beispiel ist das bei Foy a. a. O. 320 erwähnte mir. *bó tri-phne* : *sine* 'Zäpfchen, Zitze', lit. *spė̃nys*, preufs. *spenis*, aisl. *spene*, ahd. *spene-varh* 'Spanferkel'. Dagegen kommt die Lehre, die aus *-sp(h)-* in dieser Stellung urkeltisch und irisch-gälisch *-sk-*, im Brittischen ein über die Zwischenstufe *-ks-* entwickeltes *-ch-* werden läfst (Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 327 f. 8, 210, Brugmann a. a. O. 516 f. Indog. Forsch. 13, 158), nicht auf. Man hat dafür als vermeintliche Beweisstücke nur die zwei Beispiele air. mir. *fescor* 'Abend', cymr. *ucher*, acorn. *gurth-uher* : lat. *vesper*, gr. ἕσπερος und

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11, 38 und bei Fick 2[4], 301 an, desgleichen W. Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 619 f., während Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. 20, 36 Anm. 2 sich für einen *d*-Stamm „**spered-*“ entscheidet, was an und für sich ja ebenfalls zulässig erscheinen könnte. Jedoch spricht hier der Fall der Stammbildung des keltischen **traget-* und **troget-* ‘Fufs’ mit, bei welchem für air. mir. *traig* mit dem Gen. plur. *traiged* vornehmlich die auf einem obliquen Kasus, wohl dem

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cymr. *crych*, bret. *crec'h* ‘kraus’, gall. *Crixus* Nom. propr. : lat. *crispus*, ahd. *hrëspan* ‘rupfen, raffen’ zur Verfügung. Aber über lat. *vesper* nebst allem, was drum und dran hängt an ihm vergleichbaren Ausdrücken für ‘Abend, Westen’, lagert auch nach Brugmanns Aufklärungsversuch, Indog. Forsch. 13, 157 ff. (vgl. dazu Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb. d. griech. Spr.[2] 160 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 665) noch manches Dunkel; und ich möchte fragen, ob nicht, wenn man mit Brugmann zwei verschiedene alte Formentypen, ein **u̯ekero-s* nach aksl. *večerъ* und lit. *vākaras* und ein **u̯espero-s* nach lat. *vesper* und gr. *ἕσπερος*, als von Hause aus gegebene zu unterscheiden hat, ob da nicht das Keltische an seinem Teile durch Verschränkung beider ein **u̯eskero-s* hergestellt haben könnte, das dann zu ir. *fescor* und cymr. *ucher*, acorn. *-uher* führte? Der Fall von cymr. *crych* usw. mag sich wohl so erledigen, dafs man anzunehmen hätte, es sei die Grundform **krispo-s* = lat. *crispu-s* (vgl. dazu auch Walde a. a. O. 151 f.) zunächst durch Assimilation der Silbenanlaute, um eine für den Wortbegriff ‘kraus’ gewifs nicht übel passende Art reduplizierter Wortformung zu gewinnen, urkeltisch zunächst zu **krisko-s* umgestaltet worden, daraus habe sich dann auf gallischem und brittischem Boden mit der Konsonantenumstellung von *-sk-* zu *-ks-* gall. *Crixu-s* und cymr. *crych*, bret. *crec'h* ergeben. Hält man trotz Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 327 Anm. 2 daran fest, dafs in mir. *di pherid* und *bó tri-phne* die unter allen Umständen lautgesetzliche irische Vertretung von inlautendem intervokalischem *-sp(h)-* vorliege, so hat man damit nicht nur eine gleichartige Behandlung der Gruppe *sp(h)* in beiderlei Stellung, wortinlautend im „status mollis“ wie anlautend im „status durus“, sondern man erhält auch noch folgendem Parallelismus: wie altes einfaches *s* im Irisch-gälischen wortanlautend vor Vokal verbleibt und inlautend zwischen Vokalen leniert zu *-h-* wird, im Brittischen aber gleichmäfsig in den beiden Stellungen zu *h*, so ist ganz analog bei unserm urkelt. *sf* aus idg. *sp(h)* dem Irisch-gälischen unter denselben Verhältnissen und Lautbedingungen die Zwielautigkeit von *s-* und *-f-* (*-ph-*) erwachsen, im Brittischen aber die einheitliche Lautform *f*, dieselbe, die in dem andern Hauptzweige nur die Inlautstellung im „status mollis“ hervorbrachte. In dem Gegensatz des *da ṡerith* Cormacs und des *di pherid* LU. mufs die erstere Gestaltung der Lenierungsform als die analogisch, die letztere als die auf dem lautgesetzlichen Wege entwickelte aufgefafst werden, derselbe Fall wie bei mir. *di ṡiair* ‘die beiden Schwestern’, *a ṡiur* ‘seine Schwester’ gegenüber frühmir. *dí fier* Dual. Vit. trip., mir. *mo fiur* ‘meine Schwester’ zu *siur* aus **su̯ésōr* u. dgl., nach dem was hierüber Thurneysen, Revue celt. 6, 314 Anm. 5 und Brugmann, Grundrifs 1², 329 bemerken.

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Acc. sing., beruhenden brittischen Schwesterformen cymr. *troed*, acorn. Vok. *truit* mcorn. *trois troys* und mbret. *troat* nbret. *troad* die Tenuis *-t-* sichern (vgl. Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. 11, 88. 110. Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2⁴, 136, Brugmann, Grundriſs 2², 1, 425); es ist doch wahrscheinlich, daſs die zwei begriffsverwandtschaftlich eng miteinander verbundenen Nomina auch suffixal aufeinander gereimt haben werden.

Mit cymr. *ffern* und *uffarn* aber, die in Nordwales (Rhyd-ddu) heute neben dem dort allein noch gebräuchlichen *ffēr* ausgestorben sind, und mit bret. *ufern* hat das Brittische daneben eine Formation von anderer Art und stammhafter Herkunft gewahrt. Sie wird uns klar werden, wenn wir sie zu dem Verbalsystem der alten nasalen Präsensbildung, die durch lat. *sper-no* und *sper-nā-tur* im Verein mit den germanischen Verben ags. *spornan spurnan* as. ahd. *spurnan*, ags. *speornan* aschwed. *spiærna* ahd. *fir-spirnit* und ahd. *spor-nô-n* aisl. *sporna* vertreten wird (vgl. Kluge, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. germ. Conjug. 145. Pauls Grundriſs d. germ. Philol. 1², 431. 434, Fick, Vergleich. Wörterb. 1⁴, 573, Brugmann, Grundriſs 2¹, 978. 980. 981. Kurze vergleich. Gramm. 512. 513, Streitberg, Urgerm. Gramm. 295, Wilmanns, Deutsche Gramm. 2¹, 31, Bethge, Dieters Laut- und Formenlehre d. altgerm. Dial. 350, Stolz, Iw. v. Müllers Handbuch 2³, 2, 166, Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 588), in nähere Beziehung setzen. Dies zwar nicht in dem Sinne, als wäre etwa der Nasal von cymr. *ffer-n*, *uffarn*, bret. *ufern* mit dem von lat. *sper-no* usw. zu identifizieren. Jedoch hat man zu bedenken, daſs das altindische Gegenstück der Präsensstammbildung von lat. *sper-no*, ags. *spornan spurnan* und Genossen eine der neunten Präsensklasse des Sanskrit angehörige Formation, und zwar dann in der Lautung **sphr̥-ṇā́-ti* = ahd. *spor-nô-t*, sein müſste; und dazu anderseits, daſs die Präsentia dieser *-nā*-Klasse mit Vorliebe im Indischen Participia praet. pass. mit dem Suffixe *-na-* = idg. *-no-* zur Seite haben, *dīr-ṇá-ḥ* zu *dr̥-ṇī-yā́-t* Opt. praes. Śat. Br., *stīr-ṇá-ḥ* zu *str̥-ṇā́-ti*, ferner *gīr-ṇá-ḥ* zu *gr̥-ṇā́-ti*, *śīr-ṇá-ḥ* zu *śr̥-ṇā́-ti*, *pūr-ṇá-ḥ* = lit. *pìl-na-s* ‘voll’ zu ai. *pr̥-ṇā́-ti*, *mūr-ṇá-ḥ* zu ved. *mr̥-ṇī-hí* Imper. praes., von *i-* und *u*-Wurzeln *kṣī-ṇá-ḥ* zu *kṣi-ṇā́-ti*, *vlī-na-ḥ* zu *vli-nā-ti* (und mit jüngerer Wurzelvokalisation *vlī-nā-ti*), *lū-na-ḥ* zu *lu-nā́-ti*, auch ai. *prī-ṇa-* in *prīṇayati* Denom. ‘er ergötzt, erfreut, tut gütlich’ = avert. *frī-na-* in *frīnāspa-* Nom. propr. zu ai. *prī-ṇā-ti* Präs., avest. *fri-nā-t̰* Imperf. ‘er befriedigte,

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stimmte gnädig', *ā-frīnāmi* Präs. 'ich wünsche (Gutes) an' u. a. mehr. Auf das Verhältnis, das einigermafsen an die Wahlverwandtschaft das *-to*-Partizips und des Dentalpräteritums der schwachen Verba im Germanischen erinnert, ist ja auch schon hie und da aufmerksam gemacht worden, mit am frühesten wohl von Gust. Meyer, Die mit Nasalen gebild. Präsensstämme des Griech. Jena 1873 S. 26 f., dem man aber heute wohl nicht mehr die Einerleiheit des präsentischen und des partizipialen *n*-Suffixes aufs Wort glauben darf.

Zu unserm als Entsprechung des lat. *sper-no* und ags. *spornan spurnan* usw. erschlossenen Sanskritpräsens **sphṛ-ṇā-ti* 'calcitrat' hätte demnach das Partizip ai. **sphūr-ṇá-ḥ* zu lauten; seinen Ablaut *ūr* = idg. *r̥̄* weist das nachvedische Verbalabstrakt *sphūr-ti-ḥ* F. auf, welches 'das Zucken, Zittern' in *gātra-sphūrti-ḥ* 'Gliederzucken', als Simplex 'das (plötzliche) Erscheinen, Zutagetreten, Offenbarwerden' bedeutet (vgl. Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterb. in kürzerer Fassung 7, 224 b). Und zu diesem *sphūr-ti-ḥ* stimmt im Wurzelvokalismus das dem gleichen alten Nominalparadigma entsprossene lit. *spírti,* auch dieser litauische Infinitiv zu *spiriù* 'ich stofse mit dem Fufse' läfst ja auf eine zweisilbige Basis schliefsen, deren Reduktionsstufe durch idg. *r̥̄* charakterisiert war, deren Kombination von Schwundstufe der ersten und Vollstufe der zweiten Silbe aber durch lat. *sprē-vī* Perf. und *sprē-tu-s* Part. gegeben ist, nach bekannter Annahme, die Hirt, D. indog. Ablaut 85 vertritt; *spírti* stünde zu ai. **sphūr-ṇá-ḥ* so, wie lit. *dírti* 'schinden' zu ai. *dīr-ṇá-ḥ* (Hirt, a. a. O. 82).

Ferner kennt man zu zweien der altindischen *-no*-Partizipia, die den in Rede stehenden Schwachstufenablaut idg. *r̥̄* enthalten, auch schon eben aus dem brittischen Keltisch die Reflexe in Femininform substantiviert: das cymr. corn. bret. *darn* F. 'Stück, Teil' entspricht dem ai. *dīr-ṇá-ḥ* 'gespalten, zerrissen', ebenso cymr. *sarn* F. 'stratum, pavimentum' dem ai. *stīr-ṇá-ḥ* 'hingestreut, ausgebreitet', und in dem Sinne werden diese *darn* und *sarn* bereits bei Brugmann, Grundrifs 1², 474. 480 zusammen mit andern Fällen, in denen ein vorkonsonantisches kelt. *ar* die etymologische Geltung von langer Liquida sonans idg. *r̥̄* hat, besprochen.[1]) Es ergibt sich daraus, dafs zu dem von uns ermittelten

[1]) Das cymr. *sarn* nebst dem denominativen Verb *sarnu* 'streuen, ausbreiten' ist der Entlehnung aus lat. *sternere* verdächtigt worden von

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ai. **sphūr-ṇá-ḥ* die gleiche Femininisierung ein brittisches **farn* gewesen sein müſste; und ich finde nun dieses **farn* eben in unserm cymr. *uffarn*, mcymr. *ufarn* vertreten. Ich möchte ihm, ebenso wie jenen *darn* und *sarn*, als seinen ursprünglichen Wortsinn den eines zur Dingbedeutung übergegangenen Verbalabstrakts, das wäre also 'das Ausschlagen mit der Ferse, calcitratus', geben, sowie nach Wortformung und semasiologischer Funktion z. B. idg. **u̯l̥̄-nā* 'Wolle' = ai. *úrṇā,* got. *wulla* aisl. *ull* ags. *wull* aostfries. *ulla* ahd. *wolla,* lit. *vìlna,* aksl. *vlъna,* eigentlich 'Rupfung, Zupfung' zu lat. *vellere, vellus* (Thurneysen, Indog. Forsch. 14, 129, Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 323. 654), idg. **rū-nā* 'das Geraune, Geheimnis' = air. mir. *rún* cymr. *rhin,* got. *rūna* aisl. ags. *rún* as. ahd. *rûna* zu gr. *ἐρευνάω* 'ich spüre nach' derartige Wortschöpfungen von alter Prägung sind; Brugmann würde sie nach dem, was er Grundriſs 2², 1, 260 ff. (wo auch ir. *rún,* got. *rūna* mit erwähnt wird) über diese Kategorie nominaler Bildungen lehrt, eher „Adjektivabstrakta" als Verbalabstrakta, gemäſs ihrem formalen Zusammenhange mit adjektivischen und partizipialen Wörtern, nennen.

Zu dem brittischen **farn* in cymr. *uffarn* könnte nun die Form cymr. *ffern* und das Schluſsglied von bret. *ufern* eine bei gleicher Wortstammbildung von Hause aus ablautlich verschiedene Wortformvariante gewesen sein, und diese Ablautslautsverschiedenheit hätte ihre Parallele an dem Falle des Nebeneinanders und Gegenübers von cymr. *sarn* F. 'stratum, pavimentum', ai. *stīr-ṇá-ḥ* Part. und anderseits gr. *στέρ-νο-ν* 'Brust, Fläche', *εὐρύ-στερνο-ς* 'breitflächig', ahd. *stirna* F. 'frons', ags. *steornede* Adj. 'frontosus' (Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2⁴, 313, Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb. d. griech. Spr.² 433, Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 594, vgl. auch Fick 1⁴, 569 und Brugmann a. a. O. 257). Doch wäre auch noch ein anderes historisches

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Schuchardt, Zeitschr. f. roman. Philol. 4, 154, Thurneysen, Keltorom. 87 und Loth, Les mots latins 217. Aber Thurneysen schreibt mir (Freiburg i. Br., 8. Mai 1907) als seine jetzige Meinung, „daſs die Gleichung ir. *sernim*, kymr. *sarn-* die Entlehnung unwahrscheinlich macht, obschon das kymr. Verb ja deutlich in der Bedeutung von *sternere* beeinfluſst ist". Mir ist kein sicheres Beispiel bekannt, das bei Herübernahme lateinischer Wörter mit *st-* diese Anlautsgruppe im Brittischen die Gestaltung zu *s-* wie in echt keltischen Wörtern erfahre, anstatt als *st-*, cymr. *yst-* zu erscheinen, vgl. acorn. bret. *stol* cymr. *ystol* : *stola*, acorn. *stevel* cymr. *ystafell* : *stabellum* u. dgl.


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Verhältnis von *-farn* und *ffern* denkbar und würde vielleicht den Vorzug zu verdienen scheinen.

Als Simplex könnte sich cymr. **ffarn* in *ffern* unter dem Einfluſs des daneben bestehenden Synonymums *ffēr* = ir. *seir* umgeändert haben, einem Einfluſs, dem das Kompositum *uffarn* immerhin bei seiner abweichenden Wortbetonung als Paroxytonon schon etwas weiter entrückt sein müſste. Daſs aber die vokalische Ausgleichung doch auch das Kompositum hätte treffen können, dürfte alsdann das bret. *ufern* lehren, sowie auch das acorn. *lifern*, wenn dies nach der Zeuſsschen Annahme im Vokabular Verschreibung für *ufern* ist. Mittelbar würde durch diese bretonisch-cornische Wortgestaltung denn auch bezeugt werden, daſs auf diesem anderen brittischen Dialektboden ebenfalls einmal ein einfaches **fern* bestanden und sich hier für **farn* nach bret. *fer-* in *Fer-gant* und nach acorn. *fer* 'crus' eingefunden hätte. Diese analogische Umformung des Simplex **farn* nach *fer* könnte also ein ur- und gemeinbrittischer Sprachvorgang gewesen sein, während weiterhin das zusammengesetzte **uch-farn* in derselben Weise der Ablautsausgleichung zu unterziehen dem Südbrittischen vorbehalten geblieben wäre.

5. Cymr. *taith, mordaith, mordwy,* gall. *moritēx.*

Aus der Wurzel ihres mit gr. *στείχω, ἔστιχον, στίχος, στοῖχος,* got. *steigan* aisl. *stíga* ags. as. ahd. *stîgan* 'steigen', ahd. *stēg* M. 'Steg, kleine Brücke', got. *staiga* ahd. *steiga* F. 'Steig, Weg', aksl. *stignǫ* 'ich komme', *stьdza stьza* F. 'Fuſssteig, Pfad', lett. *steidſů-s steigtê-s* 'eilen', *stiga* 'Pfad', *staigāt* 'wandeln', lit. *steig* Adv. 'eilends', *staigà* Adv. 'plötzlich', *staigau-s staigyti-s* 'eilen', alban. *štek* M. 'Durchgang, Eingang, Weg, Haarscheitel', ai. ved. *pra-stighnuyāt* Opt. praes. 'er möge emporkommen', *ati-ṣṭhígham* Inf. 'übersteigen, bemeistern' Maitrāyaṇīsaṃh. verwandten Verbs air. mir. *tiagaim* 'ich schreite, gehe', air. *for-tiag* 'ich komme zu Hilfe, helfe' besitzen die Kelten mehrere Verbalabstraktbildungen, Nomina actionis, deren gegenseitiges formales Verhältnis noch nicht klar genug erkannt ist, ja von denen eine überhaupt noch nicht den Anschluſs an diese Wurzel seitens der heutigen etymologischen Forschung gefunden hat.

Am einfachsten verständlich und wohl am wenigsten miſskannt ist das Feminin air. mir. *techt* 'adventus, aditio, itio' =

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cymr. *taith* 'iter' aus urkelt. **tik-tā*. Ascoli freilich stellte Gloss. pal.-hibern. CIV die irische Form wurzelhaft zu dem irischen Verbum *t(o)-icc-* 'kommen', was aber schon bei Sarauw, Irske studier § 104 S. 92 Widerlegung findet; der neuirische Zusammenchlufs von *teacht* als sogenanntem Infinitiv und *tigim* 'ich komme' = air. mir. *t-iccim* zu einem Verbalsystem ist als Suppletivismus zu betrachten, wie so viele paradigmatische Erscheinungen der 'kommen' und 'gehen' bedeutenden Verba im Keltischen und besonders im Irischen nach meiner Darlegung Vom Suppletivwesen d. indog. Spr. 8.

Von der Bildungsweise des dem ir. *techt* und cymr. *taith* zugrunde liegenden urkelt. **tik-tā* 'das Gehen, Gang' verzeichnet Brugmann, Grundrifs 2², 1, 415 unter dem dort vorgebrachten Formenmaterial derartiger Verbalabstrakta auf *-tā*, die sich im schwundstufigen Wurzelablaut dem Partizip auf *-tó-s* genau anschliefsen, die zwei keltischen Beispiele „ir. *ed-part ed-bart* 'oblatio' zu *do-breth* 'datum est' ai. *bhṛtá-s*" und „*both* 'Wohnung, Wohnort, Hütte' zu *ro both* 'man war' lit. *bùtas*", und diesem Feminin mir. *both* hat man das brittische nur zum Teil noch weiblichgeschlechtig auftretende, aber durch seinen Vokalismus sicher auf urkelt. **butā* weisende Wort, nämlich cymr. *bod* Fem. und Mask. 'Wohnung, Aufenthalts-, Wohnort', häufig in Ortsnamen von Nordwales (Beispiele bei Silvan Evans, Geiriadur Cymraeg 497 a), Mask. 'das Sein, Dasein, Wesen', 'lebendes Wesen', corn. *bod bos* Mask. 'a dwelling, house' und *bod* 'to be, to exist', abret. mbret. *bot* 'propriété, résidence, hameau' in vielen Ortsnamen wie z. B. abret. *Botbleiz* 'la demeure du loup' mit Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2⁴, 179. Bezz. Beitr. 23, 50 gleichzusetzen. Ich nenne aufserdem hier noch aus dem Keltischen: das Simplex zu jenem air. *ed-part ed-bart* 'oblatio' air. mir. „*breth* fem. 'judgment, decision', infin. of *berim*, with all its meanings, 'carrying off, passing judgment, gaining victory, being born', etc." (Atkinson, The passions and the homilies gloss. 565 a) aus idg. **bhṛ-tā* (vgl. Ernault in dieser Zeitschr. 2, 497); air. mír. *sreth* Fem. 'Reihe, Reihenfolge, Anordnung' aus **sṛ-tā* zu air. *ní sernat* gl. 'neque conserunt', lat. *sero, seriēs*, gr. *εἴρω* 'ich reihe aneinander, verknüpfe' (Ascoli, Gloss. pal.-hibern. CCXXXVIII, Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2⁴, 307. Bezz. Beitr. 23, 57 f.); air. *sreth* 'stratum', cymr. *ystred* Fem. 'Strafse, Dorfstrafse', 'Dorf' aus **stṛ-tā* zu mir. *fo-sernat* 'sie breiten aus', cymr. *sarn* 'stratum,

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pavimentum' (s. o. S. 412 f.), lat. *sterno, strātu-s*, gr. *στόρνῡμι, στρωτό-ς*, ai. *stṛṇóti* und *stṛṇāti* Präs. 'streut, breitet aus', *stṛtá-ḥ* Part. (Ascoli a. a. O., Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 318). Noch die eine oder andere keltische Femininabstraktbildung dieser Art kommt gelegentlich im Folgenden zur Sprache.

Das bret. *tiz* Mask. 'allure, démarche, hâte' will, wie es im Geschlecht von cymr. *taith* und air. mir. *techt* abweicht, so auch in der Lautform zu diesen nicht stimmen. Fälschlich vereinerleien die Darstellungen der etymologischen Wörterbücher, Stokes bei Fick 2[4], 124, Macbain S. 326 und V. Henry S. 265, ebenso W. Foy, Indog. Forsch. 6, 318, das bretonische Wort mit dem cymrischen und irischen Feminin, obwohl doch klar sein sollte, dafs dem letzteren nur ein bret. **teiz* Fem. und umgekehrt dem bret. *tiz* ein cymr. **tith* Mask. lautgesetzmäfsig zu entsprechen hätte; Stokes, Macbain und Foy setzen ein gemeinsames urkelt. **tiktā* auch für bret. *tiz* an, was dieser letzteren Form nicht genügt, während Henry, von der bretonischen Seite herantretend, ein **tik-to-* erschliefst, was hinsichtlich des cymr. *taith* und des ir. *techt* als eines Feminins im Stiche läfst.

Man vergleiche betreffs der in Rede stehenden lautgesetzlichen Entsprechungen einerseits bret. *seiz* '7' = cymr. *saith*, ir. *secht* und bret. *reiz* F. 'Gesetz, Recht, Regel' = cymr. *rhaith*, zu ir. *recht* Neutr.; dazu dann anderseits den Fall, dafs bret. *briz* Adj. 'gesprenkelt, bunt' mit der cymrischen Maskulinform *brith* auf urkelt. **mrikto-s* = air. *mrecht* mir. *brecht* beruht, während die cymrische Femininform *braith* aus **mriktā* dereinst ein bret. *breiz*, von dem es nach Troude, Dict. breton-franç. 78a Spuren zu geben scheint, gegenüber hatte. Auch sei hier noch an das Gegenüber von mbret. nbret. *niz* Mask. 'Neffe' und cymr. *nith* Fem. 'neptis' erinnert, wo die gemeinsame urbrittische Form ein **nichtī* = urkelt. **nektī*, idg. **neptī* gewesen sein mufs, während in air. *necht* Fem. bekanntlich die stark velare Gruppe *cht* den *i*-Umlaut nicht durchgelassen hat; das bret. *niz* ist die übertragene Femininform und war in der älteren Sprache als abret. *nith* noch Feminin, durch lat. *nepta* glossiert, vgl. Loth, Chrestom. bretonne 1, 98 und V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 212, auch d'Arbois de Jubainville, Études gramm. sur les langues celt. 1, 88*, der aber unrichtiges über *niz* ebend. S. 5 vorbringt.

Nun ist das bret. *tiz* Mask., als eine Sonderbildung im Vergleich mit dem Feminin cymr. *taith* und ir. *techt*, entweder aus

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einem alten Neutrum urkelt. **tik-to-n* zu erklären, sowie das von Loth, Chrestom. bretonne 1, 519 b verzeichnete Adjektiv oder Adverb mbret. *tiz* 'vite' den Ansatz des maskulin-neutralen *-to*-Stammes erfordern würde. Und wir hätten hier auf keltischem Boden ein solches Paarungsverhältnis von neutralem Verbalabstraktum auf *-to-m* und femininem auf *-tā*, wie bei ai. *cit-tá-m* 'das Denken, Absicht, Gemüt' und avest. *cistā-* 'Erkenntnis, Einsicht', ai. *sru-tá-m* 'das Fluten, Flut' und lit. *sru-tà* ('das Fliefsen') 'Mistjauche', ai. *mṛ-ta-m* 'Tod', ahd. *mord* as. ags. *morð* afries. *morth* aisl. *morþ* Neutr. 'Tötung, Mord' und lat. *Morta* Todesgöttin, eine der drei Parzen, eigentlich 'das Sterben', mit Entwicklung des Verbalabstraktums zur Dingbezeichnung gr. *σπάρ-το-ν* 'gedrehter Strick, Seil' zu *σπάρ-τη* dass., lat. *sporta* 'geflochtener Korb' u. a. mehr (vgl. Brugmann, Grundrifs 2², 1, 411. 414. 415). Auf dem keltischen Sprachboden selbst aber ist ein solcher Fall, wie es hiernach bret. *tiz* : cymr. *taith*, ir. *techt* sein würde, auch durch das Neutrum mir. *cloth* 'fame, honour' aus urkelt. **klu-to-n*[1]) neben cymr. *clod* Fem. u. Mask. 'Gerücht, Ruf, guter Ruf, Preis, Lob, Ruhm', corn. *clos* Mask. 'glory, happiness, praise', abret. *clot* gl. 'rumor' gegeben, denn auch hier deuten sich die brittischen Formen, indem sie zum Teil das Geschlecht gewandelt haben müssen, wegen ihres Wurzelvokalismus nur aus altem femininalem kelt. **klu-tā*, eine dem irischen Neutrum genau entsprechende Form hätte cymrisch als **clwd* zu erscheinen. Allenfalls könnte übrigens unser bret. *tiz* doch auch von jeher sein maskulines Genus gehabt haben und stünde dann als *-to*-Bildung neben cymr. *taith* und ir. *techt* so, wie im Griechischen *βλασ-τό-ς* 'Trieb, Keim, Sprofs' neben *βλάσ-τη* dass. (vgl. Brugmann a. a. O. 411. 415), *κύρ-το-ς* 'Binsenflechtwerk, Fischerreuse' neben *κύρ-τη* dass., auch wie das lit. *bù-ta-s* ,Wohnhaus, Haus' neben mir. *both* Fem., cymr. *bod* Fem. Mask., corn. *bod bos* Mask., abret. mbret. *bot* (s. o. S. 415), falls etwa das litauische Nomen von Haus aus Maskulinum, nicht ursprüngliches Neutrum, gewesen sein sollte.

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[1]) Vgl. über mir. *cloth* Neutr. Kuno Meyer, Contrib. to Irish Lexicography 1, 1, 193, wo für uns Indogermanisten besonders die Fufsnote zu beachten ist, die das Adjektiv ir. *cloth* 'berühmt' gegen Windisch beseitigt; noch bei Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb. d. griech. Spr.² 226, Brugmann, Grundrifs 2², 1, 395. 412 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch 300 figuriert dies vermeintliche keltische Äquivalent von gr. *κλυτό-ς*, lat. *in-clutu-s*, ai. *śrutá-ḥ*.

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Oder es mag das bret. *tiz* noch eine andere Deutung zulassen: ihm könnte auch ein altes maskulines Nomen actionis urkelt. **tik-tu-s* 'das Gehen, Eilen' zugrunde liegen, was eine Wortbildung wie das lat. *-i-tu-s* 'Gang' in *ab-*, *ad-*, *ex-*, *ob-*, *red-*, *inter-*, *trāns-itu-s* wäre. Und in diesem Falle gliche sein morphologisches Verhältnis zu cymr. *taith* und ir. *techt* Fem. dem von abret. *rit* acorn. *rid* 'vadum', cymr. *rhyd* Mask. und Fem. 'Furt' (vgl. das Femininum in dem Ortsnamen *Rhyd-ddu* 'Schwarzfurt') mit dem hier althergebrachten *u*-Plural *rhydau*, gall. *Ritu-(magu-s)*, lat. *portu-s* M. 'Haustür' (XII tabb.), 'Hafen', *angi-portu-s* 'enge Passage, Nebengäfschen', ahd. *furt* Mask. 'Furt', avest. *pərətu-š* Mask. Fem. und *pəšu-š* Mask. 'Durchgang, Furt, Übergang, Brücke' zu lat. *porta* Fem. 'Tor' (vgl. Brugmann a. a. O. 415. 441); auch wohl dem von air. *sruth* Neutr. 'Strom, Flufs' aus **sru-tu* zu lit. *sru-tà* 'Mistjauche'.

Was diesen letzteren Parallelfall betrifft, so scheint mir jetzt, dafs man bei dem air. *sruth* und was zu ihm im Keltischen näher gehört oder zu gehören scheint, auch wieder schärfere Distinktionen nach Stammbildung und Genus zu treffen bedacht sein mufs, als bisher geschah, wo man, z. B. Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 318, Macbain, Etym. dict. of the Gaelic language 310, ich selbst Bezz. Beitr. 24, 117 und V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 126, mit dem einzigen urkelt. **sru-tu-* durchzukommen vermeinte. Für die brittischen Formen mit *u* in der Wurzelsilbe cymr. *ffrwd* Fem. 'fretum, torrens', acymr. *frut* im Liber Landav., und bret. *froud* Mask. und Fem. 'torrent', mbret. *frout*, abret. *frut* 'ruisseau, courant' (vgl. Loth, Chrestom. bretonne 1, 131. 204 f. und Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 248) könnte man zwar bei der Gleichsetzung mit dem altirischen Neutrum *sruth* und mit manx *stroo* verbleiben und den ja im Brittischen gar nicht seltenen Genuswechsel, wodurch hier teilweise das Feminin für älteres Maskulinum = Neutrum aufgekommen wäre, passieren lassen. Jedoch wäre mit dem Ansatz eines ursprünglichen Feminins **sru-ti-s* = gr. *ῥύ-σι-ς*, ai. *sru-tí-ḥ* 'Ausflufs' der Deutung dieser cymr. *ffrwd* und bret. *froud* ebenfalls gedient, und man hat Anlafs, mit diesem durch *-ti-* geformten Stamme auch für das Keltische zu rechnen, wegen des bei Ptol. 2, 9, 1 überlieferten Namens eines Flusses in Gallia Belgica, wahrscheinlich der Somme, *Φρούδις*, worauf zuerst Glück, Die bei C. Julius Caesar vorkommenden kelt. Namen 35 aufmerksam

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gemacht, dann in demselben Sinne Holder, Alt-celt. Sprachschatz 1, 1500 f., W. Meyer-Lübke, Zeitschr. f. roman. Philol. 20, 530 ff., d'Arbois de Jubainville, Revue celt. 18, 120 und Ernault in dieser Zeitschrift 2, 501 sich ausgesprochen haben. Aber nun für die *o*-Formen, die daneben liegen, das acorn. mcorn. *frot* mask. und abret. mbret. *frot* (vgl. Loth a. aa. OO. und Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 248), für diese bedürfte man, scheint mir, doch wohl wieder, trotz Ernault, Zeitschr. 2, 501 und d'Arbois de Jubainville a. a. O., des Zurückgehens auf eine alte Seitenbildung mit *-tā*, also auf ein urkelt. **sru-tā*, das erstens die genaue Entsprechung des lit. *sru-tà* 'Jauche' wäre, dann aber auch seine weitere keltische Bezeugung in den auf oberitalienischem Boden vielfach als Lokalbezeichnung im Sinne von 'Sturzbach, Wasserfall' angetroffenen Wortformen hätte, die Meyer-Lübke aufdeckt, in galloroman. *fruda, froda* nebst noch anderen Varianten, für die doch das von demselben Gelehrten a. a. O. 532 erschlossene Substrat eines gall. **frŭtu* = ir. *sruth* formal minder genügend erscheint.

Wenn für das bret. *tiz* nach seiner zuletzt in Erwägung gezogenen Entstehungsart das urkeltische Substrat ein **tik-tu-s* war, müfste seine genaue irische Entsprechung die Lautung **ticht* gehabt haben. Hingegen bei der Herkunft des *tiz* aus urkelt. **tik-to-* hätte ihm ein alt- und mittelirisches neutrales oder maskulines **techt* zu antworten; vgl. die Zusammenstellung von cymr. *nithio,* bret. *niza* 'Futter schwingen, worfeln' und cymr. *gwenith* Mask., bret. *gwiniz* 'Weizen' mit ir. *necht* 'rein' sowie mit gr. *νεῖκλον· τὸ λίκνον* und *νικᾷ· λικμᾷ* Hesych., lit. *nĕkóti* 'Getreide durch Schwingen reinigen', die E. Zupitza, Bezz. Beitr. 25, 97 vertritt.

Zu seinem *techt* Fem. besitzt nun freilich das Alt- und Mittelirische ein gleichlautendes Maskulinum, aber in der abweichenden Bedeutung 'Bote', in den alten Glossen mit 'vas' glossiert; vgl. Zeufs-Ebel, Gramm. 800, Windisch, Ir. Texte Wörterb. 813b, Atkinson, Passions and Homilies gloss. 915a und Ascoli, Gloss. pal.-hibern. CIV. Die Flexion dieses maskulinen *techt* ist ganz die gleiche wie die des femininen Verbalabstraktums; die belegten Kasus Nom. und Acc. plur. mir. *techta* 'Boten' weisen im Verein mit dem Nom. sing. *techt* auch dies Maskulinum mit Sicherheit der *ā*-Deklination zu, an Identifizierung mit dem bretonischen Maskulin *tiz,* wenn dies auf **tiktu-s* beruhen sollte,

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ist nicht zu denken, da alsdann eben, wie gesagt, der Nom. sing. im Irischen **ticht* lauten müſste, anderseits ein *o*-stämmiges **tikto-*, das man ja in dem bret. *tiz* auch suchen darf, anzusetzen ginge zwar des Nom. sing. ir. *techt* wegen an, fände jedoch dann an jenem *techta* des Nom. und Acc. plur. ein Hindernis. So bleibt nur die Lösung übrig, die schon Ascoli a. a. O. gefunden hat und die völlig befriedigend erscheint, auch von Sarauw, Irske studier § 104 S. 92 angenommen wird: das Nomen agentis air. mir. *techt* 'Bote' ist dasselbe Wort mit dem femininen *techt* 'das Gehen' aus **tiktā*, jenes die Maskulinisierung des Nomen actionis, der 'Bote' als das personifizierte 'Gehen' vorgestellt; bloſs darin kann man Ascoli und Sarauw nicht folgen, daſs sie *techt* 'legatus', es richtig als „abstr. fem., principio vix a *techt*, adventus, diversum" auffassend, „proprie 'legatio'" bedeuten lassen. Es ist dies offenbar ein keltischer Fall von der Art, die Brugmann a. a. O. 415. 417. 419. 611 mit Nennung griechischer Beispiele wie *κρι-τή-ς* 'Richter', *δέκτη-ς* 'Empfänger', *ψάλτη-ς* 'Zitherspieler', *ἀκεστή-ς* 'Heilender' zur Sprache bringt, nur daſs das Keltische seinem **tiktā* nicht das nominativische *-s* angefügt hat, in dieser Beziehung sich vielmehr wie das Latein mit seinen Maskulina *scrība, līxa, scurra, collēga, agricola* u. a., das Litauische mit *nauvedà* und *nauvedžà* 'Bräutigam', *važnýcza* 'Fuhrmann' u. dgl. verhält. Es findet hier eine Bestätigung, was Stokes, Bezz. Beitr. 11, 79 bemerkt, „that masc. *ā*-stems existed in Gaulish, and it is therefore probable that traces of these stems may be found in Old-Irish"; auf die Zeugnisse für gallische maskuline *ā*-Deklination, männliche Personennamen wie *Ateula, Verica* und die latinisierten Plurale von Völkernamen *Belgae, Volcae, Celtae*, kommt Stokes a. a. O. 154 nach dem Vorgange Pictets zu sprechen. Einen Ausdruck für den Begriff 'Bote' Gesandter' gewann vermittelst eines formativischen Exponenten auf der Basis seines Verbalabstrakts *techt* das Irische bei der Wortschöpfung des air. mir. *techtaire*.

Das alte Nomen actionis air. mir. *techt* selbst ist im Neuirischen als *teacht* doppelgeschlechtig geworden, indem es teils noch als Feminin verbleibt, teils aber daneben auch als Maskulin in denselben Bedeutungen 'act of coming, arrival, approach' usw. auftritt, nach Dinneen, Irish-Engl. dict. 724 a; und im Gälischen erscheint *teachd* nach Macleod-Dewar, Dict. of the Gaelic language 564 b nur noch als Maskulinum. Der Grund für diesen

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Genuswechsel ist ein lediglich durch die äufsere Sprachform gegebener gewesen: die Kasusbildungen nir. *teachta* Gen. sing. und *teachta* Nom. plur. = mir. *techta* sind die regelrechten der *ā*-Deklination, der Gen. sing. gemäfs der schon im späteren Altirisch sporadisch sich zeigenden, im Mittelirischen durchdringenden Erscheinung, dafs bei Femininen auf *-echt* wegen der stark velaren Natur der Konsonantengruppe *cht* sich der Ausgang *-a* für älteres *-e* und *-ae* einfindet, wofür die Grammatica Celt.[2] 242 das Beispiel *cruithnechta* 'frumenti' der Sanktgaller neben *cruithnechtae* derselben und *cruithnechte* der Würzburger Glossen verzeichnet (vgl. zum Lautlichen auch Brugmann, Grundrifs 1[2], 246 und besonders Strachan, Transactions of the Philol. Soc. London 1903—6, S. 205. 210); diese neuirischen *teachta*, gäl. *teachda* aber konnten wie die entsprechenden Kasus der *u*-Deklination, also wie z. B. nir. *dána* Gen. sing. und Nom.(-Acc.) plur. zu air. mir. nir. *dán* Mask. 'Gabe, Kunst, Geschäft', nir. *gníoma* = mir. *gníma* zu nir. *gníom* air. mir. *gním* Mask. 'Tat', aufgefafst werden und führten so den Übertritt zum Genus masculinum herbei.

Für air. *imthecht* 'ambulatio, circuitus, vitae habitus' mir. *imthecht imtecht imdecht* und cymr. *cyd-ymdaith* 'consuetudo, familiaritas' benötigt Stokes, Ficks Vergleich. Wörterb. 2[4], 34. 124 eines urkeltischen Substrats „*embi-teikto-* Umhergehen, Wandeln". Das bedarf ebenfalls der Berichtigung. Das irische Wort ist Feminin der *ā*-Deklination nach dem belegten Acc. plur. air. *moimthechta* 'ambulationes meas' Wb. Gl. 28c bei Zeufs-Ebel, Gramm. 246. 351, auch nach mir. *imthechta* Acc. plur. in dem Beleg bei Windisch, Ir. Texte Wörterb. 629a. Als Feminin wird das mir. *imthecht* auch von Atkinson, The passions and the homilies gloss. 762a und das entsprechende nir. *imtheacht* in den Wörterbüchern O'Reillys S. 303b und Dinneens S. 396b angesetzt, und es ist nirgends eine Veranlassung zu einem anderen Ansatz als eben diesem gegeben; es handelt sich bei dem *im-thecht* schlechterdings nur um eine Komposition mit dem einfachen *techt* aus **tiktā*.

Noch unzulänglicher erweist sich das Stokessche „*embi-teikto-*" für die Deutung des cymr. *cyd-ymdaith*. Aus vorausliegendem **teikto-*, **embi-teikto-* hätte doch im Cymrischen nur **twyth*, **ym-dwyth* hervorgehen können. Auch *cyd-ym-daith* kann, wie das kürzere *ym-daith*, auf dem es beruht, nur Zusammensetzung mit dem femininen *taith* aus **tiktā* sein, trotz des

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maskulinen Geschlechts der Kompositionsbildung mit *cyd-*, an dem sich vielleicht Stokes gestoſsen hat. Mit dem Maskulinum bei *cydymdaith* hat es, da das Wort die abgeleitete Bedeutung einer handelnden männlichen Person, den Sinn von 'Reisegefährte', dann 'Gefährte überhaupt, Genosse, Gesell, Kamerad', angenommen hat, wiederum nur dieselbe Bewandtnis wie mit dem ir. *techt* Mask. 'Bote' = *techt* Fem. 'das Gehen': der Genuswechsel ist Wirkung und Folge oder Begleiterscheinung des Bedeutungswechsels bei der eingetretenen „Verpersönlichung" des älteren femininen Verbalabstraktums. Dasselbe gilt für das ebenfalls männlichgeschlechtige cymr. *cymdaith*, da es groſsenteils dieselbe konkrete Bedeutung 'a companion, a comrade, an associate' hat wie das formenlängere *cydymdaith*. Beide, sowohl *cym-daith* wie *cyd-ym-daith*, weisen seltener, das erstere in noch etwas ausgedehnterem Maſse als das letztere, neben der konkreten auch noch die ältere Abstraktbedeutung 'company, society' auf, und diese dann freilich ebenfalls bei maskulinem Genus, was man als eine Einwirkung des vorwiegend gewordenen Gebrauchs als Bezeichnung einer männlichen die Gesellschaft jemandes bildenden Person wird betrachten dürfen. Konkretum und Abstraktum scheiden sich dann aber auch durch die differenzierte Pluralbildung von *cymdeithion* 'companions' einer- und *cymdeithiau* 'companies, societies' in Übereinstimmung mit dem Simplex *teithiau* anderseits; für *cyd-ym-daith* ist bei seinem viel spärlicheren Vorkommen in dem Abstraktsinne der Plural nur in der Form *cydymdeithion*, mit *-ion* als der für Benennungen männlicher Personen verschiedener Art, darunter insbesondere der substantivierten Adjektiva, vorzugsweise gebräuchlichen Pluralisierung (Rowland, Grammar of the Welsh language⁴ § 160 S. 42, Anwyl, Welsh grammar § 95 S. 23), bezeugt. Vgl. Silvan Evans, Geiriadur Cymraeg 1023 a f. 1141 b.[1])

[1]) Neben *cydymdaith* steht gleichbedeutendes *cydymaith*, Plur. *cydymeithion*, so auch neben dem Oppositum *anghydymdaith* 'Widersacher, Gegner' die Variante *anghydymaith*; wir werden es mit einer dissimilatorischen Veränderung der ersteren Form zu tun haben, der Art, daſs aus ihrem Lautkörper das zweite der unmittelbar silbenanlautend aufeinander folgenden *-d-*, das der nichthaupttontragenden Silbe, wegfiel. Nach dem also entstandenen *cydymaith* ist dann auch zu *cys-ym-daith* 'Begleitung, Reisebegleitung' eine Nebenform *cysymaith* aufgekommen, und es läſst sich denken, daſs dabei auch eine volksetymologische Assoziation mit dem seinem Wortsinne nach nicht fern liegenden Adverb *ymaith* 'hinweg, fort' im Spiele gewesen sei.


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Es muſs nun aber zugegeben werden, daſs ein mehrfaches Schwanken des Geschlechts überhaupt bei den cymrischen Komposita mit *taith* im Schluſsgliede, auch indem sie den alten Abstraktsinn bewahren, stattfindet, und die Wörterbücher stimmen in ihren darauf bezüglichen Mitteilungen öfters nicht unter sich überein. Ich verzeichne kurz auch noch die übrigen Zusammensetzungen, indem ich auſser ihren Bedeutungen das Genus, dies mit Zugrundelegung der lexikalischen Angaben von Silvan Evans, soweit sein Geiriadur erschienen ist (bis zum Buchstaben D einschlieſslich), von Spurrell[3], Owen Pughe[3] und Cynddelw, Geiriadur Cymreig Cymraeg Caernarfon 1868, vermerke.

Durchweg als Feminina werden angegeben: *amdaith* 'a circuit, journey' (nur von Evans aufgeführt, bei Pughe und Cynddelw und in Iolo Morganwgs Geiriadur y Bardd nur als Paraphrase von *cylchdaith*), *cylchdaith* 'a circuitous journey, circuit, orbit', *chwyldaith* 'a circular course or motion, rotation, revolution, a circuit, orbit', *dattaith* 'journey back', *gordaith* 'a great journey' (nur bei Pughe vorkommend), *gorymdaith* 'a procession, perambulation', *gwrthdaith* 'a counter march, a retreat' und *oesdaith* 'course of life'. Von den übrigen sind: *attaith* 'a journey back, a return journey, a return' Fem. nach Evans und Spurrell, Mask. nach Pughe und Cynddelw, *cysymdaith* 'accompaniment, a journey together, concomitancy' Fem. nach Evans und Spurrell, Mask. nach Pughe und Cynddelw, *gosymdaith* 'provisions, victuals, maintenance' Fem. nach Spurrell, Mask. nach Pughe und Cynddelw, *machdaith* 'a course of security', 'a dam, an embankment' Fem. nach Spurrell und Pughe, Mask. nach Cynddelw, *mordaith* 'voyage' Fem. nach Spurrell und Pughe, Mask. nach Cynddelw, *morymdaith* 'a voyage or travel by sea' Fem. nach Spurrell und Cynddelw, Mask. nach Pughe, *ymdaith* 'a journey' Fem. nach Spurrell, Mask. nach Pughe und Cynddelw. Auſserdem begegnen noch einige wenige, deren Genus nicht zu konstatieren ist, da sie sich bei den Lexikographen nur zur Umschreibung des Sinnes einer oder der andern Schwesterbildung dieser Gruppe gebraucht finden und demnach überhaupt momentanem Grammatikerbedürfnis ihr vielleicht nur ephemeres Dasein zu verdanken scheinen, *cydgordaith* bei Iolo Morganwg und Cynddelw und *cylchymdaith* bei Pughe, diese beiden als Erklärung von *gorymdaith, amgylchdaith* bei Pughe s. v. *chwyldaith*.

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Diese Zusammenstellung lehrt uns vornehmlich zweierlei, was beachtenswert ist. Erstlich, dafs solche Komposita mit -*daith*, die durchgängig und allgemein nur als Maskulina angegeben werden, nicht vorkommen mit alleiniger Ausnahme von *cyd-ym-daith* und *cym-daith*, d. i. eben jener zwei, die die Konkretbedeutung des Nomen agentis als die bei ihnen vorwiegende ausgeprägt haben. Und zweitens: die sämtlichen übrigen erscheinen ausnahmslos mit dem femininen Geschlecht bei Spurrell, sowie auch bei Evans, soweit dieser mit seinem Wörterbuchtorso sich beteiligt zeigen kann, diese beiden Lexikographen sind aber Südwelsche, ihre Bücher in Caermarthen erschienen, während Pughe und Cynddelw in Nordwales zu Hause sind, das Werk des einen seinen Erscheinungsort in Denbigh, das des anderen ihn in Caernarfon hat. Wir dürfen daraus schliefsen, dafs die Sprache von Südwales das alte Genus femininum des Verbalabstraktums *taith* auch in den damit gebildeten Kompositen, sofern eben diese bei der Abstraktbedeutung stehen blieben, treu bewahrte. Im Nordcymrischen dagegen folgte man in weiterem Umfange dem Zuge der Sprache, den auch Zimmer, Kuhns Zeitschr. 34, 193 f. Anm. 3 hervorhebt, nur mit zum Teil wenig glücklich gewählten Beispielen beleuchtet, dafs man nach Mafsgabe einiger zu besonderer Fruchtbarkeit gelangter Abstraktbildungen, die Maskulina oder vielmehr ursprünglich Neutra von alters her waren, das ererbte feminine Geschlecht anderer Abstrakta, vereinzelt stehender sowohl wie auch gruppenweise vereinigter, mehr und mehr durch das Maskulinum verdrängt werden liefs.

Ich wende mich nun der speziellen Besprechung einer einzelnen unserer Kompositenbildungen mit cymr. *taith,* des *mor-daith* 'Seefahrt, Seereise', zu, um im Anschlufs daran ein paar andere Komposita des Keltischen, die mit ihm sowohl das Vorderglied gemeinsam haben wie auch in ihrem Schlufsbestandteil etymologische Verwandtschaft zeigen, aber zurzeit noch nicht hinreichend aufgehellt erscheinen, in die erforderliche Beleuchtung zu setzen.

Den etymologischen Sinn des *mor-daith* bringen in Gegemäfsheit seiner Herkunft aus urkelt. **mori-tiktā* die Cymren von heute selbst, nämlich Iolo Morganwg a. a. O. 46a und Cynddelw a. a. O. 225b, mit der Erklärung durch „*taith ar y mor, mordwyad*" zum Ausdruck. Ungefähr dieselbe Bedeutung

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'Reise zur See' hat dann im Cymrischen das dem *mor-daith* um einen Wortbildungsbestandteil vorauskommende *mor-ym-daith* aufzuweisen, nur dafs eben das Präfix *ym-* von *ym-daith* die Begriffsnuance des mehr ziellosen Umherfahrens hinzubringt.

Es gelingt nun, glaube ich, auch das cymr. *mor-dwy* Mask. 'Meerfahrt, Seefahrt' mit seinem besondern Anhang, *mordwyo* Vb. 'zur See fahren, segeln', *mordwyad* M. 'Seemann, Matrose', *mordwyaeth* F. 'Schiffahrt, Seewesen' und *mordwyol* Adj. 'seefahrend, zum Seewesen gehörig', so zu deuten, dafs ihm etymologischer Zusammenhang seines Schlufsgliedes sowohl wie des vorderen Kompositionsbestandteils mit *mor-daith* erwächst. Zwanglos würde *mor-dwy* über die Vorstufe eines urkelt. **mori-tēg-os* auf ein grundsprachliches neutrales Verbalabstraktum, das mit dem Primärsuffix *-es-*, *-os* gebildet war und in indogermanischer Urform **mori-teįgh-os* zu lauten hatte, sich zurückführen. Diesem **-teįgh-os* würde ein gr. **στεῖχ-ος* 'das Schreiten, Gehen' entsprechen, welches sich zu der maskulinen *o*-Bildung gr. *στοῖχ-ο-ς* so stellen würde, wie *τεῖχ-ος* N. 'Mauer' neben *τοῖχ-ο-ς* M. 'Wand, Mauer', gr. *ῥέ(ϝ)-ος* N. 'Strömung, Flufs' ai. *-srav-as-* 'Ausflufs von etwas' in Kompp. neben gr. *ῥό(ϝ)-ο-ς* m. 'Strom, Strömung, Flufs', aksl. *o-strovŭ* M. ('Strömung um sich herum habend') 'Insel', gr. *γέν-ος* lat. *gen-us* ai. *ján-aḥ* N. 'Geschlecht' neben gr. *γόν-ο-ς* M. 'Geburt, Abstammung, Nachkommenschaft' u. ähnl. mehr. Und das Nebeneinander nun von cymr. **twy, mor-dwy* und dem durch cymr. *taith, mor-daith*, air. mir. *techt* vertretenen Feminin urkelt. **tik-tā* wäre genau das gleiche, wie das von air. mir. *clú* N. 'Ruhm'[1]) gr. *κλέϝος κλέος* ai. *śráv-aḥ* N. 'Ruf, Ruhm' avest. *sravō* N. 'Wort, Spruch, Leumund' aksl. *slovo* N. 'Wort' und anderseits cymr. *clod* Fem. und Mask. 'Gerücht, guter Ruf, Preis, Ruhm', corn. *clos*, abret. *clot* aus urkelt. **klu-tā* (s. o. S. 416), auch von gr. *ῥέ(ϝ)-ος* N., ai. *-srav-as-* und lit. *sru-tà* F. 'Mistjauche' nebst acorn. abret. *frot* 'Strom' (s. o. S. 418), ai. *cét-aḥ* N. 'Erscheinung, Aussehen', 'Einsicht, Bewufstsein, Sinn, Geist' und avest. *cistā-* F. 'Erkenntnis, Einsicht' (s. o. S. 417).

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[1]) Ich lasse das cymr. *clyw* 'Gehör', das auch noch Brugmann, Grundrifs 1², 125. 2², 1, 517 und Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 128 als Vertretung des alten *-es*-Neutrums = ir. *clú*, gr. *κλέος* usw. auffassen, hier beiseite, da W. Foy in dieser Zeitschrift 3, 271 von ihm einleuchtend zeigt, dafs es nach Bedeutung und Lautform von anderer und jüngerer Wortbildung sein mufs.


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Doch wären auch noch andere Möglichkeiten, den morphologischen Charakter des Endgliedes von cymr. *mor-dwy* aufzufassen, gegeben. Anstatt ein Neutrum auf *-os* wie gr. *τεῖχ-ος* seiner Herkunft nach zu sein, könnte *-dwy* auch einem maskulinen *o*-Stamme, wie das dem *τεῖχος* verwandte Oskerwort feihúss Acc., feihúís Abl. plur. und wie got. *wig-s* aisl. *veg-r* ags. *weȝ* as. ahd. *weg* Mask. 'Weg', entstammen, oder einem neutralen Stamme, der bei Normalstufenablaut der Wurzel durch *-o-* geformt war, also dafs es von der Art des gr. *ἔργο-ν* und seines germanischen Ebenbildes ahd. as. *werk* ags. *weorc* aisl. *verk* Neutr. gewesen wäre; vgl. Brugmann Grundrifs 2², 1, 155 f.

Und noch eins wäre möglich, was vielleicht am annehmbarsten erscheinen könnte: wenn wir ein *u*-stämmiges idg. **(s)teịghu-s* Mask. zugrunde legen, eine Nominalbildung des durch ai. *ásu-ḥ* M. 'Lebensgeist, Leben', avest. *ahu-š* M. 'Dasein, Leben', ai. *bándhu-ḥ* M. 'Verwandtschaft, Verwandter', lat. *im-petu-s* M., *gradu-s* M., *specu-s* Mask. Fem. u. dgl. vertretenen Typus (Brugmann a. a. O. 180 f.), ergäbe sich ursprüngliche Identität des cymr. *(mor-)dwy* mit dem aisl. *stíg-r* ahd. *stîg* Mask. 'Steig, Pfad, Weg', ahd. *ûf-stîc* 'ascensus', *nidar-stîc* 'descensus', ags. *stíȝ* Fem. 'Pfad', denn dies germanische Nomen dürfte der *u*-Deklination angehört haben nach Ausweis des altnordischen Acc. plur. auf *-o, -u* in eddischem *vá-stígo* und *villi-stígu* (vgl. Noreen Altisl. u. altnorw. Gramm.³ § 349, 4 s. 219. § 385 s. 240, Gering, Vollst. Wörterb. zu d. Liedern der Edda 979. 1082. 1147). Mit solcher Annahme eines germ. **stīȝu-z* würde sich auch am einfachsten die Genusdifferenz des maskulinen aisl. *stíg-r* aschwed. *stīgh-er* ahd. *stîg* mhd. *stîc* und des femininen ags. *stíȝ* erklären, indem bei derartigen nominalen *u*-Bildungen das Schwanken des Genus augenscheinlich ein altes ist, nach Fällen wie lat. *specu-s* Mask. und Fem., *metu-s* Mask. und im alten Latein auch Fem., ai. *íṣu-ḥ* Mask. und Fem. 'Pfeil' avest. *išu-š* Mask., ai. *párśu-ḥ* Fem. und avest. *pərəsu-š* Mask. 'Rippe', ai. *síndhu-ḥ* Mask. und Fem. 'Strom, Indus, Indusgebiet' avest. *hindu-š* apers. *hiⁿdu-š* Mask. 'Indien' u. ähnl. mehr zu schliefsen.

Unser cymr. *mor-dwy* kommt aber aufser in dem Sinne von 'Seefahrt' noch in einer wesentlich davon abweichenden Bedeutung vor: Davies, Dict. s. v. gibt es nur in dieser letzteren, nämlich als „aestus maris, fremitus maris" in dem Beleg aus Madog ap Gronw Gethin *yn llawn o fordwy a llif* 'voller Meeres-

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brandung und Überschwemmung', und nach Owen Pughe, Dict. 2[3], 343 a ist es zwar in erster Linie so v. a. „a sea course", daneben aber auch „the raging of the sea, a storm at sea", dies in dem dort aus Morgans Bibel Ps. 46, 3 beigebrachten Zitat *pe cynnhyrfe y mynyddoedd gan ei fordwy ef* „though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof". Ich glaube, wir kommen mit dieser anderen Bedeutung des *mor-dwy* zurecht, wenn wir an den Sinn der Wurzel von *-dwy*, *taith* und ir. *techt*, *tiagaim* denken, den sie in unserem *steigen* allgemeingermanisch entwickelt hat und der ihr bei seiner Prägnanz nicht als der letzte von Urzeiten her innegewohnt haben wird: *mor-dwy* ist hier nicht 'das Gehen des Schiffers auf oder in See', sondern 'das Meeres*steigen*, scansio maris', wobei die Brandung des Meeres wohl unter dem Gesichtspunkt vorgestellt sein mag, dafs bei eintretender Flut die Wogen an das Ufer in aufwärts gehender Bewegung herankommen. Man findet im Griechischen eine Reminiszenz daran, dafs *στείχειν* „eigtl. steigen, von unten nach oben gehen" bedeutete, in seinem Gebrauch „von der Sonne" Od. *λ* 17 *οὐϑ' ὁπότ' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα*, d. i. nach Vofs „nicht wenn empor er [*ἠέλιος*] steiget zur Bahn des sternigen Himmels", nach W. Jordan „weder wenn sie den Pfad zum sternigen Himmel emporsteigt", vgl. Pape-Sengebusch, Griech.-deutsch. Handwörterb. 2[3], 933 b; so mag auch im Litauischen gelegentlich diese alte Bedeutung noch hervortreten, wenn hier *staigìnis* 'steil' „z. B. von einer Treppe" gesagt wird (Kurschat, Litt.-deutsch. Wörterb. 432 a), sich von seinem Sippenzubehör lit. *staigà* 'plötzlich', *staigau-s* 'ich eile', lett. *staigāt* 'wandeln' begrifflich weiter entfernend, als im Germanischen das Adjektiv ahd. *steigal* mhd. *steigel* spätmhd. nhd. *steil*, ags. *stǽȝel* 'acclivis, abruptus' von dem Verbum ahd. *stîgan* ags. *stîȝan*, und das lit. *staigù-s* Adj. 'heftig, schnell aufbrausend' würde immerhin mit dem cymr. *mor-dwy* als „aestus maris" auch die Bedeutungsschattierung der jähen Aufwärtsbewegung teilen.

Es liegt an und für sich nahe, unsere cymr. *mor-dwy* und *mor-dwyad*, *mordwyo* mit mbret. *mordeiff*, nbret. *mordei* und *merdei*, im Dialekt von Vannes *merdeeiñ* 'naviguer', mbret. *merdeat* nbret. *merdead* und *mordead* 'marin, navigateur' zusammenzubringen. Das tun Davies, Dict. s. v. *mordwyo* und V. Henry, Lex. étym. du breton mod. 199, indem der letztere Gelehrte zur etymologischen Erklärung sagt, dafs „le premier terme" das Nomen *mor* 'Meer,

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See' sei, während „le second est peut-être une des formes originaires de *doñt* ['venir']"; in betreff der bretonischen Formen vergleiche man auch Ernault, Gloss. moyen-bret. 425. Mir scheint aber, dafs man darauf verzichten mufs, die Schlufsglieder unter einen Hut zu bringen, zwischen mbret. *-deiff, -deat* und cymr. *-duy, -dwyad* dürfte es kaum eine Brücke, um sie lautlich und formal miteinander zu vermitteln, geben.

Dahingegen könnte Henry für mbret. *-deiff, -deat* wohl den richtigen Weg ihrer Deutung gewiesen haben, indem er die „formes originaires" des Verbums bret. *doñt* 'kommen' heranzog, dessen etymologische Verhältnisse von ihm S. 104 dargestellt werden mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Zugehörigkeit der keltischen Formen wie mbret. *deu-aff* 'ich komme' = cymr. *deu-af* und mir. *taig* Imper. 'komm' zu lat. *ago* gr. *ἄγω* ai. *ájati* 'agit' usw. (vgl. auch Zeufs-Ebel S. 579 ff., Nettlau, Revue celt. 9, 73 und Ernault, Revue celt. 11, 459. Gloss. moyen-bret. 153. 192). Es ist aus dem Irischen bekannt, dafs und wie hier das Präverbium *to-* 'zu, hinzu', wo es in die Stellung vor nachfolgendem Vokal gerät, meist selbst seines Vokals verlustig und zu *t-* wird, des näheren legt die Erscheinung Thurneysen, Revue celt. 6, 149 ff. dar. Wenn man an ihr dem Brittischen Anteil geben darf, bezw. sie für gemein- und urkeltisch zu halten hat, so ist bei Zusammenfügung des *to-* mit Wortbildungen aus der Wurzel *aĝ-* 'agere' auch britt. **t-ag-* zu erwarten, wie es in mir. *t-aig* 2. Sing. und *t-agid* 2. Plur. imper. 'komm, kommt her' und in dem Nomen verbale mir. *t-áin* 'das Treiben, Forttreiben, Raub' aus **t(o)-ag-ni-s* vorliegt (Thurneysen Keltorom. 32. 34). Aus einem voraussetzbaren Substrat urkelt. **t(o)-ag-ī-mn̥* kann dann aber regelrecht das mbret. **teiff*, das in *mor-deiff* 'naviguer' enthalten ist, gekommen sein [1]); ingleichen aus einem Nomen agentis

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[1]) Den Suffixansatz in obiger Heischeform urkelt. **t(o)-ag-ī-mn̥* mache ich, indem ich der von Ernault in dieser Zeitschrift 2, 389 einleuchtender Weise vorgeschlagenen Erklärung folge, wonach die brittische Infinitivbildung auf abret. *-im*, mbret. *-if -iff*, nbret. und cymr. *-i*, z. B. in abret. *i hepcorim* gl. 'cassum', eigentlich 'en privation de', cymr. *hebgori* 'beiseite setzen, sparen, erlassen', mbret. *digueriff* nbret. léon. *digeri* 'öffnen': ir. *cuirim* 'ich setze, stelle, lege, schicke', air. *cuirid, to-chuiriur* 'ich ziehe herzu, lade ein', auf den Typus der Wortformation lateinischer und griechischer Nomina actionis wie *lēnī-men*, *μῆνῑ-μα* zurückzuführen ist; näheres darüber von mir an anderem Orte.


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**t(o)-ag̯ato-s* das zweite das Kompositum mbret. *mer-deat*, nbret. *merdead mordead* 'Seemann, Matrose' bildende Wortglied.

Ich werde in dieser Auffassung der in Rede stehenden bretonischen Wortbildungen dadurch bestärkt, dafs auf demselben Wege auch auf eine isoliert stehende cymrische Verbalform Licht fällt: *ym-dā* 3. Sing. praes.-fut. 'zieht umher, reist', worüber Owen Pughe, Dict. 2[3], 584ab sich ausspricht, indem er ihren Beleg aus Cato Cymraeg *os ymdā gwraig ei hunan* „if a woman perambulates by herself" gibt und vermeint, es liege darin wahrscheinlich die zu dem Verbalnomen *ym-daith* 'Reise, das Reisen' gehörige alte 3. Sing. fut. vor. Das ist nun, da dies *ym-daith* zweifellos = ir. *im-thecht* ist (s. o. S. 421 f.), vor dem Richterstuhl der Lautgesetzlichkeit ebenso unstatthaft, wie die Verknüpfung der Schlufsglieder von mbret. *mor-deiff* und cymr. *mor-daith* und *mor-dwy* sich unangängig erweist. Aber augenscheinlich ist zunächst das *-ā* dieses cymr. *ym-d-ā* mit *ā* 'er geht', der 3. Sing. zu *āf* 'ich gehe' aus **agami*, identisch, das ganze Gebilde *ym-d-ā* die Entwicklung aus einem urkelt. **embi-t(o)-aget*, es entspräche ihm ein bret. **em-d-ā* und dies könnte dem Verbalsystem eines wie mbret. *mor-deiff* gebildeten **em-deiff* 'wandernd sich umhertreiben' einzugliedern sein.

Was noch das Verhältnis der im Vorderglied verschieden vokalisierten mbret. *mordeiff* nbret. *mordei*, nbret. *mordead* einer- und nbret. *merdei*, mbret. *merdeat* nbret. *merdead* anderseits anbetrifft, so werden die letzteren Formen in dem *mer-* lautgesetzliche durch das *ei* der Nachsilbe bewirkte *i*-Umlautung haben, die Formen mit *mor-*, *mordeiff* usw., beruhen dann auf etymologischer Wiederauffrischung des Vordergliedes. Auch das mcymr. *ei* in der historischen Ultima, worauf ncymr. *ai* beruht, ruft solche „infectio" eines *o*, wie auch eines *a*, in der Paenultima hervor, eines *a* z. B. in der 1. und 2. Sing. praet. *cefais*, *cefaist* zu *cafodd* 3. Sing., *cerais, ceraist* zu *caru* 'lieben', in dem Plural *defaid* mcymr. *deueit* 'Schaf' zu *dafad*, eines *o* in *celain* mcymr. *celein* 'Leiche' = air. *colinn* mir. *colainn* 'Körper, Fleisch' (vgl. E. Zupitza, Kuhns Ztschr. 35, 255 und oben S. 403); so ist denn wohl auch das cymr. *mor-daith* nicht als strikt lautgesetzlich in dem Vokalismus seiner ersten Silbe zu betrachten, es wäre statt seiner etwa ein **myr-daith* zu erwarten, wofern es richtig ist, dafs man in mcymr. *kaer vyrddin* 'Caermarthen' das *Myrddin* = gall. *Moridūnum* setzt (Zeufs-Ebel, Gramm. 91).

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Auf ein interessantes altgallisches Wort, dem ich zum Schlufs engen Anschlufs an cymr. *mor-daith* und *mor-dwy* geben zu sollen glaube, das sich aber bisher, soviel ich weifs, der Beachtung der Keltologen und Indogermanisten noch fast ganz entzogen hat, macht mich mein Kollege von Domaszewski aufmerksam.

Eine in Köln gefundene und zuerst in den Bonner Jahrbüchern 92 (1892) S. 261 f. von M. Ihm, jetzt auch in dem durch von Domaszewski herausgegebenen 13. Bande des CIL. sub tit. 8164 a veröffentlichte Inschrift lautet: *Apollini C. Aurelius Cl(audius) Verus negotiator Britannicianus moritex d(ono) d(edit) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).* Man läfst die Inschrift „etwa dem zweiten Jahrhundert angehören". Als einen *negotiator Britannicianus* bezeichnet sich der Weihende, weil er nach Britannien Handel treibt, sowie auf einer anderen Inschrift desselben 13. Bandes des CIL. Tit. 8793 (= Orelli Inscr. 2029, Brambach Corp. inscr. Rhen. 43, Wilmanns Exempla inscr. Lat. 2570), deren Fundort Domburg in Zeeland, ein alter Haupthafenplatz für den Handelsverkehr mit Britannien, ist, jemand als *negotiator cretarius Britannicianus*, dieser seinen Handelsartikel, die jenseits des Kanals geholte Kreide, also mitnennend, sich vorstellt (vgl. Ihm a. a. O. 262). Mit dem *moritex* jener ersteren Inschrift wufste Ihm noch nichts anderes anzufangen, als dafs er „ein keltisches Ethnikum" darin suchen zu dürfen glaubte, was dann auch Holder, Alt-celt. Sprachsch. 2, 636 sich aneignete, sowie nach d'Arbois de Jubainville, Revue celt. 15, 243 andere ein „cognomen" darin fanden. Dagegen bemerkt der letzte Herausgeber von Domaszewsky zu dem unverständlichen Wort: „officium aliquid esse debet", und auf eine hervorragendere amtliche Stellung des Mannes, der sich so bezeichnet, dürfte ja wohl die Erwähnung, dafs ihm von Magistratswegen, *decurionum decreto*, die Aufstellung seines Weihgeschenks für den Galliergott Apollo auf Gemeindeboden gestattet worden ist, hindeuten.

Es wird *mori-tēx*, mit Länge des Vokals der letzten Silbe, zu lesen sein. Dann bezeichnet sich der Britannienfahrer C. Aurelius Verus damit einfach als 'Meerfahrer'. Gall. *-tēx*, das letztlich auf ein uridg. **-tei̯gh-s* mit der Nomen-agentis-Bedeutung 'gehend, Fahrer', *ὁ στείχων*, got. *sa steigands*, zurückginge, hätte den gleichen Wurzelvokalismus wie im Keltischen das cymr. *mor-dwy* 'Seefahrt' und das irische Verbum *tiagaim* 'ich schreite,

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gehe', *for-tiag* 'ich helfe'; wir hätten ein neues Beispiel für das aus dem alten *i*-Diphthong idg. *ei̯* gemeinkeltisch entwickelte und im Altgallischen neben hier zum Teil erhaltenem *ei* vorliegende *ē*, in *Rēnus* 'Rhein': altir. *cen Rian n-* 'sine Rheno', mir. *rian* 'Meer', in *rēda* (daneben *raeda*, vgl. Solmsen Unters. z. griech. Laut- u. Verslehre 279 Fuſsn.) 'curriculi genus' Venant. Fortun. und *epo-rēdiae* 'boni equorum domitores' Plin.: mir. *riad* 'das Fahren, Reiten', air. *dé-riad* 'bigae', mir. *réid* 'befahrbar, frei, glatt, eben', cymr. *rhwydd* 'prosper, expeditus, minime impeditus', *eb-rwydd* ('roſsschnell') 'eilfertig, schnell, rasch, geschwind', *go-rwydd* 'equus, caballus', in gall. *Dēvo-gnāta* neben *Δειουονα*: air. *dia* 'Gott', osk. deívaí 'divae', lit. *deivē* 'Gespenst' u. dergl.

Über „adjektivische Wurzelnomina als hintere Kompositionsglieder", eine besonders in älterer Zeit unseres Sprachstammes produktiv gewesene Bildungskategorie, unter die sich nun auch das gall. *mori-tēx* einreiht, handelt zuletzt eingehender Brugmann Grundriſs 2², 1, 142 ff. Mit Fällen wie gr. *κατῶ-βλεψ* 'niederschauend', *βοό-κλεψ* 'Rinderdieb', *βου-πλήξ* 'Rinderstachel', ai. *deva-yáj-* 'die Götter verehrend' = avest. *daēva-yaz-* 'die Dämonen anbetend' teilt gall. *mori-tēx* 'Seefahrer' den Ablaut der normalstufigen Wurzel, während manche andere Wortbildungen dieser Art, z. B. lat. *jūdex* ('Rechtweiser') aus **jouz-dic-* und osk. med-díss *med-dis* 'judex', gr. *χέρ-νιψ* 'Handwaschwasser', ai. *viśva-víd-* 'alles kennend' mit gr. *νῆ-ις, -ιδ-ος* 'unwissend' und urkelt. **dru-u̯id-* 'hochweise' in gall. *Druides*, air. *drui* 'Druide' (vgl. Osthoff, Etym. parerga 1, 133 f. nebst zit. Litt.), von *u*-Wurzeln lat. *re-dux* und *prō-dux*, gr. *πρός-φυξ* und *πρό-φυξ*, *ψευσί-στυξ* u. a., dem Wurzelnomen in dieser Stellung den Schwundstufenablaut geben. Nach der stammabstufenden Flexion des auch hierher gehörigen ai. ved. *vr̥tra-hā́* 'den Vr̥tra schlagend', Acc. *-hán̩-am*, Dual. Nom.-Acc. *-hán̩-ā*: *vr̥tra-ghn-áḥ* Gen.-Abl., *-ghn-é* Dat., *-ghn-ā́* Instr. sing., *vr̥tra-há-bhiḥ* Instr. plur. darf vermutet werden, daſs unser *mori-tēx* ursprünglich einmal den Gen. sing. **mori-tig-os*, diesen dann im Einklang mit gr. *χέρ-νιβ-ος*, lat. *jū-dic-is*, ai. *viśva-víd-aḥ*, gebildet habe oder habe bilden können. Neben dem Nomen agentis idg. **dik̂-* 'weisend, zeigend', das in lat. *jūdex, jū-dic-is* und in osk. med-díss das zweite Kompositionsglied abgibt, steht das gleiche Wurzelnomengebilde als selbständiges Wort und die Rolle eines femininen Verbalabstrakts

spielend in ai. *diś-* 'Richtung, Himmelsgegend' und in dem Überrest der Flexion eines lat. **dix*, den der Terminus technicus der Gerichtsformel *dic-is causā* 'um der Form wegen, zum Schein' darbietet (Brugmann, Grundriſs 2², 1, 137, Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 175), und so hätte das gall. *mori-tēx* den Doppelgänger seines Schluſsgliedes mit demselben Unterschied der begrifflichen Funktion in gr. *στίξ Fem. 'Reihe, Schlachtreihe', Gen. sing. στιχ-ός, Plur. στίχ-ες.

Da der C. Aurelius Verus der Kölner Inschrift schon mit *negotiator Britannicianus* seinen Beruf angibt, könnte es den Eindruck einer Art Tautologie machen, wenn er dem noch das Wort *moritēx* in dem Sinne, welchen wir ihm geben, hinzufügt. Da mag denn aber die von Domaszewskische Vermutung, daſs es sich bei diesem Worte um einen Amtstitel, ein „officium", handle, aushelfen. Unser Britanniensegler dürfte der *moritēx* κατ' ἐξοχήν, d. i. etwa der amtliche Vorstand der Kauffahrer- oder Handelsschiffergilde im alten Köln, gewesen sein. In dem der Gottheit des gallischen Apollo geweihten Kultusheiligtum, das unmittelbar am Hafen gelegen sein mochte, könnte, wie unsere Phantasie sich ausmalen darf, der Ort gewesen sein, wo dem in bevorrechteter sozialer Stellung befindlichen Chef der Gilde, dem Haupt- oder Ober-*moritēx*, sein Weihgeschenk anzubringen durch Zustimmung der Ratsherren, *decurionum decreto*, verstattet war. Ich verweise auf die Analogie des Silvanusheiligtums der Kaufleute in Aquileja nach von Domaszewski Philologus 61, 13.

Heidelberg. H. Osthoff.

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IRISCHE ETYMOLOGIEN.

1. Ir. **clag-*, deutsch *laichen*.

Man nimmt gewöhnlich an, dafs mhd. *leichen* 'laichen' und mhd. *leichen* 'aufspringen'[1], vgl. got. *laikan* 'springen, hüpfen', aisl. *leika* 'spielen', ae. *lācan* 'springen, fliegen, schwimmen', im Grunde identisch sind. Vorsichtig sagt Kluge, Etym. Wb.[6] 235, dieser Zusammenhang sei denkbar, während Falk-Torp s. v. *Leg* II sich gewisser äufsern: '*Leg* bruges ogsaa om fiskenes forplantningsakt, idet denne ofte foregaar underlegende tilnærmelser mellem kjønnene'. Diese Erklärung, ein Begattungsspiel sei eigentlich gemeint, klingt ein wenig ad hoc gemacht. Allerdings wandern einige Fische zur Laichzeit und der Lachs z. B. schnellt sich dabei oft meterhoch empor, aber nur um die Wasserfälle zu überwinden. Unter 'laichen' versteht man sonst keine derartige Bewegung, sondern das Absetzen der Eier oder des Rogens von Seiten des weiblichen Fisches (des Rogeners), worauf das Männchen (der Milchner) den Samen, die Milch[2]) darüber giefst. Auf diesen Prozefs der Abscheidung beziehen sich Ausdrücke wie nhd. dial. *schot(t)*, holl. *schot* 'ova piscium' (: *schütten*, vgl. ne. *to shed the spawn*), ne. *spawn*[3]) 'Laich' (: afrz. *espandre* 'expandere'), dän.-norw. *rogn-kjekse* 'Cyclopterus lumpus' (: dän. *kakse* 'cacare', vgl. Falk-Torp 2, 115), nir. *sceáthaire* 'spawn'

[1]) *leich* 'versus' ist schon ahd., vgl. z. b. ahd. Gll. 2, 77, 7 Uersibus *léichen*.

[2]) Vgl. Falk-Torp s. *Melk, Melke, Milt.* In der Bedeutung 'Fischsame' ist *milch* vielleicht eine Übersetzung des Lat. *lactes*, doch s. lit. *pë́nai* ds.

[3]) Umgekehrt stammen nfrz. *rogue* 'Rogen' und *frai* (ital. *fregolo*, span. *freza*) 'Laich' aus dem Germ.

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(: *scéithim* 'I vomit, spew, eject, spawn, put forth'), weiterhin auch gr. *σπέρμα* (: *σπείρω*) u. a. Damit ist wenigstens in Bezug auf die Bedeutung der Boden geebnet für die Annahme, dafs mhd. *leichen* 'laichen' wurzelverwandt sei mit ir. **clag-* in nir. *claghaire* 'a fish after shedding its spawn', *iasc ar chlágh* 'fish at spawning'[1] (Dinneen). Solange freilich die Vorgeschichte[2] des westgerm. Wortes (vgl. auf ndd. Sprachgebiete noch *leekel-fisch* 'Gadus lota') nicht genau bekannt ist, darf diese Vermutung wegen der Vokaldifferenz nur als hypothetisch gelten: eine monophthongische Form[3] könnte indessen aus Mangel an etymol. Zusammenhang erst an *leichen* 'springen' angeglichen sein. Zu gewagt ist es wol, idg. **kəreknó* 'Rogen, Froschlaich' = ahd. *hrogan, rogo*,[4] vgl. lit. *kurklė̃* plur. *kurkulaĩ* russ. *krjakŭ* 'Froschlaich' (Zupitza Gutt. 126; Trautmann Germ. Lautgesetze 64)[5] als vollere Anlautsdublette mit idg. **reknó* 'Regen' = deutsch *regen* zu verbinden.[6]

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[1]) Vgl. deutsch dial. *kuller-fisch* 'ein Fisch, der laicht'. Ich beziehe das Wort auf ahd. *kiulla* 'Tasche' (vgl. griech. *πήρα* 'Ränzel' : *πηρίν*, *πηρίς* 'Samenbeutel, Hodensack'), ähnlich mnl. *kuite* 'Rogen' : ae. *codd* 'Hodensack', nir. *tiachán* 'bag; testicle', dän. *pung* u. a.; ndd. *poggen-kuller* 'Froschlaich' = nir. *maghar* 'fish fry, spawn' : *magairle* 'testicles, scrotum'. Nir. *glóthach* 'animal slime; frog spawn' gehört zu idg. **glei-*, *gloi-* 'klebrig sein' (vgl. nir. *salán* 'sprat, fry' : *sal* 'saliva'; poln. *klěj* 'Leim; Fischlaich' Gutt. 113; hierher russ. *klek* 'Laich'), ist aber als 'glanders' mit **gleu* 'ballen' contaminiert, vgl. nir. *fras* (Anm. 6), mlat. *polygranum*, gr. *γελγίς* 'Knoblauchkern' : me. *kelkes* 'Rogen' Gutt. 210; ähnliches bei Lidén ai. Studien 56 f. 82 f. lett. *ūla* 'Kiesel; Ei' wie russ. *galka* 'Kiesel; Ei'; mnd. *klōt* 'Klofs; Hode', adän. *knap* 'Klumpen; Testikel' : ne. *knap* 'fjeldtop, blomsterknop' = ai. *aṇḍá* 'Ei; Hode; Kuppel'.

[2]) Sicherlich hat Kluge a. a. O. Recht, wenn er glaubt, dafs es sich um ein uraltes Wort handele.

[3]) Vielleicht geben Pflanzennamen wie *hechtlache*, *hechtlock* 'Sam-, Laichkraut, Potamogeton' einen Anhalt.

[4]) Formal interessant sind ndd. *poggen-raff* 'Froschlaich' : me. Wr.-W. 591, 16 Lactes, *roof of fyshe, or mylke of fyshe.*

[5]) Von Kluge[6] s. *Rogen* angezogenes nur einmal belegtes ae. *hrog* ist = *hrot* 'Rotz'.

[6]) Vgl. nir. *fras* 'a shower, hail; small shot, seed (vgl. holl. *zaad van visschen*); any small, round grain' : ai. *vṛ'ṣaṇa-s* 'Hode' usw. (Walde s. *verrēs*). — Zupitza hat B. B. 25, 100 ir. *iuchar* 'Laich' im Slavischen wiedergefunden. Ich gebe seiner Auffassung den Vorzug vor Vendryes' de voc. hib. 148 (auf Stokes zurückgehender) Annahme der Entlehnung aus lat. *iecur*, trotz der von Walde s. *ōvum* beigebrachten Bedeutungsparallele.

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2. Ir. *fiothal*, ahd. *wīdillo*.

Ahd. *uuīthillo*, *wīdilo*, mhd. *wīdil* 'androginus, mollis, effeminatus' (vgl. ahd. Gll. 2, 23, 1; 3, 435, 40. 697, 49; 4, 130, 33. 196, 1. 33, 22. 79, 23. 151, 30) verbinde ich mit ir. *fiothal* 'a dwarf, anything stunted; a fairy, hag, a goblin'. Die Laute fügen sich und bezüglich der Bedeutung vergleiche man noch folgende Belege, aus denen erhellt, dafs man dem Hermaphrodit dämonischen und geisthaften Charakter beischrieb: ae. *bǣddel*[1]) 'Hermaphrodit' (dazu *bǣdling* 'mollis, effeminatus') wird, wie folgt, interpretiert: Wr.-W. 161, 12 Hermafroditus *wæpenwifestre*, uel *scritta*, uel *bæddel*. Zu dem letztgenannten ae. *scritta* vgl. me. Wr.-W. 695, 2 Hic et hec armifraudita, *a skratt*; 793, 31 Hec armifodrita, Ance *a scrate*; ahd. Gll. 2, 412, 57 (Laruas) *skrez*, 3, 220, 32 Larue *screiz*, 3, 244, 22 Laruę ... *screzza*, *scrat(t)o*, *screzzol*,[2]) ferner 2, 17, 43. 469, 4. 518, 35. 571, 61. 23, 59.[3]) Vgl. die Wiedergabe von 'larva' durch *dalamasca*, *thalamascha*, *schemi*, *schem* ib. 2, 17, 43. 469, 4. 4, 74, 6. 7. 2, 23, 61. 4, 148, 31. 33.

3. Zu deutsch *zwerg*, gr. *σέρφος*, ir. *dergnat*.

Kluge Etym. Wb.[6] 441 deutet *zwerg* als 'Trugbild': ihm schliefsen sich Falk-Torp s. v. *Dverg* an (germ. **dwerga-*, **durga-* : **drug-* 'trügen'),[4]) indem sie das Grundwort in skr. *dhvάras* n. 'dämonisches Wesen' wieder erkennen wollen. Noreen Urgerm. Ltl. 224 verknüpft unser Wort zunächst mit griech. *σέρφος* 'ein Insekt' (idg. **dhu̯ergu̯hos*), indem er für aisl. *duergr* aufser der Bed. 'Zwerg' auch die dial. 'Spinne' beibringt. Diese Gleichung

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[1]) Dazu vgl. in den Glossae Salomonis 4, 70, 29 Hermafrodita *pad* i 72c k 29d *zviter* g 139c. Ich stelle es mit as. *under-badōn* 'erschrecken' zu ir. *fo-bothaim* (Stokes 176). Ein anderes irisches Wort für 'a hermaphrodite, an effeminate person' ist *cadar* : *cadairne* scrotum' = *bodach* 'clown' : *bod* 'penis' (aber *baothlach* 'clown' : urkelt. **baisso-* 'Lust, Laune' [Stokes 160]?).

[2]) Vgl. in der Abltg. oben *wīdel* und ae. *bǣddel*.

[3]) Vgl. ferner ib. 3, 273. 43 Fauni. siluestres homines *waltscraze* b 10a 2 .i. *walt screchel* (: ahd. *screcco* 'salio' = gr. *σκίρτος* 'Kobold, Satyr' : *σκιρτάω* 'hüpfe') b 10a 2. Über die Bedeutungszusammenhänge möchte ich anderen Ortes noch genaueres beibringen. Vgl. jetzt Vf. Zsfd. Wf. 9, 315 f. (K.-N.).

[4]) Vgl. urkelt. **draugo-* 'Gespenst' (Stokes 155); av. *druxš* 'Lügendämon'.

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wird von Zupitza B. B. 25, 100 durch ir. *dergnat* 'Floh'[1]) vermehrt. Während für die Auffassung 'täuschendes Wesen' etwa ir. *droich*[2]) f. 'Zwerg' : *droch* 'schlimm, böse' genannt werden kann, möchte ich noch eine für Noreen-Zupitza sprechende Bedeutungsparallele geltend machen: walis. *cor* 'a point; a dwarf; a spider' (mittelbar gehört hierher auch ne. *shrimp* 'Meerspinne, Krabbe; Knirps, Wicht').[3])

4. Ir. *scairt*, ae. *hreþer*.

Ir. *scairt, scairte,* plur. *scairteacha, scairt* f. 'the caul of a beast; the midriff; fig. the heart, the entrails' verbinde ich als urverwandt mit ae. *hreþer* m. 'breast, womb, heart; fig. mind' (auch in *mid-hriþer* 'omentum, disseptum', nndd. *midder* 'Milchfleisch, Schweser' mit haplologischer Kürzung für **mid-(h)rider*), got. *haírþra* plur. n. 'Eingeweide' (vgl. ae. *herðbylig* 'uiscus, scrotum' : ahd. Gll. 2, 258, 29; s. I. A. 15, 107; B. B. 30, 329; Walde s. *crassus, corium, cortex*), aisl. *hreðjar* 'Hodensack', sämtlich zu idg. *(*s*)*qer-t-* 'ausscheiden, abtrennen' gehörig. Vgl. auch ir. *cairt* f. 'the bark of a tree' : lat. *cortex, scortum* und zum Formalen noch ir. *scailt* 'Spalte' : ahd. *skellen*, nhd. *zerschellen*.

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[1]) Dinneen's *deargán* 'a red insect' erst nachträglich wie lit. *żélwė* ,Schildkröte' : *żelwas* 'grün' (B. B. 25, 103).

[2]) Nach Macbain 129 verwandt mit d. *zwerg*, doch s. Gutt. 177 f., Falk-T. s. *Draug*.

[3]) Vgl. schw. *dvergsnät* 'Spinnengewebe' (in der dän. Ballade 'Eline von Villenskov' ist der graue Troll nicht gröfser als eine Ameise), weiter ae. *pūca* 'Kobold' : schw. *skråpuk* 'Larve, Gespenst, Raupe' (nach F.-T. s. *Puge*: deutsch *buckel, puckel*, vgl. ir. *cruiteachán* 'dwarf; hunchback'); me. *bugge*, ne. *bug* 'Gespenst, Käfer, Wanze, Schleimklumpen'; norw. dial. *bobbe* 'Kobold', mnl. *bobbyn* 'Troll, Faun', : schw. *bobba* 'Insekt, Finne, Raupe, Stinkkäfer' : dän. *bobbe* 'Blase', me. *bobbe* 'Geschwulst, Mark; Insekt', lit. *kaũgas* 'Zwerg; Beule' (vgl. Trautmann 24 n.); ne. *cob* 'Kern, Stein (rundlicher Körper); Spinne'; nir. *tarpán* 'cluster, clod; crab' (?); so auch gr. *ῥώξ ῥάξ* 'Weinbeere' identisch mit *ῥώξ* 'eine Spinnenart' (kaum zu lat. *vergo*, wie Walde s. v. will). Es ist sehr schwierig zu sagen, welche von den Bedeutungen 'Aufgeschwollenes, Schreckliches, Gespenst, Zwerg, Insekt' hier jedesmal (abgesehen von den Fällen, wo 'einschrumpfen' oder 'krümmen' zu Grunde liegt) die ursprüngliche ist. Im Hinblick auf ir. *dergnat*, gr. *σέρφος* möchte man aber glauben, dafs auch *zwerg* primär eine Raumanschauung ausdrückt. — Vgl. auch noch mit ne. *crab* 'Krabbe; kleiner wilder Apfel' nir. *scráidín* m. 'a diminutive little fellow; a small unripe apple etc.' (: an. *skratti* 'Schrat', s. Macbain s. *sgraideag*).

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5. Ir. *ceo*, deutsch *heiser*.

Zupitza vermifst in den Gutt. 52 sichere aufsergerm. Anknüpfungen für ahd. *heisi*, ae. *hās* 'heiser'. Falk-Torp 1, 320 verbinden germ. **hairsa-* 'heiser' mit **hai-* 'warm sein' (ahd. *heiz* 'heifs' usw.) und fassen heiser als 'mit vertrockneter, ausgedörrter Kehle'. Das Bezeichnungen visueller Eindrücke sehr häufig auch für solche akustischer Art gelten, ist bekannt; vgl. unter zahlreichen Beispielen lat. *surdus* 'taub', eig. 'dunkel', ir. *cluas-daille* 'Taubheit' (Ohren-blindheit), nhd. *verschleierte, dunkle, helle Stimme.* Nun verzeichnet Dinneen in seinem kleinen vortrefflichen Wb. 134 f. für gewisse Ableitungen des ir. *ceo* 'Nebel'[1]) folgende Bedeutungen: *ceochán* m. 'hoarseness; a little mist', *ceódhach* 'dim, cloudy, misty, dark, dull; hoarse', *ciach* m. 'oppression; stifling cold (the disease); hoarseness; asthma; mist; grief, sorrow, anxiety', *ciachánuidhe* 'a person suffering from chronic hoarseness; one who speaks in a hoarse, indistinct voice'. Damit ist vielleicht ein Fingerzeig gegeben, deutsch *heiser* erst mittelbar an idg. **qei(d/t)* 'Hitze' (vgl. Walde s. *caelum*),[2]) unmittelbar aber an das durch air. *ceó* 'Nebel' (urkelt. *kjāvak-s* Stokes 96), got. *hiwi*, ae. *heow, hīw* 'Gestalt, Aussehn usw.', ferner ae. *hǣwen* 'blau', lit. *szývas* 'weifs, grau', apreufs. *siwan* 'grau', ai. *çyâvá-* 'schwarzbraun', weiterhin ir. *cíar* 'dunkel', an. *hárr* 'grauhaarig', ae. *hār* 'grau' usw. repräsentierte idg. **qei-* 'scheinen, strahlen' (vgl. Walde s. *caerimōnia*, Falk-Torp s. *Graahærdet, Hy*), germ. **haira-* 'weifsgrau' anzugliedern, sodafs z. B. ne. *hoarse* 'heiser' und *hoar* 'weifs-(grau)' sich nicht nur äufserlich nahe ständen.[3])

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[1]) Die Grundbed. 'grau' schimmert durch in *ceo-mhilteach* m. 'Mehltau'.

[2]) Dieses **qeid/t* ist nach Walde zu trennen von **(s)qait-* **(s)qaid-* 'hell, klar' (in lat. *caelum*, nhd. *heiter, -heit* usw.), einer Erweiterung von **sqēi-* 'leuchten'.

[3]) Nichts zu tun hat mit unserem Worte nir. *cársán* 'heiser'. — Die meisten Ausdrücke für 'heiser' sind schallmalend, vgl. z. B. lat. *ravus*, gr. *κέρχω* 'bin heiser' (vgl. Stokes 91), nir. *sluacht, slócht* m. 'hoarseness', *(s)piochán* m. 'a wheezing in the throat, hoarseness', *srannán* m. 'great hoarseness' : *srann* f. 'a snore, snort', cymr. *swrth* 'raucus' (Zeufs 2¹, 783), lit. *kimstù* : d. *hummen* Gutt. 127 u. a. — Vgl. noch zu den obigen Beispielen der Associationen von Sinnesempfindungen bei Diefenbach 485 *dempichet, dümme der stimm* 'raucitas' u. a.



6. Ir. *bil*, mhd. *biler*.

Für urkelt. **bili-*, **bilio* 'Rand' finden sich im urkelt. Sprsch. 175 keine aufserkeltische Repräsentanten aufgeführt. Zu ir. *bil bile*, cymr. *byl* f. 'Rand' *gwe-fl* f. 'labium, labrum', bret. *gue-fl* 'Schnauze' bietet sich als germanischer Verwandter ahd. mhd. *bilar biler* m. 'Zahnfleisch' (vgl. z. B. ahd. Gl. 2, 348, 35 Gingiua, pars maxillę . caro dentivm . *billeron*) und wahrscheinlich auch ae. *bile* m. 'bird's bill, beak'. Zu dem bei Körperteilen überhaupt geläufigen Schwanken der Bedeutungen [1]) 'Mund, Gaumen, Schnabel usw.' vgl. u. a. Kluge [6] s. *Gaumen, Kinn, Schnabel*, Walde s. *gena*, Macbain s. *gob*. Zum Ganzen vgl. überdies nhd. vulg. *rand* in der Bedeutung 'Mund, Maul'.

[1]) Lautlich untadelhaft könnte air. *grúad* f. 'gena, maxilla' auch zu got. *ga-krutōn* 'zermalmen', *kriustan* 'knirschen' gehören (wie lat. *maxilla mala* : *mandere*, vgl. Thurneysen I. F. 21, 178). Aber für die Evidenz von Trautmann's Kombination PBB. 32, 150 des keltischen Wortes mit ae. *greada* m. 'Busen' ist es nur nötig, die Grundbedeutung 'Krümmung, Schwellung' wahrscheinlich zu machen: vgl. hier rum. *fălcă* 'Kinnbacke' aus lat. *falca* 'Sichel' der gekrümmten Gestalt wegen (vgl. Pușcariu Et. rum. Wb. 50), ferner air. *óil* 'Wange, Backe' : gr. *οἶδος* n. 'Geschwulst' : asl. *jadro* n. 'Schwellung; Busen' (vgl. Falk-Torp s. Edder), dann auch slovak. *hrud* 'Erhöhung' : ab. *gradь* 'Brust' usw.

Gremsmühlen (Holstein). W. Lehmann.

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REMARKS ON 'THE DATE OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE SAXONS IN BRITAIN'.[1]

Mr. Anscombe speaks of the year of 'the consulship of Felix and Taurus' (i. e. 428) as the date assigned by 'Welsh tradition' to Hengist's answer to Vortigern, and 'the year in which the emperor Marcian ascended the throne, which was twenty-two years later', as that of 'English tradition'. I believe this way of putting it to be absolutely erroneous. Hengist and his heathen followers are not likely to have kept annals divided either according to Christian ecclesiastical or Roman political years, and, if Bede's dating *were* exact, it would almost certainly be derived ultimately from a Keltic fount.

Again, the statement that 428 is the date of 'Welsh tradition' absolutely ignores the author of the *De excidio*, who describes the invitation as given *after* the Britons had addressed an imploring letter 'Agitio ter consuli', i. e. Aetius, whose 3rd consulship was in 446. It is probably this fact which has made Mr. Anscombe[2]) and his disciple Mr. Wade-Evans so exceedingly anxious to deprive Gildas of the authorship: no one could believe in the 428 date if Bede's dating is confirmed by Gildas.

Mr. Anscombe goes on to say that the Felix and Taurus date is given 'quite clearly' in cap. lxvi of the Historia Brittonum. I ask the reader to refer to that chapter — from which he will see that the consulship is put in A. D. 400; that

[1]) Zeitschrift III, pp. 492—514.

[2]) See *The Academy* for Sep. 14, 28, Oct. 5, 1895, and my reply on Nov. 2.

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the same memoranda had already placed Vortigern's accession in 428; that consequently his 4th year, in which they put the Saxon landing, would not be 428 but 431-2; and that, generally speaking, they are as inaccurate as they well could be. In the original all the numbers are written in words: here is a literal translation:

> 'From the beginning of the world until Constantinus and Rufus 5658 years are found.'
>
> 'Also from the two Gemini, Rufus and Rubelius, until Stillitio consul are 373 years' (*They are only 371*: the Gemini were consuls in 29, Stilicho in 400).
>
> 'Also from Stillitio until Valentinianus son of Placida and the reign of Guorthigirnus 28 years (*But V. became Caesar in 424 and consul aud Augustus in 425*).
>
> 'And from the reign of Guorthigirnus until the discord of Guitolinus and Ambrosius are 12 years, which is Guoloppum, i. e. Catguoloph' (*The only Guitolin we know was Vortigern's* grandfather,[1]) *and Catguoloph means 'free from battles'*[2]) — *which was surely not true of any 12 years of Vortigern's reign*).
>
> 'Guorthigirnus moreover held *imperium* in Britain when Valentinianus and Theodosius were consuls' (*i. e. 425, 426, 430, 435,*[3]) *which contradicts the '28 years' already given*).
>
> 'And in the 4th year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, Felix and Taurus being consuls, in the 400th year from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ' (!!!).
>
> 'From the year in which the Saxons came into Britain and were received by Guorthigirnus until Decius and Valerianus are 69 years' (*The consulship of Decius and Longinus in 486, only 58 years after Felix and Taurus, is all Mommsen can suggest*).

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1) *Historia Brittonum* § 49, doubtless the Guethelinus abp. of London mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as obtaining help from Brittany and educating Aurelius Ambrosius (VI. 4, 5).

2) See Sir J. Rhŷs in Y Cymmrodor XVIII, 73. The name is Vitalinus Kymricized (Prof. Rhŷs).

3) Note also that Theodosius was consul in 439, and Valentinian in 440.

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It is for the supposed evidence of this tissue of blunders that we are asked to throw over the testimony of Bede (not to mention the Gildan authorship of the *De excidio Britanniae*) and to believe that he — a technical chronologist — in this one instance (and this only) adopted a date calculated from another era without knowing what he was doing.

Note further that the very same Historia Brittonum tells us in an earlier chapter (31) that 'regnante Gratiano secundo[1]) cum Equitio Saxones a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt anno CCCXLVII post passionem Christi'. This is a blunder due to the erroneous identification of Gildas's Agitius with Equitius instead of Aetius, but it shows that the letter to Aetius in his 3rd consulship was already on record, and that the '450' date approximately represents what Mr. Anscombe calls 'Welsh tradition'.

When Mr. Anscombe wants to establish a date (428) which is nowhere found in words or figures, he rests his entire case on the supposition that the right consuls have been named. When he meets with an instance like the above, which will not fit in with his theory, he discards the consuls and emends the figures. In the *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* I, 515 he tells us that in the above passage CCCXLVII is misread for CCCXCVII (*a passione*) i. e. 428, but he does not say according to what system of chronology this equation is calculated, and I am unable to supply the omission.

'This date' he adds, 'for the coming of the English is also at the root of the chronology of the pseudoprophecy interpolated in the 'Excidium Britanniae', cap. xxiii, where the events occurring at intervals of 150 years from the English invasion appear to be the battle of Deorham in 577 and the temporary overthrow of king Alfred in 878.'

Here is the passage:

> 'tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili leaenae barbarae, tribus, ut lingua eius exprimitur, cyulis, nostra longis navibus, secundis velis, omine auguriisque, quibus vaticinabatur, certo apud eum praesagio, quod ter centum annis patriam, cui proras librabat, insideret, centum vero quinquaginta, hoc est dimidio temporis, saepius vastaret, evectus, primum in orientali parte insulae iubente infausto tyranno terribiles infixit ungues.'

[1]) I. e. in his 2nd consulship: it should be *tertio*, i. e. III not II (Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus*, 200).

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First note that this 'interpolated' prophecy is in every MS., though C is defective after 'praesagio'. Next, that 'hoc est dimidio temporis' is pointless on Mr. Anscombe's theory that the 150 years of devastation were to *precede* the 300 of occupation. Clearly there were either to be 300 years of occupation of which the first half were to be years of raiding, or else the 300 years were to be succeeded by a period of half the length, in which occupation was to cease but occasional raids were to be made. Let me add that the 'temporary overthrow' of Alfred could hardly be interpreted as the end of the Saxon *insessio*; that the Welsh had far more to fear from the Danes than from Alfred, from whom they never received injury; and that consequently the idea that a Welshman seized the occasion to interpolate this 'pseudo-prophecy' is not very probable.

It would be disingenuous not to notice that there exists a Gallic chronicle (*Monumenta Germaniae, Chron. minora* 1, 650), ending in 452 and attributed by Mommsen to that date, in which we read under the years 441—2 'Brittaniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque laceratae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur', which puts the Saxon conquest, and *a fortiori* the Saxon *arrival*, before Gildas's and Bede's dating: the MS. authority is said to be of the 9th cent. The reply is that the statement would not have been true even of 541—2, and that, *if* the rest of the chronicle be of the date supposed, this particular entry can hardly fail to have been added some centuries later. Or did continental rumour exaggerate a first Saxon victory in Kent into a conquest of Roman Britain?

It is merely to avoid confusion that I have not yet challenged Mr. Anscombe's statement of Bede's date for the landing as 450. Mr. Anscombe regards 449, the 1st year of Marcian and Valentinian, as the year given by Bede, and points out that their first year was really 450. His subsequent argument is that, although this is *not* a Gospel Verity date for Marcian and Valentinian, it *is* a Gospel Verity date[1]) for the Saxon landing. But, as Mr. Plummer, Bede's latest editor, has said, *no* exact year is given by Bede. The passages most directly bearing on the date are given by Mr. Anscombe himself (p. 495) and they are these:

[1]) Of 'Gospel verity' dating being invented before the 11th cent. he gives no evidence.

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a) Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCCCXLVIIII. Marcianus cum Valentiniano XLVI. ab Augusto regnum adeptus VII. annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum siue Saxonum gens inuitata a rege praefato [*sc.* a Vortigerno] Brittaniam tribus longis nauibus aduehitur (I, xv).

b) Anno CCCCXLVIIII. Marcianus cum Valentiniano imperium suscipiens VII. annis tenuit quorum tempore Angli a Brettonibus accersiti Brittaniam adierunt (V. xxiiii. Recapitulatio Chronica *u. s.*).

In a) there is nothing to show that 'Tunc' refers to 449 rather than to the period of 7 years in which Marcian reigned with Valentinian, and in b) that period is undoubtedly meant.

Again, as Mr. Anscombe has himself observed (p. 506), Bede calls A. D. 596 'about the 150th year of the coming of the English', A. D. 627 'about the 180th year from the coming of the English', and A. D. 731 'about the 285th year from the coming of the English'. None of these indicate 449 as the year of their coming: they point, indeed, to 446—7, a period antecedent to Marcian and Valentinian's reign, and the natural assumption is that Bede, not knowing the exact year, is stating the intervals only approximately by tens and fives.

The chronological memoranda on which Mr. Anscombe's entire case for the 428 date rests are printed as c. 66 of the Historia Brittonum. But they only occur in two MSS., and in one of these they are immediately followed by the Annales Cambriæ. I shall now proceed to show what the Annales Cambriæ really are, and what the chronological memoranda prefixed to them really are, and how, when those memoranda are restored to their right order, they give not 428 but 443—4 as their own date for the Saxon landing.

The Annales Cambriæ, I discover, are merely a copy of the marginal entries made on a paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine belonging to the church of Meneu (St. David's), which cycle was apparently written out in 509.

A paschal cycle is a table of the changes of Easter. These changes exhaust themselves in 532 years, i. e. the no. of years of a solar cycle (28) multiplied by the no. of a lunar cycle (19). A complete paschal table therefore consists of 532 years. These can be reckoned from any date to any other date: year 533 will always agree with year 1 and begin a new cycle.

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Now the Annales are a table of 533 years, i. e. the 532 of a complete paschal cycle *plus* the first of the cycle following it, showing that the cycle began over again.[1])

There were two paschal cycles of 532 years. The one we now use was published in 525 (Prof. Bury) or 527, by Dionysius Exiguus: it was calculated from A. D. 532 (i. e. for A. D. 532—1063). The other was the earlier one constructed by Victorius of Aquitaine, composed in A. D. 457 (the consulship of Constantine and Rufus) and 'he began it with the year of the Crucifixion, which he placed on the 26th March in the consulship of the two Gemini' (Smith & Wace's *Dict. of Christian biography,* IV, 1139).

Now the chronological memoranda prefixed to the Annales in their oldest MS., and printed as c. 66 of the Historia Brittonum, begin (see above p. 440) with a calculation of the no. of years from the Creation to *the consulship of Constantine and Rufus,* which is immediately followed by a calculation from *the consulship of the two Gemini*! Indeed these two calculations are from Victorius himself (see Mommsen's notes).

The cycle of Victorius was constructed in columns, of which the first contained the names of the consuls. It is from that column that the names of consuls have been inserted in these memoranda. But the memoranda have first had the order of two of the events transposed, and have then been interpolated with statements based on this erroneous order. In their original form they ran somewhat thus:

> 'Also from the two Gemini, Rufus and Rubellius, until Stilicho consul are CCCLXXIII years' (*up to A. D. 400*).
>
> 'Also thence until Felix and Taurus consuls and the discord of Vitalinus and Ambrosius XXVIII years' (*up to A. D. 428*).
>
> Also thence until Valentinianus son of Placida V' (*i. e. 5th time consul*) 'and the reign of Vortigernus, in whose 4th year the Saxons came to Britain, XII years' (*up to A. D. 440 and 443—4*).

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[1]) Or the 533rd year may be an accidental addition by the scribe of the Harleian MS.

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'Also thence until Decius [and Valerianus] LXIX years' (*up to A.D. 509*).

Here we discover why the Annales apparently begin with 444: the Victorian cycle from which they are taken, and which was doubtless written in 509, was carried back to the year of the Saxon landing as a notable date wherewith to commence.

Here also we discover a Decius consul 69 years after the last date calculated. He was Importunus Decius, consul in the West in 509, and there *may* have been a Valerianus consul in the East whose name has escaped the annalists.

The reader will say: 'This is certainly very plausible, and, if the entries relating to Guitolinus and Guorthigirnus *have* been transposed, it is undoubtedly correct: but what is your evidence for that transposition?'

It is very short and conclusive. (1) The only Guitolinus known to history was Vortigern's grandfather, and it is impossible to believe that he was engaged in a serious political quarrel 12 years after his grandson's accession. (2) Surely the first 12 years of Vortigern's reign were not 'empty of war', and, even if 'catguoloph' is an erroneous gloss and the word 'guoloppum' simply means that the throne was empty, that would be obviously untrue.

If any further evidence is needed that the Guitolinus entry should precede the reign of Vortigern, it is supplied by the Breton tradition embodied in Geoffrey of Monmouth. According to that, after the departure of the Romans, Guithelinus archbishop of London took the temporary lead in affairs, and went to Brittany to offer the diadem to its king Androënus, who refused it for himself but accepted it for his brother Constantine, with whom he sent 2000 soldiers. Constantine married a noble Roman ward of Guithelinus's and had 3 sons, Constans, Aurelius *Ambrosius*, and Uther Pendragon, of whom the two latter were brought up by Guithelinus. After 10 years Constantine was assassinated by a Pict and Constans was eventually put on the throne by Vortigern, *Guithelinus being then dead*[1] (VI § 6). It

[1] If I am told that the Breton story allows no room for any 'discord of Guitolinus and Ambrosius', I reply that the Ambrosius of the discord may have been the grandfather or uncle of the boy Ambrosius. There may have been a Roman faction headed by an elder Ambrosius, and a nationalist

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was not of course, till later that (Constans having been put out of the way) Vortigern himself succeeded.

The transposition may have been made either by accident or by design. One of the two paragraphs may have been omitted by an oversight and then marked for insertion in the wrong place. Or the person to whom we owe the present form of these memoranda may have argued that, since Ambrosius is mentioned by Gildas as winning a victory over the Saxons, he cannot have preceded Vortigern, but must have been of later date. One error he certainly fell into on his own account: he supposed that the 69 years were calculated from Vortigern's 4th instead of his 1st year, and expanded the text accordingly.

This calculation of 69 years indicates that 509 was the date when the memoranda were written. Otherwise what is there to account for it? And it is morally certain that the writer lived not long after the events he mentions. He speaks of the discord of Guitolinus and Ambrosius without explanation, as if it were well known, and yet *we* know of it only from *him*: indeed Guitolinus died out of British history so quickly that he is not in Gildas or Bede, and in the Historia Brittonum (§ 49) is merely named as the grandfather of Vortigern (in a pedigree written 11 generations after Vortigern's own time).

The connexion of the table with St. David's is so obvious (see the entries under 601, 606, 645, 810, 831, 840, 873 [Nobis], 906, 908, 944, 946) that I need not spend time in proving it. But the presence of a cycle *of Victorius* at this place requires explanation; for the British church never used that cycle, but adhered to the earlier 84-year cycle till North Wales adopted the 532-year cycle *of Dionysius* in 768, while St. David's did not conform before 777. And the almost certain explanation is that it was brought from Gaul by one of the Armorican immigrants.

Any table so brought, and written not later than 509, would of course start from the year of the two Gemini, and the cycle would be near its expiration. From it were copied in Wales itself the preliminary memoranda, and the years from

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faction headed by Vitalinus. The latter wins, but prudently marries the king of his selection to the daughter or sister of his antagonist, after whom her second son is named.

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444 onwards, with the additional number required to complete the cycle.

Whither was the cycle brought from Gaul? I believe, either to Old Menyw (Hen Fenyw) in Cardiganshire or to one of the Llanbadarns, and what I have to say will solve a standing puzzle in the Annales and throw new light on the history of St. David.

Prof. Anwyl contributed to my *Keltic researches* (p. 172) the following remarks: 'There is a Henfynyw called locally 'Hen Fenyw' close to Aberaeron in Cardiganshire. As St. David is represented as the son of Non (cf. Llannon about 4 miles from Henfynyw) and the grandson of Ceredig, I have sometimes thought that there has been a transference to the present St. David's of the name Mynyw and of the leading shrine of St. David.'

First note that old Meneu is within a mile of the important river Aeron, and close to its mouth.

And now turn to this entry[1]) in the Annales under the year corresponding to 601: 'Dauid epis*copus* moni iu-deorū.' Everyone agrees that 'moni' is a name related to Meneu, Miniu, Mynyw — now St. David's: but why on earth is it called 'of the Jews', or whatever people may be meant by 'iu-deorū'? My answer is that this is a misreading which conceals the name of the river Aeron. The original may have had 'moniuderō' i. e. Moniu Aeron, and a tall-necked 'a' may have been misread as a 'd', the resultant 'moniuderō' being emended into 'moni iudeorū'. A similar use of a river-name is given me by Prof. Anwyl — Rhuddlan Teifi, thus distinguished from Rhuddlan Tegeingyl: compare our *Thames* Ditton. But it is better still to suppose that the original had 'moniudiaerō' i. e. 'Moniu di Aeron', Moniu at Aeron. In either case it is pretty clear that David hailed from Old Meneu in Cardiganshire[2]), which is called Moniu (di) Aeron, 'Moniu at Aeron', to distinguish it from the southern Meneu.

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[1]) In the original the *i's* have no dots or strokes, and the hyphen comes at the end of a line.

[2]) In some at least of his lives he is said to have been born at a place similarly named, but this is usually supposed to have been close to St. David's, and W. Owen's map reproduced in Rhŷs and Jones's *The Welsh people* gives such a place within 3 miles E. of it.

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A strong confirmation of Moniu di Aerō is that Menevia (St. Davids), or Owen's alleged Old Mynyw close to it, was called (I discover) Miniu di Lanerc(h) Beudi. In the Utrecht life printed in the Acta Sanctorum for Mar. 1 it is stated (p. 42) that David, going from Old Meneu, 'Paulinum, S. Germani discipulum, adiit Doctorem, qui in insula nomine Dilamgerbendi gratam Deo vitam ducebat'. Dr. Henry Bradley, in the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, says 'The MS. itself, however, is said to read Minindi Lanergbendi (Llanerchbeudy?)'. The original text beyond question represented Miniu di Lanerc Beudi.[1])

There are various places in Wales called Llanerch (i. e. flat place), though I do not find any now called Llanerch Beudi, but the locality of this one is shown by Caer Bwdy bay and Caer Bwdy mill, close to St. David's, the *caer* itself being on a promontory.

And it is pretty obvious that the two Meneu's were distinguished by the epithets *di Aeron* and *di Lanerch Beudi, di* being the Old Welsh preposition = Lat. *ad.* Beudi means 'cow-house', but I hold that in the present case it denotes the Irish bishop (who died about 521) named Beode, Latinized as Boethius.

In the extract from Boethius's life printed at p. 410 of Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* it is said that he left his native soil by ship, and reaching Italia entered the monastery of the holy father Tylianus. That in the 30th year of his peregrination he returned, and that they put to land 'in Pictorum finibus'. That Nectan the king of that land was just dead and lying in a church awaiting burial, that at Boethius's prayer he was restored to life, and 'castrum illud in quo factum miraculum cum omni sua possessione, beato Boecio contulit, quo ipse in cellam consecrato, quendam suorum in custodem reliquit'.

Here 'Ytaliam' is corrupted from 'waliam' or 'gualiam', for Tylianus is clearly St. Teilo, who appears as Teilyau, Teliavus, Telianus, was born at Tenby, and in the Llan Dâv life of him is said to have been a pupil of Paulinus and as such to have associated David with himself. And the Paulinus-connexion brings Teilo close to Miniu di Lanerch Beudi. Next, note that

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[1]) The *g* having been miscopied to *c* from a MS. in which the proper names were in capitals, and the two *u*'s having been miscopied into *n* (if they really are *n*'s) from a MS. not earlier than the 12th cent. For final *c* = *ch* see the Gram. Celt. 125.

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in the same life Miniu is said to have been occupied at the time by a Pictish invader. Lastly, observe that in the Old Welsh genealogies of the same Harleian MS. which contains the Annales the Pictish name Necton occurs thrice in the form Neithon: in one case the same pedigree contains the pronouncedly Pictish names Elfin and Cinuit, besides (twice) Dumnagual (Donald) and (twice) Eugein — in fact we obviously have before us a dynasty wholly or in great part Pictish. I maintain, then, that Caer Bwdy close to St. David's is the Castrum of Saint 'Boethius', and that Lanerch Beudi was the adjoining flat land, the 'omnis possessio' of the *castrum,* which was also given to the saint.

'Insula' in this case, I presume, is not literally 'isle', but 'an isolated dwelling', and I suspect that ignorance or forgetfulness of this meaning has led to many misinterpretations in hagiography. At the same time, if anyone insists on rendering it 'isle', there is an abundance of isles off the coast for him to choose from. The original cycle may have been brought by Paternus, from whom the Llanbadarn churches take their name, and who is said to have been an immigrant Breton: Ussher puts his arrival at 516, but there seems nothing to prove this—nothing to prevent his having come over before 509. He is said to have accompanied David and Teilo to Palestine. Note that David is said to have been succeeded as bishop of Meneu by Cinauc[1]) bishop of Llanbadarn, and the bishopric of Llanbadarn to have been sooner or later merged in that of Meneu: so that a transference of the original cycle from Paternus's church to David's is easily explained. Or Paternus himself may have begun his Welsh career at Old Meneu.

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[1]) Whether Paternus or David or Kinauc were anything more than bishops of a particular monastery; whether the *territorial* bishopric of 'St. David's' did not originate at the later Meneu and not at 'Old Meneu'; whether the 'bishopric' of Llanbadarn, supposed to have been at Llanbadarn Fawr near Aberystwyth, was not really at Llanbadarn Tref Eglwys (a singularly distinctive name) which lies only some 5 miles N. W. of Old Meneu; whether neighbouring or related monasteries did not sometimes share the same bishop; and whether this practice was a factor in the origin of the territorial bishoprics of Wales — all these are questions which suggest themselves to me and which I suggest to others. But anyone desiring to approach them should know what has been written by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund in his *Celtic Church in Wales.*

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Let me add something on 'Guoloppum' and 'Catguoloph'. Sir J. Rhŷs has equated these with Middle Irish *falum,* modern *folamh*: 'compare Welsh gweili, 'empty', Breton *goullô, guliu*'. Meneu means a Menapian settlement; the Menapians spoke Goidelic (see my *Keltic researches*); and it looks to me as if we have in 'Guoloppum' and 'Catguoloph' not Welsh words at all, but Irish words which, like proper names, had their *v* changed to *gu* by the Welsh scribe. Apparently the first reading was 'quod est volum'. When the final *m* had become aspirated, the later pronunciation was expressed by writing *opp* (= *oph*) above the line — thus indicating *volopp.* The subsequent Welsh scribe misunderstood this as *voloppum,* and altering *v* to *gu* gave us *Guoloppum.* In 'Catguoloph' we have a still later substitution of *ph*: the gloss is clearly not part of the original text, but still, as I hold, is not Welsh, but represents a Goidelic *catvoloph.*

And from these forms it appears to me that the local Menapian dialect mutated final *m* into the sound not of English *w* or *v,* but our *f.*

When we turn to modern Menapian (Manx) we find that in its earliest document (1610) *f* is abundantly used for the aspiration of both *m* and *b*, where current pronunciation has *v*. Sir J. Rhŷs (*Manx phonology,* 169) thinks that *v* was pronounced as *f,* with which indeed it is interchanged in the same document. My suggestion is that even so the *f* spellings may be relics of a time when at least *m* was mutated into *f* (and not into *v*), and that the *v*-mutation of *m* in Manx may be due to the influence of Irish and Highland Gaelic.

Mr. Phillimore has suggested that in the entry against 453 'Paſca com*m*vtatur ſup*er* di-em d*omi*nicu*m* cum papa leone epiſcopo rome.' 'cum' is 'apparently mis-translated from Old-Welsh *cant* "by *or* with", now *gàn.*' I find that Prof. Bury has anticipated me in taking it to be merely an accidental repetition of the ending of the previous word.[1])

And Prof. Bury has so far anticipated me in proving the origin of the Annales as to conjecture (*Life of St. Patrick,* 285) that 'the original basis of the Cambrian Annals was a Paschal

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[1]) He also thinks it 'has ousted *a*'. This is possible, but the construction may have been by ablative absolute.

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Table'. Had he noticed that the number of years was 533, he would have anticipated me altogether. But the fact of their commencing with 444 led him to conjecture that the Paschal Table was brought over by Germanus at his second visit. In that case it could only have been the extension of an 84-year cycle, the 532-year cycle not having then been invented.

I also had never noticed the number of years in the Annales, or the solution would have come to me previously. Perhaps I never should have noticed it but for Prof. Bury's conjecture, which set me to look. So that 'honours are easy'.

And now, finally, let me prove the real year of David's death — a point on which the latest authorities have erred to the serious extent of 57 years by relying on the entry in the Annales under 601 which I have quoted above.

As that entry stands, it only seems to say that David became bishop of Moniu di Aeron in 601; but the enormous balance of probability is that (as Mr. Phillimore suggests), an *et* has dropped out before David's name, and that the entry records the death of a bishop David, presumably the saint.

Now William of Malmesbury dates David's death in 546. Geoffrey of Monmouth puts it in the period 542-4. David's life by Ricemarchus, bishop of St. David's about 1090, expressly states that David died on Tuesday, March 1, having fallen ill during public service on the preceding Sunday. Well, in 601 and 546 March 1 was not a Tuesday, but it was in 544,[1]) which is within the period indicated by Geoffrey.

Early annals, however, habitually vary to a few years in their dates, and the date at the back of the erroneous 601 is not 544 but 547 (*uu* for *uu*?). It is also at the back of the tradition that David died at 147. *How*, I will show.

The letters in a marginal note which come up to the margin are apt to be rubbed away, or darkened beyond recognition, by continual thumbing of the edge in turning over the leaves. That this happened in the Meneu paschal table is indicated by the entry

[1]) It is only after writing the above that I find from Ussher (*Brit. eccl. ant.* 274) that he himself (as early as 1639) fixes David's death at 544 on the same ground.

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Aguſtınus mellıtus
anglos adxp̃m
c̃uertıt.

in the Harleian MS. It is clear that the original had (approximately)

Agustınus et
mellıtus anglos
adxp̃m c̃uertūt

—that the obliteration of *et* and *ūt* caused Mellitus to be mistaken for a surname of Augustine.

The original entry of David's death ran (approximately)

Obıɪt Dauıd
epıs̄ monıu dı
aerō anno ∂x
lvıı

First, part of the ∂ was obliterated, leaving cxlvii. This was mistaken by readers for the year of the saint's age. Then x was obliterated, leaving clvii. This was mistaken by a scribe for the year of the Paschal cycle in which the saint died: so he entered it under the 157th year, *which is 601.*

The result is one more proof of the necessity of taking into account the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He adds a very singular statement, that David died 'in Menevia civitate, intra abbatiam suam' and was 'jubente Malgone Venedotorum rege in eadem ecclesia sepultus'. Now Maelgwn, according to Geoffrey's own history, had not yet become Chief King, and at first one is tempted to say 'What power of interference had the king of Gwynedd in Pembrokeshire?' Maelgwn, however, was the political head of the Cunedag family, to which David belonged—David being apparently the son[1]) of Ceretic, and the grandson of Cunedag, and the first-cousin-once-removed of Maelgwn. Moreover, it is clear from the Annales that David either died at Moniu di Aeron or was bishop of it, and Moniu di Aeron was not in Pembrokeshire but in the territory of the

[1]) See my paper 'The ruin of history' in *The Celtic Review* for Ap. 1906: according to the pedigrees (which seem to contain either one or two bogus names) he would be Ceretic's (great-)grandson.

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Cunedag family.[1]) So that it is by no means impossible that the place of David's burial may have been determined by Maelgwn.

[1]) In Ceretician, our Cardigan(shire), i. e. the portion of Ceretic. What may have been the political position of this region in relation to Maelgwn in 547 I am unable to say.

Oxford, May 1906. E. W. B. Nicholson.

P. S. Skene's text of Beode's departure should be corrected approximately as follows: italicized letters are added by me, and I have slightly improved the punctuation.

'Transactis vero aliquot *ib*idem annis, divino oraculo admonitus est repatriare. Accepta igitur benedic*t*ione at*q*ue licencia sancti (Skene, Sancti) patris Tyliani, et misso (Skene, missus) cum eo ipso sancto (Skene, Sancto) seniore Codro, qui sententias eius in maligna*n*tes temperaret, datisque eis sacris voluminibus ac uestibus, nec non et s̄corum (Skene, sociorum) reliqui*i*s, XXX°. peregrinacionis sue anno iterum regressus est. Fama vero eius in itinere deuulgata (Skene, demulgata) iunxerunt se ei quidam viri sancti de *S.* Germani mon̄erio (Skene, Germania), numero lx — quorum decem fuerunt *S.* Germani (Skene, germani) fratres — et x virgines. Pervenientes itaque ad mare navem ascendunt, et prospero navigio in Pictorum finibus applicuerunt.'

So that Beode was accompanied by a large body of devout persons — not from Germany but — from a monastery[1]) of S. Germanus, probably Llancarfan; and I presume they put in near Meneu on the first day's sail.

[1]) 'mon̄erio' got passed over by a scribe owing to its general resemblance to the following word 'numero'; after which a later hand 'emended' *S. Germani* to *Germania*!

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ZU DEN WÜRZBURGER GLOSSEN.

Im Wintersemester 1879/80 faſste ich als Berliner Privatdozent den Entschluſs, die Grundlage von C. Zeuſs' Darstellung der altirischen Grammatik, die irischen Glossen der Würzburger Hs. der Paulinischen Briefe, herauszugeben. Mein Schreck war nicht gering, als ich im Frühjahr 1880 die durch des verstorbenen Kerler verständnisvolles Wohlwollen auf sechs Monate auf die Berliner Universitätsbibliothek überlassene Hs. zum ersten Male öffnete. Aus den Worten von Zeuſs 'Sunt etiam aeque fere copiosae intermixtae glossae mere latinae' (ZE. S. XVI) wuſste ich ja, daſs es sich nicht bloſs um sogenannte irische Glossen handelte, aber das hatte ich nicht geahnt, daſs der lateinische Text der Paulinischen Briefe seitenweise mit einem Ränder und Zwischenräume bedeckenden Gestrüpp lateinischer Kommentare überzogen war, in dem C. Zeuſs die in der Grammatica Celtica präsentierten keltischen Blumen gepflückt hatte. Mir war bald klar, daſs ich das gesamte Glossenmaterial — lateinisch und irisch — abschreiben müsse, um stärkere Auslassungen bei der Herausgabe des irischen Materials zu vermeiden. Diese Abschrift des gesamten Glossenmaterials nahm ich im Sommer 1880,[1]) und darauf

[1]) Es wäre für mich natürlich eine groſse Erleichterung gewesen, wenn ich gewuſst hätte, daſs C. Zeuſs' Abschrift der irischen Glossen von Wb. in der Münchener Bibliothek noch vorhanden sei und sie hätte benutzen können. So konnte ich bei meiner Abschrift nur den veröffentlichten kleinen Teil benutzen; es sind dies fol. 26 c bis 32 a der Hs., welche die Briefe an Colosser, Timotheus, Titus und Philemon enthalten und in der Grammatica Celtica, 1. Aufl., S. 1038—1063 (ZE. 1026—1042), gedruckt sind. Diese Blätter bilden ja, schon wegen des relativ geringfügigen, namentlich lateinischen Glossenmaterials, den leichtesten Teil der Hs.; sie nahm ich mit Zurhilfenahme von Zeuſs zuerst zur Hand und habe mich dann selbständig an die schwierigen Partien der Hs. gemacht.

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ist meine im Frühsommer 1881 erschienene Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen (Glossae Hibernicae S. 1—198) begründet, während die gleichzeitig der Ausgabe beigegebenen 'Addenda et Corrigenda' (a. O. S. 286—288) auf einer neuen Kollation meines gedruckten Textes mit der zum zweiten Male nach Berlin überlassenen Hs. selbst meistenteils beruhen.[1]) Stokes Kritik meiner Ausgabe (Litterarisches Centralblatt 1883, Nr. 48, Sp. 1672 ff.) veranlafste mich, den Kodex mir im Jahre 1885 zum dritten Male (nach Greifswald) kommen zu lassen und zu vergleichen; das Ergebnis dieser Vergleichung, bei der mir in allen schwierigen Stellen der damals in Greifswald weilende Dr. Bruno Güterbock mitratend

[1]) Nach einer Bemerkung von Wh. Stones in seiner Rezension meiner Ausgabe (Litter. Centralbl. 1883, Sp. 1672) mufs der Fernerstehende annehmen, dafs mir bei meiner Ausgabe die 'Indices Glossarum et vocabulorum Hibernicorum quae in Grammaticae Celticae editione altera explanantur' von Güterbock und Thurneysen (Leipzig 1881) vorgelegen haben; auch Atkinson steht in seiner Introductory Lecture on Irish Lexicography S. 8 offenkundig unter demselben Eindruck. Wäre dies der Fall, dann hätte ich durch die in den Indices S. 40—77 gegebene wohlgeordnete Zusammenstellung bei der Abschrift der Hs. und der Ausgabe eine wertvolle Hilfe besessen, deren Verschweigen in meiner Vorrede nicht schön wäre. Nun aber weifst schon der Umstand, dafs die Vorrede zu den Glossae Hibernicae von 'Calendis Februariis 1881' datiert ist und die von den Indices Glossarum von 'Mense Iulio 1881', auf den wahren Sachverhalt; sodann mufs sich jeder Sachkundige bei einigem Nachdenken sagen, dafs die Anordnung der von C. Zeufs zitierten Wb. Glossen, wie sie sich in den Indices Glossarum S. 40—77 findet, n u r m i t H i l f e m e i n e r A u s g a b e m ö g l i c h w a r, da ja sämtliche Glossen einer jeden Spalte von Wb. für die Verfertiger der Indices eine ungeordnete und nicht zu ordnende Masse bildeten ohne meine Ausgabe. So hat denn auch Thurneysen tatsächlich im Winter 1880/81 von mir die Korrekturbogen meiner Ausgabe bezogen, um die Ordnung der Indices vorzunehmen. In dem Zusammenhang sei auch noch darauf hingewiesen, dafs die in meiner Ausgabe von Wb. den einzelnen Glossen beigegebenen Hinweise auf die Grammatica Celtica, wo die Sätze oder einzelne Teile behandelt sind, ebenfalls n i c h t aus den Indices Glossarum stammen und nicht daher stammen können; ich habe alle diese Stellen mit Hilfe meines eigenen handschriftlichen Index zur Grammatica Celtica bei der Fertigstellung meines Druckmanuskriptes mühsam zusammengesucht: 'Ut breviter commonstraremus, quae sit codicibus adhuc nondum editis (Wirziburgensi et Carolisruhensibus) opera navata, locos ex altera Grammaticae Celticae editione, in quibus voculae et partes sententiarum Hibernicarum in sermonem Latinum vertuntur vel explicantur, adposuimus' heifst es in meiner Vorrede. Bei dem 20jährigen Bestreben von Stokes, meine Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen zu diskreditieren, möge man mir diese Feststellung von Tatsachen nicht übel deuten: 'seines Fleifses und seiner Selbständigkeit darf sich jeder rühmen', sagt Lessing.

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zur Seite stand, liegt in dem 'Glossarum Hibernicarum Supplementum' (Berlin 1886) S. 6—10 vor.

Ein Jahr später erschien von Wh. Stokes 'The old-irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe. Part I. The Glosses and translation' (London und Cambridge 1887), woselbst S. 1—194 ein Neudruck der Würzburger Glossen sich findet. Dieser Neudruck ist veranstaltet auf Grund einer von Stokes 1883 gemachten Kollation meiner Ausgabe mit der Hs. selbst und war, soweit der Text der Glossen in Betracht kommt, fertig gedruckt, ehe mein Supplement in die Hände von Stokes kam (s. Prefatory Note S. VIII). Stokes nimmt aufser in der Vorrede noch S. 352 am Schlufs seiner Corrigenda von dem Supplementum Notiz, indem er sich mit fünf Lesungen desselben auseinander setzt. Jeder Unbefangene sieht sich darnach zu zwei möglichen Annahmen gedrängt: entweder stimmen nun meine Ausgabe von 1886 — d. h. der Text in den Glossae Hibernicae S. 1—198 berichtigt durch die Corrigenda ebendaselbst S. 286—288 und das Supplementum S. 6—10 [1]) — und der Text von Stokes Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1887 in allem Übrigen bis auf nicht nennenswerte Kleinigkeiten überein, oder aber Stokes hält, wo sich gröfsere oder geringere Unterschiede in den beiden Ausgaben zeigen, seine Angaben stillschweigend gegenüber meinem Text aufrecht. Dafs die erstere Annahme nicht zutrifft, d. h. dafs meine und Stokes Ausgabe in sehr vielen Einzelheiten nicht übereinstimmen, mufste jeder beim Gebrauch beider Ausgaben nebeneinander sehen; es blieb also nur die zweite Möglichkeit. An sich hätte jeder aufmerksame Benutzer beider Ausgaben, auch ohne Einsicht in die Hs., mancherlei sehen können, das ihn an der durchgängigen Überlegenheit der Ausgabe von Stokes irre machen konnte: wenn er z. B. bei mir im Supplement S. 6 unter neuen Glossen auf fol. 7b '*p(ro)umthe* a prima manu in margine additum' zu dem 'probum' in Römer 16,10 (S. 43, 32 meiner Ausgabe) nachgetragen fand und diese Glosse bei Stokes S. 38 fehlt, dann

[1]) Zweifache Addenda und Corrigenda sind ja nicht schön, aber im Vergleich zu dem, was sich Stokes und Windisch in derartigem leisten, sehr bescheiden: so bietet Stokes zu seiner Ausgabe von Cormac's Glossary, übersetzt durch O'Donovan, auf S. V—XII zuerst 'Corrigenda' (S. V. VI), dann 'Addenda' (S. VII), 'Further Corrigenda' (S. IX), 'Further Addenda' (S. IX bis XII), und Windisch hat in der Tāinausgabe auf S. 1105—1120 unter fünf Rubriken 32 Spalten 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen'.

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mufste er, sofern er mich nicht für einen Fälscher hielt, erkennen, dafs Stokes Ausgabe doch nicht in allem der meinigen vorzuziehen sei.[1]) Je öfter ich im Verlaufe die Würzburger Glossen in akademischen Übungen interpretierte — es war zwischen 1887 und 1900 wohl ein halb Dutzend mal —, um so klarer wurde mir bei Benutzung der beiden Ausgaben, dafs in vielen Einzelheiten Stokes' Ausgabe von 1887 ein Rückschritt gegen meine Ausgabe von 1881/86 war, soweit eine getreue Wiedergabe der Überlieferung in Betracht kommt. Unter zwei allgemeineren Gesichtspunkten liefsen sich manche dieser Einzelheiten zusammen fassen; sie betrafen 1. die handschriftliche Überlieferung in Bezug auf Zusammenschreibung oder Trennung der vortonigen und nachtonigen kleinen Wörter, 2. die Aufeinanderfolge der irischen Glossen und ihre Beziehungen zu dem lateinischen Text der paulinischen Briefe. Namentlich der letztere Punkt ist stark auffallend. In mehreren Dutzend Stellen hat Stokes Änderungen gegenüber meiner Ausgabe eingeführt, wo eine genauere Beachtung des Sinnes der irischen Erklärungen darauf hinweist, dafs diese seine Änderungen kaum der Überlieferung entsprechen, sofern sie in Ordnung ist; sodann liefs die noch in meinem Besitze befindliche Abschrift des Kodex, die an vielen Stellen eine zeilengetreue Abschrift war, mir keinen Zweifel darüber aufkommen, dafs die Aufeinanderfolge und Beziehung der irischen Glossen zum Text bei mir getreuer war als in der Ausgabe von Stokes. Subjektiv hegte ich ja nach öfterer Benutzung der letzteren keinen Zweifel, dafs manche herzlich gleichgültige Abweichungen von meiner Ausgabe bewufst oder unbewufst dem Bestreben von Stokes entsprangen, eben durch möglichst viele Abweichungen zu zeigen, dafs 'a revised edition desirable' (Stokes, The Irish Glosses at Würzburg, S. VII) gewesen sei; aber aus Achtung vor Stokes konnte ich mich doch nicht über-

[1]) Lehrreich im Zusammenhang mit obigem Beispiel ist folgendes. Im Supplementum S. 6 trage ich auf fol. 11b zu S. 68, 26 meiner Ausgabe nach 'itaque qui sé existimat stare videat ne cadat: *fomnar*; prima manus'. In Stokes Ausgabe fehlt diese Glosse, er hat aber S. 352 in den Addenda — also auf derselben Seite, wo er sich mit fünf Lesungen des Supplements auseinander setzt — zu S. 62 seiner Ausgabe meinen Nachtrag, ohne seine Quelle zu nennen; denn dafs mein Supplementum die Quelle für dies Addendum von Stokes war, geht jetzt aus Strachans Bemerkung im Thesaur. Palaeohib. I, 567 hervor, wo es Note c zu der Glosse 1a *fomnar* heifst: 'So Zimmer. W. S. did not see this gloss, which should be *fomnad*.'

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reden, dafs er die zahlreichen Abweichungen seiner Ausgabe in Aufeinanderfolge und Beziehung der Glossen aus diesem Bestreben gegen die klare Überlieferung vorgenommen habe. Die Sache blieb mir ein Rätsel, und ehe ich mit einer Vermutung herausrückte, wollte ich mir durch eine nochmalige Prüfung der Hs. über den absolut sicheren Tatbestand Gewifsheit verschaffen.

Zu dieser Prüfung kam ich in den ersten Jahren nach dem Erscheinen von Stokes Ausgabe (1887) wegen anderer Arbeiten nicht, und dann verlor ich die Frage zeitweilig aus dem Sinn. Als ich jedoch 1899/1900 bei der Ausarbeitung meiner Schrift 'Pelagius in Irland' (Berlin 1901) das Bedürfnis empfand, das dort S. 40—112 aus Wb. nach meiner Abschrift von 1880 gegebene Material vor dem Druck neu zu prüfen, und zu dem Zwecke die Hs. mir nach Greifswald kommen liefs, da war mein Nebenzweck Erledigung aller Fragen in Bezug auf das irische Glossenmaterial. In den Sommermonaten Juli bis Oktober 1900 habe ich auf der Greifswalder Universitätsbibliothek bei denkbar günstigstem Licht die Hs. zum vierten Male durchgearbeitet. Hierbei legte ich mir mancherlei Collektanea an: so ein Verzeichnis von irischen Glossen, die sowohl von mir 1880/86 als von Stokes in seiner Ausgabe 1887 übersehen sind; ein Verzeichnis der Stellen, wo Stokes in Trennung vortoniger und nachtoniger kleiner Wörter ohne Grund von meiner Ausgabe abweicht; ein Verzeichnis der Stellen, in denen Stokes in Anordnung und Beziehung der irischen Glossen gegen die klare Überlieferung von mir abweicht; ein Verzeichnis von Stellen, wo Stokes und ich der Überlieferung nicht ganz gerecht werden, und ähnliches mehr. Meine Absicht war, diese Sammlungen nach dem Erscheinen des 'Pelagius in Irland' in einem Aufsatz zu verwerten.

Zwei Dinge kamen fast gleichzeitig dazwischen. Der im Spätherbst 1901 erscheinende Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus brachte I, 499—712 eine Neuausgabe der irischen Glossen von Wb., und es war natürlich unbedingt erforderlich zu prüfen, wie weit meine Notizen aus meiner Prüfung der Hs. im Sommer 1900 überflüssig geworden waren. Ehe ich diese Arbeit auch nur halbwegs ausgeführt hatte, überfiel mich eine schwere Neurasthenie, die mich an jeder Arbeit hinderte, und während ich zur Erholung ferne weilte, suchte ein grofses Schadenfeuer meine Wohnung

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heim: meine ganze Bibliothek wurde bis auf ein Dutzend stark angebrannter Bücher ein Raub der Flammen; meine handschriftlichen Sammlungen, Manuskripte, sowie eine Reihe von Büchern, die stark durchschossen und mit Sammlungen aus 25 jähriger Lektüre angefüllt waren (Grammatica Celtica, Wörterbücher zu Windischs 'Irische Texte' (1880) und Atkinsons Homilies, O'Reillys Wtb., Le Gonidec, mein Handexemplar der Glossae Hibernicae und anderes), befanden sich in einem dauerhaften Tisch, der ebenfalls verbrannte, aber vorher soweit Widerstand leistete, dafs sorgsame Freunde später aus dem durch Feuer und Wasser beschädigten Trümmerhaufen einiges retten konnten. Als ich im Verlauf bei fortschreitender Erholung diese Trümmer meines einstigen Besitzes vornahm, stellte sich heraus, dafs auch von den in dem Tisch aufbewahrten Sachen einiges wie die Grammatica Celtica bis auf wenige Blätter ganz vernichtet, nichts ganz erhalten ist: einzelne Lagen, mehrere zusammengehörige Blätter angekohlt, durch Wasser beschädigt und beim Aufräumen angerissen. In diesem Zustand befindet sich auch mein Handexemplar der Glossae Hibernicae und die oben erwähnten Collektanea; von letzteren sind nur ganz vollständig die vier Blätter mit den Notizen über irische Glossen, die in meiner Ausgabe 1880/86 und Stokes Ausgabe 1887 fehlen. Diese neuen Glossen und was von den übrigen erhaltenen Collektaneen meiner Kollation aus dem Jahre 1900 mir beachtenswert dünkt, will ich im folgenden geben und zwar zunächst ohne Rücksichtnahme auf die Neuausgabe der Würzburger Glossen im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus; die, wie ich hoffe, sehr einleuchtenden Gründe für dies Vorgehen sollen zum Schlufs jedes Abschnittes gegeben werden.

I. Altirische Glossen in Wb., die sowohl in den 'Glossae Hibernicae' (1881) nebst 'Supplementum' (1886) als in Stokes' 'The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg' (1887) fehlen.

1. fol. 1d unten. Zu Röm. 2, 27 'Et indicabit té quod ex natura est praeputium, legem consumans té qui per literam et circumcisionem praeuaricator legis es' steht über den hervorgehobenen Worten '.i. literalem secundum istoriam inplisti et

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ní scrúti ásens'. Wb. 31 b, 10 [1]) kommt *scrútim* (*arascrúta*) vor, von dem *ní scrúti* eine seltene 2. Sing. Praes. ist wie die ZE. 434 aus Wb. belegten *nocari, inaccobri* von *a*-Verben; zu dem

[1]) Unter dem mir vollständig verbrannten Material befand sich ein 32 Zigarrenkistchen füllender vollständiger Zettelindex zu dem gesamten altirischen Sprachmaterial (Wb., Ml., Pr. Sg. etc.), der mir schon bei der Ausarbeitung der 'Keltischen Studien. Zweites Heft' (1884) zur Verfügung stand. Ein teilweiser Ersatz wurde mir dafür, dafs mir H. Pedersen seinen eigenen Index zu Wb. zur Abschrift überliefs, ja z. T. selbst für mich abschrieb. Dieser Abschrift sind oben und im Verlauf Belege aus Wb. entnommen. — Hier mag in dem Zusammenhang eine Erklärung folgen. In der Vorrede zu den Glossae Hibernicae S. VI sage ich: 'Interpretationem continuam glossarum vel sententiarum Hibernicarum editioni nostrae adicere supersedimus, quippe qui in Thesauro linguae Hibernicae veteris atque mediae aetatis ea, quae ad locos difficiliores explicandos in promptu habemus, quam brevissimo tempore daturi essemus.' Auf diese 1881 geschriebenen Worte bin ich in manchem Briefe angezapft worden; ich habe geschwiegen meistens und nur zu wenigen Freunden gesprochen. Obige Worte waren keine Phrase. Ich besafs als ich sie schrieb (1881): 1. ein fünfbändiges alt- und mittelirisches handschriftliches Wörterbuch, dessen Grundlage ein 1876/77 angelegter vollständiger alphabetischer Index zu ZE. war, in welches alles hinein verarbeitet war, was ich sonst an Alt- und Mittelirischem gelesen hatte, also z. B. Hs. LU. zum grofsen Teil; ich denke, meine 'Keltische Studien' 1 (April 1877, in Kuhns Zeitschrift 24, 201 ff.) und 2 (Mai 1878, in Kuhns Zeitschrift 24, 523) sind Belege. 2. Den oben erwähnten 1879—1881 angelegten Zettelindex, in den im Verlauf die einzelnen Lieferungen von Ml. sofort hinein gearbeitet wurden; ich brauche nur auf meine Schrift über altirische Betonung (Berlin 1884) als Beleg zu verweisen. Es war mir also bitter ernst. Bald nachdem meine Glossae Hibernicae erschienen waren, erhielt ich von Ascoli (1881) einen ausführlichen Brief, in dem er mir mitteilte, sein Verleger (Loescher) sei über die Glossae Hibernicae höchst erregt und noch mehr über das angekündigte Wörterbuch. Ascoli hatte in der Vorrede zur 1. Lieferung (S. 1—112) von Ml. auf S. XV angekündigt einen 'secondo volume, ch' egli va suddiviso in un Comentario continuo delle chiose, e in abondanti Spogli grammaticali e lessicali, non punto limitati al solo Ambrosiano'. Zur Ausführung dieses Vorhabens hatte Ascoli 1879 mit 'volume secondo: Apppendici et illustrazioni' in Lieferungen begonnen, und erschienen waren 1881 im ganzen 164 Seiten, enthaltend Pr. Sg. (S. 10—136) und den Anfang der Übersetzung hierzu bis pag. 38 b. Der Verleger (Loescher) war nun nach Ascolis Angaben der Ansicht, wenn mein angekündigter 'Thesaurus linguae Hibernicae veteris atque mediae aetatis' vor Ascolis 'volume secondo' erscheine, werde dieser buchhändlerisch so geschädigt, dafs er ihn nicht riskieren könne; er beabsichtige daher (nach Ascoli), die Fortsetzung des 1. Bandes, der Glossen von Ml., für die Öffentlichkeit ganz zu suspendieren, bis 'volume secondo' ganz erschienen sei, damit ich mein angekündigtes Vorhaben nicht vorher ausführen könne. Dies alles teilte mir Ascoli im Sommer 1881 unter lebhaftem Bedauern seinerseits

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Acc. Sing. *sens* vergleiche den Dat. Sing. *icachsens foirbthiu* 23 b, 2 neben *asians* 11 a, 18, *insians* 12 d, 23, *isslansib* 27 a, 29, *aséis* 14 d, 28. Die Glosse sagt also 'literalem (sc. legem) secundum

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mit und setzte hinzu, es wäre ihm natürlich auch sehr schmerzlich, daſs er das Material zu den 'abondanti Spogli grammaticali et lessicali' vergeblich gesammelt habe; aus den Mitteilungen, die Ascoli weiter über diese für den zweiten Teil seines volume secondo angekündigten Spogli machte, schien mir ganz klar hervorzugehen, daſs er damals (1881) nur daran dachte, das von Zeuſs nicht benutzte Material von Ml. 37—146 grammatisch und lexikalisch zu verwerten, also lexikalisch Ml. zu bringen und durch Zitate und Verweise aus ZE. zu erläutern: ein selbständiges altirisches Wörterbuch Ascolis muſste ich für absolut ausgeschlossen halten. Ich war natürlich über die Drohung Loeschers sehr bestürzt, und da ich einerseits mich der Mühe überheben wollte, nach Mailand zur Ausbeute der Handschrift zu reisen, und anderseits als junger Mann dem angesehenen und von mir verehrten Sprachforscher Ascoli nach Möglichkeit entgegen kommen wollte, suchte ich nach einem Ausgleich. Ich schrieb an Ascoli, ich bedauere Loeschers Entschluſs in hohem Maſse meinetwegen und wegen der anderen Keltologen, die doch seit 1878 ebenso sehnsüchtig auf Ml. fol. 37 ff. warteten wie ich; aber mir schienen die Dinge nicht so sich entgegen zu stehen, wie Loescher annehme: fünf bis sechs Jahre könnten immer noch ins Land gehen, bis mein Thesaurus erscheine, da ich auſser LU. nicht nur die damals schon vorliegenden Faksimiles von LBr. und LL. hinein verarbeiten wolle, sondern auch noch Material aus anderen mittelirischen Hss. in Oxford und Dublin, das ich sammeln wolle; mir käme es vorläufig darauf an, die Fortsetzung von Ml. zu erhalten, um das Material in mein altirisches Zettelwörterbuch nach und nach einzuordnen. Nach geraumer Zeit erhielt ich von Ascoli einen Brief, in dem er mir mitteilte, nach längeren Verhandlungen sei er mit Loescher zu einem Übereinkommen gelangt, das an eine von mir zu erfüllende Bedingung geknüpft sei: Loescher wolle den Text von Ml. in einzelnen Lieferungen in rascherer Reihenfolge neben den Lieferungen des volume secondo erscheinen lassen, ja Ascoli sogar ermächtigen, mir die einzelnen Aushängebogen von Ml. fol. 37 ff. (Bogen 8, Seite 113 ff.) sofort nach Abzug zu übersenden, wenn ich mich verpflichte, daſs mein angekündigtes Alt- und mittelirisches Wörterbuch nicht eher in den Druck gegeben würde, bis Ascolis volume secondo mit den Spogli grammaticali e lessicali vollständig erschienen sei. Da ich ja immer mit mindestens fünf oder sechs Jahren bis zum Erscheinen meines Werkes gerechnet hatte, schien mir diese Bedingung eine so harmlose, daſs ich im Jahre 1882 mein Wort an Ascoli verpfändete in dem geforderten Sinne. Durch dieses persönliche Opfer habe ich den übrigen Keltologen Ascolis Ausgabe von Bogen 8—39 zugänglich gemacht. Ich selbst erhielt dann sehr bald, nachdem ich mein Wort gegeben hatte, die einzelnen Aushängebogen des 1. Bandes (Bogen 8 ff.), zuerst in ziemlich rascher Aufeinanderfolge: sie waren auf besserem Papier und trugen alle oben rechts von Ascolis Hand *Tibi soli*; einzelnen waren dann noch Grüſse wie *Vale et salve asperrime Cimber!* zugefügt. Zu meiner Betrübnis

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historiam implevisti et non scrutas ejus sensum', und ist nach der Zählung bei Stokes als 1d, 22 einzureihen.

2. fol. 2a. Zu Römer 3, 4 'Est enim deus verax omnis autem homo mendax' ist übergeschrieben über den Text von 'omnis' an:

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erschien aber, während ich fleifsig (1883—1884 in Dublin, 1885 in Oxford und Dublin) mitteliriaches Material sammelte und z. T. verarbeitete (s. Kelt. Studien 6 'Zum mittelirischen Wortschatz' in Kuhns Zeitschrift 30, 1—112), Jahre hindurch nichts weiter von volume secondo, an dessen vollständiges Erscheinen ich gebunden war. Endlich kam 1888 — also sechs Jahre nach unserer mich — in Wirklichkeit nur mich — bindenden Abmachung eine Fortsetzung: nicht Fortsetzung der den ersten Teil von volume secondo bildenden Appendici, die bei Bogen 12 (S. 188) stecken geblieben waren, sondern der Anfang des zweiten Teiles von volume secondo, der die abondanti Spogli grammaticali e lessicali bringen sollte. Die wenigen Bogen, die ich zuerst erhielt, trugen den Haupttitel 'Illustrazioni', begannen mit neuer Bogenbezeichnung 1*, 2* etc., neuer Seitenbezeichnung (römische Buchstaben); als Untertitel auf Blatt 2 stand 'Glossario dell' antico Irlandese composto da G. J. Ascoli' und nach einer Vorrede begann S. XVII ein 'Glossarium Palaeo-Hibernicum'!, den Anfang von *a* enthaltend und angelegt wie des seligen Graff Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz. Dafs das etwas anderes war, als die 1878 angekündigten und auch mir 1881/82 gegenüber betonten Spogli lessicali, lag auf der Hand. Mir war bald klar: 1. dieser volume secondo würde als Ganzes nach menschlichem Ermessen nie zu Ascolis Lebzeiten fertig werden, wie ja tatsächlich eingetreten ist; es war dadurch für mich wegen des gegebenen Wortes ganz ausgeschlossen innerhalb eines Zeitraumes, mit dem der Mensch rechnen darf, meinen Plan auszuführen. 2. Wenn das Glossarium, also die erste Hälfte des zweiten Teiles des volume secondo, fertig wurde, was ich als wahrscheinlich annahm, dann war, so unpraktisch es auch angelegt ist, auf ein Menschenalter mindestens eine andere Sammlung des altirischen Sprachschatzes unnötig. Die Germanisten sind mit dem reichlich so unpraktischen 'Althochdeutschen Sprachschatz' von Graff (1835—1843) durch Hinzufügung von Mafsmanns Index (1846) zwei Menschenalter ausgekommen, dann mufste eine Handvoll Keltisten nach Hinzufügung eines ähnlichen Hilfsmittels mit dem fertig gestellten Glossarium von Ascoli auch auskommen. 3. Bei meinen Studien in Dublin in den Jahren 1884 und 1885 hatte ich von Atkinsons Plänen und den mit den reichen Mitteln der Royal Irish Academy ins Werk gesetzten Vorarbeiten für ein umfassendes mittelirisches Wörterbuch Kenntnis erhalten, das ja, wenn es zu Stande kam, schliefslich ein Werk wie das von mir geplante nach der anderen Seite stark überholen mufste. Da es nicht meine Art ist, weggeschwommenen Fellen als betrübter Lohgerber lange nachzuschauen, auch wenn sie nicht auf ganz einwandsfreie Art mir entrissen wurden, so war bald ein Entschlufs gefafst. Ich schrieb (1888) an Ascoli, mich für die übersendeten ersten Bogen des Glossariums bedankend, ich habe meinen 1881 angekündigten Plan betreffs des Thesaurus nunmehr vollständig aufgegeben, und er brauche in Bezug auf das Tempo seiner Publikation in Zukunft ebenso wenig wie in der

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'.i. quia nemo sine cremine in comparatione dei, omnis homo ɔ*amiris*'. Es ist *amires* (Gen. Sing. *amirisse*, Dat. Acc. Sing. *amiris*) ganz gewöhnlich in Wb. (2c, 29; 11b, 18; 15a, 29; 21b, 1; 26a, 5; 31b, 16; 28c, 13; 33b, 5) in der Bedeutung 'diffidentia' wie auch das abgeleitete *amiressach*, wobei zu beachten, dafs das neuirische

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Vergangenheit auf mich Rücksicht zu nehmen: meine auf zehn Jahre sich erstreckenden (1877—1888) lexikalischen Sammlungen reichten für meine grammatischen und philologischen Arbeiten aus, auch wenn ich es nicht mehr erleben sollte, dafs seine (Ascolis) und Atkinsons Pläne durchgeführt würden; ich würde in Zukunft an Stelle der Lexikographie neben den grammatischen Arbeiten der literargeschichtlichen Forschung in Verfolg der in den Kelt. Studien 5 (Kuhns Ztschr. 28, 417—689) eingeschlagenen Richtung meine Kraft widmen. So entstanden an Stelle des 1881 geplanten und bis 1888 systematisch vorbereiteten Wörterbuchs der alt- und mittelirischen Sprache die 'Keltischen Beiträge' in Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum 32. 33. 35, die Forschungen zur Arthursage in den Göttinger Gel. Anz. 1890 und in der Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache und Litteratur 12. 13, die Schriften 'Nennius vindicatus', 'Die Keltische Kirche in Britannien und Irland' und 'Pelagius in Irland'. Dafs die keltische Forschung nicht seit 15 Jahren ein Wörterbuch wie das von mir vorbereitete besitzt, dafür möge man also mich nicht anklagen, dafs ich mein Versprechen nicht gehalten, sondern sich anderswo bedanken. Ascoli hat mir im Verlauf seine Arbeiten regelmäfsig zugeschickt, wie ich mit den meinigen tat. Eine ganze Reihe von Jahren nach 1888, als die Fortsetzungen von Ascoli lange ausgeblieben waren, erhielt ich wieder einen Brief, in dem er dies entschuldigte: Krankheit in Familie und eigene Krankheit habe dies verschuldet; er hoffe jetzt wieder rascher drucken zu können, habe aber, um sein Werk auf alle Fälle sicher zu stellen, soeben einen Schritt getan. Er komme, wie er schrieb, soeben vom Gericht, wo er sein Testament deponiert habe, und in diesem Testament habe er bestimmt, dafs ich, im Falle er vor der Vollendung seines Werkes sterbe, dies beendigen solle. Meine postwendende Antwort war, ich fühle mich durch das bewiesene Vertrauen sehr geehrt, hoffe aber aufrichtig, dafs er selbst sein Werk zu Ende führen könne, da ich die mir zugedachte Ehre nicht annehmen könne. An die neue Kette wollte ich mich nicht legen lassen. — Zum Schlufs noch eine Bemerkung: ich bin auch noch heute derselben Meinung wie 1888 hinsichtlich eines altirischen Wörterbuches: durch einen drei bis vier Bogen starken Index zu Ascolis Glossarium in der Art von Mafsmanns Index zu Graffs Werk, der auch noch das Wenige, was aus dem Altirischen, das in Hss. aus altirischer Zeit erhalten ist, enthalten kann, ist allen wirklichen Bedürfnissen auf ein Menschenalter und länger abgeholfen. Ein neues kostspieliges Werk als Krönung des zweibändigen Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus von Stokes und Strachan mufs ich als eben solchen groben Unfug betrachten wie den Wiederabdruck der wichtigen, genügend sicher herausgegebenen altirischen Sprachdenkmäler in Mailand, St. Gallen, Würzburg, Karlsruhe in eben diesem Thesaurus. Ich denke, meine Studie wird hierüber nebenbei einiges Licht verbreiten.

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aimhreas ganz allgemein 'doubt, suspicion, distrust' ohne Beschränkung auf den religiösen Begriff bezeichnet (neuir. *gan aimhreas* ganz so gebraucht wie neukymr. *yn ddiameu*). Die Glosse ist zwischen 2 a 5 und 2 a 6 nach Zählung bei Stokes als 2 a 5 a einzureihen.

3. fol. 2 b. Zu Römer 4, 2 'habet gloriam sed non apud deum' steht über 'habet gloriam' die rein lateinische Glosse '.i. apud homines' und über 'sed non apud deum' gemischt '.i. *is* apud homines'. Ist zwischen Glosse 23 und 24 bei Stokes als 2 b 23 a einzufügen.

4. fol. 3 a. Zu Römer 5, 13 'peccatum autem non imputabatur' steht die Glosse aus Pseudoprimasius '.i. non in coelo sed in præsenti, non ab deo sed ab homine erat*som* sed non imputabatur'. Sie kommt vor 3 a, 1 bei Stokes.

5. fol. 3 c. Zu Römer 6, 23 'gratia autem uita æterna in Christo Jesu Domino nostro' steht links auf dem Rande: 'hl. (Hilarius) uita æterna in Christo quia impiorum in futuro uita eterna erit sed non in Christo Jesu. *isinun* híc gratia et vita æterna. Pl. (Pelagius) si(cut) grati si(cut) uita'. Die Glosse steht vor 3 c, 2 bei Stokes, also 3 c, 1 a.

6. fol. 3 c. Zu Römer 7, 2 'Nam quæ sub viro est mulier vivente viro alligata est legi; si autem mortuus fuerit vir ejus soluta est a lege viri' stand auf dem stark mitgenommenen linken Rande in sechs kurzen Zeilen eine Glosse, von der ich mit einiger Sicherheit glaubte lesen zu können: '.i. *isinunn* ciu | ... et lex et | ... tum *isi* | ... *da.* mu | lier et homo et | plebs vel populus'; den Schlufs von Zeile 3 und Anfang von Zeile 4 dachte ich, da das *a* in *da* ein Abkürzungszeichen trägt, zu *isinunn dano* zu ergänzen, glaubte auch zuweilen — wobei der Wunsch die Sehkraft mag gestärkt haben — so lesen zu können.[1]) Die Glosse würde als 6 a nach Stokes Zählung zu bezeichnen sein.

7. fol. 4 c. Zu Römer 9, 13 steht zu 'sicut scriptum' von Prima manus hinzugefügt: '*i* Melachia', d. h. im Propheten

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[1]) Stern scheint mir die Anfänge von Zeile 2 und 3 glücklich durch 'itas' und 'manda' zu ergänzen, so dafs die Glosse wäre: '.i. *isinunn* civitas et lex et mandatum, *isinunn dano* mulier et homo et plebs vel populus'.

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Malachias 1, 2. Die Glosse gehört zwischen 4c, 14 und 15 bei Stokes, also 14a.[1])

8. fol. 5b. Zu Römer 11, 11 'ut illos emulentur' steht über 'emulentur' vom gewöhnlichen Glossator '.i. *geinti* l. iudei'. Es ist der in Wb. mehr als 25mal vorkommende irische Plural des lateinischen Lehnwortes, so gleich in der direkt vorhergehenden Glosse 5b, 12; also 5b, 12a.

9. fol. 5b. Zu Römer 11, 15 stehen neben den einen Zeilenschlufs bildenden Worten 'quae adsumptio est' über 'tio' beginnend auf dem rechten Rand zwei in den Endbuchstaben mir unleserliche Zeilen einer lateinisch-irischen Glosse: '.i. quid aliud incutet .i. ... | *ní manucretitis h* ... | *h*'.[2]) Hier ist *manucretitis* (si crederent) in seinen Teilen klar; die Glosse kommt vor 5b, 22 bei Stokes' Zählung.

10. fol. 11d. Zu 1. Corinther 11, 26 'Quotiescunque enim manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bibetis, mortem domini adnuntiabitis, donec veniat' steht über 'adnuntiabitis' die Glosse '.i. exemplum praedicationis *oc oif*(riund)' d. h. diese Worte sind

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[1]) Die Stelle enthält einen der Dutzenden im Verlauf noch zur Sprache kommenden Belege dafür, dafs Stokes' 'revised edition' von 1887 ein Rückschritt war gegen meine Ausgabe von 1881. Stokes bietet (S. 20) im Text 'Quia maior seruiet minori, sicut scriptum est: [14]'. Nach der ganzen Anlage von Stokes' Ausgabe mufs jeder Benutzer annehmen, dafs die zu 14 gegebene Glosse '.i. *inti asiniu* .i. *isdu*' über dem Worte 'scriptum est' stehe und dazu gehöre. Nichts verkehrter als das: die Glosse steht in der Hs. sogar in einer ganz anderen Zeile wie 'scriptum'! Die Worte 'Quia major' stehen am Schlufs einer Zeile und über 'maior' steht, wie der Sinn es erfordert und in meiner Ausgabe S. 24 richtig angegeben, die Glosse '.i. *intí asiniu* .i. *isdu*'. Dann kommt im Texte in der folgenden Zeile 'serviet minori sicut scriptum est'; über 'minori' steht vom gewöhnlichen Glossator '.i. iacobo' und über 'scriptum' von der Prima manus deutlich '*imelachia*'. In der Neuausgabe von 1901 ist — wohl von Strachan auf Grund meiner Ausgabe und dem Sinne nach, da die Herausgeber die Hss. nicht verglichen haben — die Nummer 14 richtig zu 'major' gesetzt. Dafs es sich aber in der 'revised edition' (1887) nicht um ein zufälliges Versehen von Stokes an der Stelle handelt, geht daraus hervor, dafs, wie im Verlauf gezeigt werden soll, sie Dutzende von ähnlichen gegen die Überlieferung verstofsende Änderungen meiner Ausgabe enthält, die auch die Neuausgabe von 1901 ungebessert läfst.

[2]) Nach Einblick in die mir von Stern vorgelegte Photographie Wb. der hiesigen Königlichen Bibliothek zweifele ich nicht im geringsten, dafs die von mir auf dem geschwärzten und stark beschädigten Rande nur als *h* ... | *h* erkannten Spuren nach Ausweis der Photographie sicher sind *hui* | *li*, so dafs der Schlufs der Glosse lautet *manucretitis huili*.

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oder sollen als 'Beispiel der Ansprache bei der Messe' gebraucht werden. Es liegt hier, abgesehen von *dindoffriund* im Stowe Missale, der einzige Beleg für *oifrend* 'Messe' in den altirischen Glossen vor. Die Glosse steht zwischen 11 d 6 und 11 d 7 nach Stokes' Zählung.

11. fol. 12a. Zu 1. Cor. 12, 13 steht in der Glosse (16 bei Stokes) zu den Worten 'siue gentiles siue servi' nicht wie ich S. 73 Z. 10 drucke und Stokes mir in der 'revised edition' und in der Neuausgabe (1901) nachdruckt '.i. iudei et genti[les]', sondern ganz klar '.i. iudei et *genti*'. Es fehlt jede Spur eines Abkürzungszeichens an 'genti', das daher der auch oben unter 8 nachgetragene irische Pluralis des lateinischen Lehnwortes ist, der bald *geinti* bald *genti* (z. B. Wb. 4 d, 17; 5 c, 3. 6; 6 d, 8; 7 a 2; 7 c, 16; 9 b, 19) geschrieben wird.

12. fol. 20 c. Von Galater 5, 22 steht der Anfang bis zum Worte 'pax' in letzter Zeile von fol. 12 b und über 'caritas' die von mir S. 126, Z. 1. 2 und von Stokes 20 b, 22 gegebene Glosse.[1]) Dann fährt die erste Zeile auf fol. 20 c fort im Text mit 'patientia longanimitas bonitas benigni | tas fides modestia' usw., und auf dem oberen stark geschwärzten Rande steht, über dem Schlufs von 'bonitas' beginnend und über 'benigni' hinlaufend, die Glosse

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[1]) Die Stelle ist wieder lehrreich zur Charakterisierung des in der vorvorhergehenden Anmerkung besprochenen Vorgehens von Stokes. Es schliefst, wie oben angegeben, auf fol. 20 b der Text mit 'caritas, gaudium, pax'; die von Stokes als 20 b, 22 gegebene Glosse '.i. *coir cid* caritas *nobed itossuch* sine qua virtutis cæteræ non reputantar' gehört doch sonnenklar zu 'caritas': hier steht sie auch in der Hs. über caritas gaudium hingeschrieben. Demgemäfs entspricht meine Ausgabe S. 126, 1—2 dem Sinne und der Überlieferung — cf. Suppl. S. 10, wo 'reputantur' gebessert ist. — Was tut nun Stokes, um eine 'revised edition desirable' erscheinen zu lassen? Er druckt als Text 'Fructus autem spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, etc. [22]' und gibt zu 22 die angeführte Glosse. Nach der Einrichtung seiner Ausgabe mufs man annehmen, dafs die Glosse in der Hs. entweder bei 'patientia' oder den seinem 'etc.' entsprechenden 'longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas' steht. Keins von beiden ist der Fall, ja während Stokes die Glosse als 20 b, 22 einordnet, stellt er sie zu Textwörtern, die in der Hs. auf einer neuen Seite (20 c d) stehen! In der Neuausgabe von 1901 ist 'etc.' weggelassen und nun haben wir 'patientia [22]'. Also auch hier die Glosse 20 b, 22 zu einem Worte bezogen, das in der Überlieferung auf anderer Seite steht (20 c), zu dem sie dem Sinne nach nicht gehört und in der Überlieferung nicht geschrieben ist. Zu solchen Ungereimtheiten führte die Stokes bei der Herstellung seiner 'revised edition' beherrschende Verbesserungsmanie.

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'.i. *fuairriche*'. Zuerst las ich nur *fuair* ... deutlich, aber bei günstiger Beleuchtung und gleichzeitigem leisen Betupfen der Stelle mit einem feuchten Schwämmchen trat *fuairriche* ganz klar hervor. Es ist das Abstraktum zu dem Wb. 5d, 15 in der Bedeutung 'clemens' belegten Adjektiv *fuairrech*, das Ml. 20c, 10 (*fuarrech*) ein 'clemens' glossiert; Ml. 46b, 26 ist der Genitiv dieses Abstraktums in der Form *infuairrige* belegt. Die Glosse kommt vor 20c, 1 nach Stokes Zählung.

13. fol. 21c. Zu Epheser 3, 8 'in gentibus evangelizare investigabiles divitias Christi' steht über 'investigabiles divitias' die Glosse: 'Pl. futuras divitias l. *ícce* generis homani', also 'der Rettung des Menschengeschlechts.' Die Glosse ist zwischen 21c, 20 und 21 bei Stokes einzureihen und zu vergleichen der Anfang von Glosse 22 *rún ícce incheneli dóine.*

14. fol. 22c. Zu Epheser 5, 22 'Mulieres viris suis subditae sint' ist über 'mulieres virís suís' die Glosse '.i. ut d(ici)t*som* infirmus factus sum infirmis rl.' geschrieben. Der Glossator hängt also hier und in der Glosse unter 4 die Particula augens der 3. Person an die lateinischen Verbalformen, als ob 'erat' und 'dt.' für ihn Ideogramme wären für die entsprechenden irischen Verbalformen wie l. für *no*, et oder 7 für *ocus* und ähnliches.

Ehe ich zu einem weiteren Punkte übergehe, will ich vorläufig feststellen, daſs alle diese neuen irischen Glossen auch in der Neuausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I, 499—712 fehlen.

II. Stellen, in denen sowohl meine Ausgabe (1881/86) von Wb. als Stokes' 'revised edition' (1887) der Überlieferung nicht ganz gerecht werden.

Stokes hat, wie sowohl aus seinen Mitteilungen in 'The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg' (1887) als auch aus mancherlei Bemerkungen in der Neuausgabe im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus hervorgeht, keine selbständige Abschrift der Würzburger Glossen, sondern nur eine im Jahre 1883 veranstaltete Kollation meiner Ausgabe mit der Handschrift. Hierauf basiert die schon erwähnte Anzeige im Litter. Centralblatt 1883, Nr. 48, ebenso wie die 'revised edition' (1887); diese Kollation verbunden mit einer Benutzung meines Supplements von 1886 ist auch die Grundlage

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der Neuausgabe im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus. Aus vielen Einzelheiten in Stokes' Ausgaben von 1887 und 1901 geht für den Kundigen klar hervor, dafs Stokes 1883 bei der Anfertigung der Kollation an eine Neuausgabe nicht dachte, daher er manches nicht anmerkte, was er sonst wohl getan hätte. Er hat dann bei der Vorbereitung der Ausgabe von 1887 einerseits zahlreiche willkürliche Änderungen gegen meine Ausgabe vorgenommen, wozu nie und nimmer die Überlieferung der Handschrift Veranlassung sein konnte: zwei solcher Fälle habe ich in den Anmerkungen zu den Glossen 7 und 12 berührt und zahlreiche, viel gravierendere werden in Abschnitt V zur Sprache kommen; anderseits hat Stokes hilflos Irrtümer aus meiner Ausgabe nachgedruckt, weil sie ihm bei seiner Kollation nicht aufgefallen waren. Dahin gehört also das im vorigen Abschnitt unter 11 besprochene 'genti(les)' für *genti* der Handschrift. Hierher gehört ferner ein sehr charakteristisches Beispiel, zu dem ich etwas ausführlicher sein mufs.

Die Anlage meiner Ausgabe ist die, dafs, wie in der Hs., die gröfseren Ganzen des Textes eine Einheit bilden, also z. B. sowohl Römerbrief (S. 4—45) als Philemonbrief (S. 189. 190); innerhalb dieser Ganzen ist im Text kein Abschnitt aufser neuem Zeilenanfang. Die entsprechenden Spalten der Hs. (fol. 5a oder 12b) sind auf dem Rande der Ausgabe beigesetzt dort, wo der Inhalt einer neuen Spalte beginnt. Hierdurch ist es möglich, dafs im Satz ein solches Marginale wie z. B. 24c ein oder zwei Zeilen zu hoch oder zu tief zu stehen kommt und dies in der Korrektur übersehen wird, oder dafs selbst nach erledigter Korrektur einmal eine solche Verschiebung vorkommen kann. Die Folge ist, dafs in der Ausgabe eine Glosse als letzte einer Spalte erscheint, die in Wirklichkeit erste der folgenden ist, oder umgekehrt eine Glosse als erste einer neuen Spalte auftritt, die letzte der vorhergehenden Kolumne ist. Der erstere Fall kommt in meiner Ausgabe fol. 24c vor, wo das Marginale zwei Zeilen herunter gerutscht ist: es schliefst fol. 24b ab mit 'Explicit æpis(tola) ad Pilipenses' und das ganze bei mir S. 147 gedruckte Argument zu 1. Thessalonicher steht auf 24c, daher auch die Glosse der prima manus *caindloir* nicht letzte von 24b ist, sondern erste von 24c. Wie ein solcher Irrtum entstehen konnte, ist bei meiner Ausgabe sofort verständlich; anders bei Stokes: er hat die Glosse als 24b, 32 statt 24c, 1 und dies ist

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bei ihm nur verständlich, wenn er hilflos auf den mechanischen Irrtum meiner Ausgabe hineingefallen ist. Stokes hat nämlich neben den Hauptabschnitten nach Briefen noch Untereinheiten nach Foliospalten, die durch die übergesetzten Foliospalten bezeichnet werden und innerhalb derer er die Glossen fortlaufend zählt. So wird bei ihm S. 140 das Argument zu 1. Thess. in den Abschnitt 24 b gestellt, die Glosse 24 b, 32 gezählt und dann kommt Absatz und neue Überschrift fol. 24 c. Für jemand, der Stokes' revised edition an der Hs. vergleicht, mufs dies alles so absurd vorkommen, dafs er vor einem Rätsel steht. Die Lösung empfängt er, wenn er beachtet, dafs eben nicht der Einblick in die Hs. den Irrtum bei Stokes verschuldet, sondern dafs er einem kleinen mechanischen Versehen meiner Ausgabe, das bei einem Einblick in meine Einrichtung sofort verständlich ist, zum Opfer gefallen ist, also eben der Ausgabe, die durch 'revised' edition ersetzt werden soll.[1]) Das Komische bei der Sache ist nun, dafs schon in meiner Ausgabe von 1881 das Versehen an einer Stelle stillschweigend verbessert ist: S. XIII heifst es Zeile 3 v. u. in der Aufzählung der Glossen der prima manus wörtlich so '*cicrud, boid* 24 a; *eslabre* 24 b; *caindloir, fresdel* 24 c; *ol* 25 b'. Es waren natürlich meine 'Prolegomena' auf Grund meines Ms. und nicht der ein Korrekturversehen enthaltenden Aushängebogen geschrieben, daher das richtige Zitat. Um so eigenartiger wirkt Stokes' 'revised edition' (1887) und die monumental sein sollende Ausgabe von 1901.

Übrigens bedurfte es solcher Versehen meinerseits nicht. Stokes hat, damit ich seinen Verdiensten in dem Zusammenhang gerecht werde, proprio marte solche Dinge als Verbesserungen fertig gebracht. Die Glosse, die ich S. 62, 5 v. u. als letzte von fol. 10 b mit der Note 'Haec interpretatio in inferiore margine adscripta est' gebe, bietet Stokes S. 57 als fol. 10 c, 1 mit dem hier sinnlosen Zusatz [in marg. inf.]! Die neueste Ausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeoh. I hat sowohl den übersehenen als den von Stokes neu gemachten Fehler.

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[1]) Zum Schlufs von Abschnitt V will ich zu zeigen versuchen, dafs bei etwa dreiviertel der rund 200 Irrtümer der Stokes'schen Ausgabe, die in Abschnitt V zur Sprache kommen, Stokes wahrscheinlich einem seinerseits kopflos begangenen Mifsverständnis der von ihm geschmähten Ausgabe zum Opfer gefallen ist.



Ich gebe nun eine Reihe von Fällen, in denen Stokes in seiner 'revised edition' (1887) der Überlieferung nicht vollkommen gerecht wird, weil er entweder Versehen meiner editio princeps unbesehen mit herübergenommen oder nur unvollkommen berichtigt hat. Leider mufs ich hier — ebenso wie unter Punkt III — auf die Vollständigkeit verzichten, die unter I angestrebt wurde, weil bei dem erwähnten Brande von den Blättern, die die Collectanea zu Punkt II und III enthielten, einige ganz vernichtet und andere durch Feuer, Wasser und Schmutz teilweise unlesbar geworden sind. Die Zählung der Glossen ist nach Stokes' Ausgabe.

fol. 1 c, 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Der Text (Röm. 2, 1. 2) steht in drei Zeilen so, wobei mit || Zeilenschlufs bezeichnet ist: Propter quod inexcussabilis es ó homo omnis qui || iudicas. In quo enim iudicas alterum te ipsum contemp || nas eadem enim agis qui iudicas. Scimus enim quoniam iu || . . . In der ersten Zeile steht Glosse 8 wie bei mir und Stokes angegeben ist. — In der zweiten Zeile steht über dem ersten Wort (iudicas) '.i. alium', über 'In quo enim' steht '.i. iudicio'; über dem fünften Wort (iudicas) steht ein Verweisungszeichen, dem auf dem Rande links ein gleiches entspricht und wozu die Glosse gehört '.i. qui consent(is) facien(ti) malum .i. nam . . . ntær .i. [*d*]*iacairigther* et *lasse dongní so iarum* . . . *iri essiu* té ipsum [ɔ]tempnás .i. *isfollus addrog*[*d*]*uinesiu lasse .omidt*(*er*) et *nocairigther anolcc diacocéitbani*'. Über der ganzen Zeile 2 hinangedrängt an Zeile 1 steht dann, durch ein vor den Langstrich des Text-P in 'Propter' stehendes 'Pl.' (d. h. Pelagius) eingeleitet, die Glosse 'non quod esset malum corripere alios sed non satis est ad iustitiam si malus sís'. — In der dritten Zeile steht über 'eadem' die Glosse '.i. mala', über 'enim agis' steht '.i. voluntate .i. *lase ɔcéitbani*', über 'qui iudicas' steht '.i. *asnolcc* quod facit alius'; über 'Scimus enim quoniam' steht '.i. *ní bocomitesti dó acht baléicthi* judici justo'; über 'iu ||' — d. h. dem Anfang von iudicium — steht '.i. *dígal*'. Man sieht, dafs auch in meiner Ausgabe manches ungenau ist, aber besser immerhin als die Konfusion der 'revised' edition.

fol. 1 c, 16—18. Die Verbesserungen von Stokes sind noch viel grofsartiger als die eben betrachteten zu fol. 1 c, 8—12. Der Text (Röm. 2, 7) steht über drei Zeilen: 'Hiis quidem qui secudum patientiam || boni operis s(un)t gloriam et honorem et incurruptionem que || rentibus vitam æternam'. Dieser Text ist, wie jeder

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sieht und ein Einblick ins Griechische bestätigt, eine Kontamination zweier lateinischer Übersetzungen, einer der Vulgata nahestehenden (qui ... sunt et ... quaerunt) und einer sich mehr ans Griechische anschliefsenden (Hiis quidem secundum ... querentibus). Es steht in der ersten Zeile über 'Hiis' die Glosse '.i. reddet', über 'qui' steht '.i. *indí*', und über 'secundum patientiam' im Ende der Zeile '.i. *foditiu cechimnid* in praesenti *ocasgnam* glo(riae) et hono(ris) in futuro'. Nun zur zweiten Textzeile: über 'boni operis' ist ein Verweisungszeichen (kleines *f*), dem auf dem Rande ein gleiches entspricht mit der Glosse: 'Pl. quia sancti fulgebunt sicut sól'; über 'gloriam' ist dann ein ganz anderes Verweisungszeichen (schräg liegender Keil mit zwei untergesetzten Punkten), dem auf dem Rande unter der eben gegebenen Glosse ein gleiches entspricht und wozu steht: 'Né putemus eandem esse, gloria *didiu*, venite rl'; über 'honorem' des Textes ein Verweisungszeichen ähnlich dem bei 'gloriam' und auf dem Rande direkt nach der ebén gegebenen Glosse steht 'honor possedite vel honor filiorum Dei per quem angelos fugitivos iudicabunt', womit — von den Worten 'honor filiorum' an — ein Pelagiuszitat ohne Angabe der Quelle, wie oft, gegeben ist; über der ganzen Zeile hingeschrieben ist dann die Erklärung zu 'incorruptionem' nämlich: 'Hl. — d. h. Hilarius — incurruptionem caute addit, in presenti enim sepe honor amittitur quia corruptibilis qui dat et qui accipit, in die hautem iudicii erunt tota æterna'. Endlich die dritte Zeile: über '(que)rentibus' steht '.i. in presenti uita' und über 'vitam æternam' nichts. Was ich in meiner Ausgabe gegeben habe, ist richtig, da ja nach Einrichtung meiner Ausgabe '.i. *foditiu cechimnid*' etc. zu 'secundum patientiam' und nicht zu 'vitam aeternam' gehört.

fol. 2 a, 3. Die auf dem Rande stehenden Worte '*Ní fortorbe*' bis 'Judeorum' sind eine besondere Glosse wie ich habe; sie sind durch ein übergesetztes Verweisungszeichen (Winkel mit einem Punkt drin) zu dem Worte 'primum' in Vers 2 bezogen, wozu ihr Sinn trefflich pafst.

fol. 2 c, 6. Was auf dem Rande steht (*Isderb* bis *do*) kann nach der Hs. nicht Fortsetzung des von Stokes als Anfang von Glosse 6 gegebenen sein, sondern mufs eine besondere Glosse sein, wie ich annehme. Es steht zu 'praeputio' der Glosse, worauf Stokes *Isderb* etc. folgen läfst, ein Verweisungszeichen (wie drei übereinandergesetzte Längezeichen aussehend) untergesetzt, dem

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auf dem Rande ein gleiches entspricht mit den Worten 'non in circumcisione sed in praeputio', sodafs also die Glosse 6 lautet '.i. *inintain romból* in praeputio? non in circumcisione sed in praeputio.' Über diesen letzteren Worten von 'non in circ.' an und neben den Textworten 'Quomodo ergo reputata est? in circucisione' steht '*Isderb linn isní nim*[*dibiu*] *atruirmed hiresche do*'.

fol. 2 c, 9. Die Glosse ist bei mir und darnach bei Stokes falsch bezogen: sie steht nämlich nicht über 'in praeputio' in dem Satzteil 'quae est in praeputio' sondern in der folgenden Zeile über 'omnium credentium in praeputio' (Röm. 4, 11), wofür die Vulgata liest 'o. cr. per praeputium'; dadurch wird die Glosse verständlich: 'l. (vel) per praeputium .i. *trinephthóbe*' d. h. der Glossator trägt mit 'l. per praeputium' die Lesart der Vulgata nach und erklärt sie dann irisch.

fol. 3 a, 1. 2. Der Text (Röm. 5, 13. 14) lautet in zwei Zeilen, den beiden ersten von fol. 3 a, so: 'peccatum hautem non imputabatur cum lex non esset || Sed regnavit mors ab adam usque ad ||. Über der ersten Zeile steht, schon auf dem linken Rand beginnend und bis 'imputabatur' gehend, die Glosse: '.i. non in cœlo sed in praesenti, non a deo sed ab homine, erat*som* sed non imputabatur'; dann steht über dem Rest der ersten Zeile über die Worte 'cum lex non esset' und über den rechten Rand: *nipoirgnæ ɔtanic* lex *arba* || und hierüber offenkundig als Fortsetzung: 'liber usque (ad adven)tum legis l. r. . . . ||. — Über den beiden ersten Worten der zweiten Textzeile (Sed regnavit) steht: '*ciasidbiursa* non inputebatur'; dann über 'mors' die Glosse '.i. diabolus'; über dem Rest der Zeile 'ab adam usque ad' steht: Gg. (d. h. Gregorius) 'regnum mortis diab(olus) est vel mors anime' und über dieser Glosse aus Gregor an die vorhergehende Zeile hinangedrängt: 'Pl. habens humanum genus sub suo dominatu', also die ganz richtige Erklärung zu denselben Textworten, wozu auch die Gregorstelle gehört. Ich habe also einen Fehler begangen; Stokes hat ihn in der 'revised edition' herüber genommen und in der Neuausgabe im Thesaurus hat er ihn durch eine Konjektur verschlimmert.

fol. 3 b, 28 'et *beded noïbde*' am Schlufs liest Zeufs (ZE. 718), Zimmer und Stokes. Trotzdem steht in der Hs. *noib de* als zwei Wörter, wie der Sinn erfordert, und Strachan im Thesaurus zu der Stelle konjiziert.

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fol. 3b, 31 steht sicher zu 'in sanctificationem', wie auch der Sinn zeigt.

fol. 3d, 25. 26 bilden — gegen meine und Stokes' Ausgabe — eine Glosse, wie ja auch der Sinn evident zeigt; hierzu kommt, dafs das in unseren Ausgaben vor 26 gegebene '.i.' in der Hs. nicht steht.

fol. 4a, 16. 17. Beide Glossen ohne '.i.' im Anfang — also ich und Stokes falsch —; Glosse 17 steht über 16, gehört also nicht zu 'glorificemur', wie Stokes angibt. Die im Thesaurus auf eigene Faust vorgenommene weitere Zusammenwerfung der Glossen hat, wie ja auch Chroust bezeugt, keinen Anhalt in der Überlieferung.[1])

fol. 4b, 1. Die Glosse gehört nicht zu den von mir und dann auch von Stokes angegebenen Worten, sondern klar zu dem vorhergehenden Wort 'nescimus' in dem Satzteil 'nam quid oremus, sicut oportet nescimus' (Römer 8, 26). Den Anfang las ich (S. 21): '.i. [*immi*] *tirchorsa*'; Stokes gibt (S. 18): '.i. (...) *tirchorsa*' und im Thesaurus aus Konjektur: '.i. [*ferid inne*] *tirchorsa*', während Chroust (Thesaurus I, 725) bemerkt: 'vor *chorsa* stehen zwölf

[1]) Es ist ungeheuer selten in Wb., dafs die Hauptband für den Kommentar eine Erklärung, der nicht eine Quelle wie Pl., Hl., Ori. etc. vorgesetzt ist, ohne Hinzufügung von '.i.' überschreibt; wo dies scheinbar vorkommt, zeigt genaues Zusehen, dafs es sich in Wirklichkeit um Fortsetzung einer Glosse handelt. Deshalb allein schon ist es auffallend, dafs 4a, 16. 17 ohne '.i.' eingeführt werden. Wenn wir uns die Vorlage, aus der die Glossenmasse von Wb. abgeschrieben ist, ähnlich wie Wb. vorstellen — d. h. die Glossen zwischen den Zeilen oft in mehreren Linien, die zum Teil links und rechts über den Rand laufen, hingeschrieben —, dann läfst sich denken, dafs in dieser Vorlage zu den Textworten 'coheredes autem Christi, si tamen compatimur ut et simul glorificemur' zu dem Worte 'glorificemur' folgende aus 4a, 16. 17. 18 bestehende Erklärung so stand: '.i. *indindocbál doratad docr. condartar dúnni less* ut scimus quoniam cum apparuerit similis ei erimus .i. *cororannam áorpe fricr. isamlid bami* coheredes *mdconfodmam amal cr.* l. cum Christo l. invicem'. Es war also in der Erklärung zuerst mit 'scimus quoniam' bis 'erimus' 1. Joh. 3, 2 zitiert und dies Zitat — wie ähnliches öfter geschieht — durch '.i. *cororannam*' etc. weiterhin erklärt. Der Hauptglossatorenhand von Wb. erwuchsen mit der Vorlage ähnliche Schwierigkeiten wie uns oft mit Wb., nämlich rasch zu bestimmen, wo eine Glosse anfängt oder wohin einzelne Teile gehören, aus welchen Schwierigkeiten er sich half wie im Text angegeben ist, indem er das 'similis ei erimus', womit seine Glosse 18 schliefst, mit 'qui similis ei erimus' zu Anfang von Glosse 17 wiederholte. Jedenfalls scheint Anfang von 17 Fortsetzung von 18 gewesen zu sein.

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Schafte; die Lesung *tir* ist mir sehr fraglich'. Bei meiner Kollation 1900, bei der ich wunderbar schönen Sonnenschein hatte, schrieb ich — also ohne Kenntnis des Thesaurus und der Bemerkung von Chroust — in meine Kollektaneen: 'beginnt klar mit .i. *miniitirchorsa*', was also dem von mir Sommer 1880 vermutungsweise gelesenen paläographisch sehr nahe kommt. In Güterbocks Handexemplar meiner Glossae Hibernicae, das er mir als Ersatz für mein durch den Brand sehr beschädigtes Handexemplar überliefs, steht auf dem Rande mit Bleistift angemerkt: *mini it°*?, wohl von ihm Sommer 1885 gelesen (s. oben S. 455).

fol. 4 b, 24. Es sind zwei Glossen, von denen die erste '.i. praesens nobis promisa' zu dem Textwort 'vita' (Römer 8, 38) gehört, worüber es steht, während erst die angebliche Fortsetzung der Glosse '.i. angelus mentiri' etc. zu dem Worte 'Angelus' gehört.

fol. 4 d, 13—15. Glosse 13 steht über 'offenderunt enim in', womit die Zeile schliefst; die folgende Zeile beginnt mit 'lapidem offensionis': hierüber steht '.i. effecit ofensionem illis', wozu nebenan als Fortsetzung *isbéss didu* usw. bis 'lapis angularis', also Glosse 15; dann kommt zu Anfang von Vers 33 ('Sicut scriptum est') die Glosse 14; weiter folgen lateinische Glossen zu 'in Sion lapidem' .i. Christum, zu 'offensionis' .i. iudeis und von erster Hand über scandali steht '.i. in belzefuth'. Zu letzterem kann die Glosse 15 nicht gehören, da sie keinen Sinn dann gibt und auch die Entfernung (drei Zeilen) in der Handschrift es nicht erlaubt. Meine Ausgabe ist also nicht ganz richtig und Stokes hat das Halbrichtige weiter verdreht, daher revised edition.

fol. 5 a, 9. 10. Die Textworte (Römer 10, 18. 19) 'in omnem terram exivit so || nus eorum et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum. Sed || dico numquid Israhel non cognovit? sind in der angegebenen Weise auf drei Zeilen verteilt, dafs an den Stellen || Zeilenschlufs ist. Über Schlufs der zweiten Zeile über 'Sed' steht, offenbar zu den Worten 'Sed dico' bis 'cognovit' gehörend, in drei ungleichen Zeilen '.i. *isdíniu dúibsi* || *anasbiursa rafitir cid israhel cretim* || *dogeintib*'; über 'numquid israhel' in der dritten Zeile steht *actmachotchela* und darüber 'Pl. gentes esse vocandas ad fidem'. Hier scheint mir klar, dafs *actmachotchela* Fortsetzung der irischen Glosse nach *dogeintib* ist, nur so liegt ein Sinn vor und zwar ein guter. Dann sagt der Glossator zu 'Sed dico: numquid

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Israhel non cognovit?' folgendes: 'es ist ehrenvoller für euch, was ich sage; auch Israhel weifs es, dafs die Heiden zum Glauben kommen sollen, nur dafs es (Israel) dies verhehlt'. Meine Ausgabe ist sicher nicht korrekt, aber die revised edition macht Gallimathias draus.

fol. 5 b, 32 'secundum meritum' bei mir und darnach bei Stokes (auch noch im Thesaurus Palaeoh.); lies 'secundum merita'.

fol. 5 c, 21 vor 'non ut fuit ante' ist bei mir 'sed' ausgelassen, ebenso bei Stokes.

fol. 5 d, 22 bei mir 'tolerari' für 'tollerari'; darnach auch bei Stokes 'tolerari' falsch.

fol. 19 d, 23[1]) *inna failte* ich (Druckfehler) und Stokes für *innafailte* der Handschrift.

fol. 19 d, 26 *no taid dom* ich und auch Stokes. In der Handschrift reicht das g von 'ego' der darüber stehenden Textzeile tief in die Glosse herab, sodafs *no* vor dem g und *taid* nach dem g steht. Man kann daher (siehe zahlreiche analoge Fälle in Abschnitt IV, S. 491—494) *notaid* schreiben oder *no taid,* wie Sinn und Regel der Orthographie erfordern; daher hier *notaid.*

fol. 20 b, 1. *forsanobith* liest Zeufs, ich und Stokes. Im Supplement S. 8 gebe ich *forsarobith* und zwar beruhte dies auf Beratung mit Dr. Güterbock vor der Handschrift. Stokes nimmt dann in dem Nachtrag der revised edition dazu Stellung mit den Worten 'the *n* (not *r*) in 20 b, 1 is pretty clear', gibt aber im Thesaurus Palaeohib. I, 627 *forsarobith* im Text und hat dazu die Anmerkung 'Palaeographically, it is possible to read *forsanobith'.* In meinen Kollektaneen der Vergleichung von 1900 schrieb ich: '*forsanobith*, wie Zeufs, ich zuerst hatte und Stokes hat, ist richtig'. Gewifs lehrreich, wie bei dieser kleinen Schrift manchmal kann geschwankt werden.

fol. 20 c, 2 *batspirtidi* in der Hs.

fol. 20 c, 14 *codonroib* ist falsch bei mir; darnach falsch auch bei Stokes; im Thesaurus Palaeoh. gibt Stokes *condonroib* mit Nota: 'ms. *codonroib*'. Nein! In der Hs. steht luce clarius *condonroib* wie Zeufs hat (ZE. 329 b. 414 b. 493 b) und bei mir in meiner Abschrift von 1880 steht. Es handelt sich also in meiner Ausgabe 1881 um ein Druckversehen, auf das Stokes in

[1]) Für diesen Punkt sind meine Collektaneen für fol. 7 c bis 19 a vernichtet; ebenso für fol. 31 a bis 34 a.


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der revised edition hineingefallen ist; die Bemerkung im Thesaurus in Verbindung mit der Tatsache, dafs Stokes aus Güterbock und Thurneysen, Indices S. 64 sehen konnte, dafs das, was er als Konjektur gibt, in ZE. dreimal als handschriftliche Überlieferung steht — die Bemerkung im Thes. in Verbindung mit dieser Tatsache ist eine der unzähligen Belege für die Leichtfertigkeit, mit der der als monumental gedachte Thesaurus ins Werk gesetzt wurde, ohne Wb. vorher wenigstens in den disputablen Stellen neu zu prüfen.

fol. 21 d, 1. An Stelle von 'quibus apos. praedicavi ... || *ataat sidi'* hat Stokes 'quibus apos(toli) praedicaverunt *ataat sidi*', erweckt also den Eindruck, als ob mit 'praedicaverunt' die ganze Lücke des mir nicht lesbaren Zeilenschlusses ausgefüllt sei, woran *ataat sidi* der folgenden Glossenzeile direkt anschliefse. Dies ist falsch. Es steht in der Hs. 'praedicavert' (mit Abkürzungszeichen über 'rt' also 'praedicaverunt' und dann weiter) 'in ...' Man kann das, was da stand, dem Umfange nach gut abschätzen an der darüberstehenden Glossenzeile, die ausgeht auf 'donec revelata': das 'rt' in 'praedicaverunt' steht unter 'do', das folgende 'in' unter 'ne'; es ist also entsprechend dem 'c reuelata' nach 'in' ... unleserlich. Ob alles lateinisch war oder Anfang zu dem irischen *atat sidi* der folgenden Zeile, ist natürlich nicht bestimmbar.

fol. 24 c, 4 es ist '.i.' überflüssig bei mir und darnach bei Stokes.

fol. 25 b, 1. Das lesbare *noscomal ... d ho ... ss* ergänze ich zu *noscomalnid hore ata lib fiuss* und Stokes akzeptiert dies. Dies scheint mir jetzt wenig sicher: der Raum reicht kaum für *re ata lib fiu* und die erkennbaren Spuren raten nicht zu dieser Ergänzung. Die Ergänzung ist wohl 1880 von mir gemacht worden, als die Hs. Wb. aus meinen Händen war.

fol. 25 c, 26. Zu den Worten (1. Thessalonicher 5, 23) 'intiger sp(iritu)s vester et ani ||, womit eine Textzeile schliefst, hat die prima manus über 'spiritus' geschrieben 'quo intellegamus' und über diese Glosse der prima manus schreibt der gewöhnliche Glossator, offenkundig 'spiritus' erklärend, '.i. *rann airegde innaanme* l. spiritus sanctus .i. *amal donecomnacht duún.* Durch ein Versehen bei mir ist die Glosse der prima manus als Teil des Ganzen hinter *innaanme* geraten. Dieses Versehen pflanzt Stokes in revised edition und Thesaurus Palaeohib. fort, fügt

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aber, um die 'revised edition' mehr 'desirable' erscheinen zu lassen, noch einen neuen Fehler hinzu: er gibt an, die ganze Glosse stünde über dem Textworte 'corpus', womit sie absolut nichts zu tun hat, das in anderer Zeile steht und von prima manus eine eigene lateinische Glosse hat. Im Thesaurus Palaeoh. ist diese Verballhornisierung wieder rückgängig gemacht.

fol. 26 a, 23. Diese Randglosse hat '.i.' vor sich.

fol. 27 b, 4 *inna indocbale* ich und Stokes; Trennung ist nicht aufrecht zu halten.

fol. 28 a, 20 ist nicht eine Glosse wie Zeufs (ZE. 1031), ich und Stokes annehmen, sondern zwei Glossen. Die Textzeile der Hs. lautet (1. Timoth. 2, 19. 20): '(nau)fragaverunt ex quibus est hiemeneus et alaxander'; hier steht über 'fragaverunt', womit die Zeile beginnt, '.i. *roscarsat friæ*'. Dann steht hoch darüber, über der ganzen Textzeile hin und schon links auf dem Rande beginnend '.i. *asbertar ananman*' bis 'alaxander' ‖ und über den Endworten der Textzeile über 'bus est' (in 'quibus est') fortfahrend 'ærarius' bis 'fecit'. Stellung und Sinn zeigen also, dafs von '.i. *asbertar*' an eine neue Glosse zu den Anfangsworten von Vers 20 ('ex quibus est' usw.) folgt.

fol. 28 c, 8. Die Glosse wird nicht durch ein '.i.' eingeführt, wie ich gebe und Stokes nachdruckt; Zeufs (ZE. 1032) hat vielmehr Recht.

fol. 29 a, 3 *inna fedb* Zeufs, Zimmer, Stokes; das zu erwartende *innafedb* scheint mir in der Hs. zu stehen.

fol. 29 d, 8 *ba méite* Zeufs, Zimmer, Stokes; auch rein paläographisch scheint mir das zu erwartende *baméite* vorzuliegen.

Zum Schlufs dieses Abschnittes sei festgestellt, dafs alle die hier besprochenen Versehen der revised edition (1887) sich auch in der Neuausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I finden mit Ausnahme das zu fol. 25 c, 26 erwähnten.

III. Stellen, in denen bald meine Ausgabe (1881/86), bald die 'revised edition' (1887) von Stokes der Überlieferung nicht ganz gerecht wird.

In Bezug auf die Vollständigkeit oder vielmehr Unvollständigkeit der Notizen unter diesem Punkt mufs ich auf die Angabe zu Punkt II (S. 470) verweisen. Die Zählung der Glossen ist nach Stokes.

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fol. 1 a, 3 *ní agathar* Zimmer, *ní ágathar* Stokes; ich kann kein Längezeichen auf dem *a* sehen.

fol. 1 b, 11 '.i. resurexionem et ascentionem et ...' Stokes; lies 'resurrexio et ascentio et cæt(er)a'.

fol. 2 b, 23. 'Abrachae' Stokes; nein 'Abracha' mit dem *m*-Zeichen über a, also: Abracham, wie ich habe.

fol. 2 c, 11. Abracha*m* am Ende der Glosse nicht Abracha*mm* wie Stokes bessert.

fol. 3 c, 4. Sicher *accaldam* nicht *áccaldam*; schon die Farbe der Tinte zeigt, daſs der angebliche Akzent der Ausläufer eines Interpunktionszeichens der darüber stehenden Textzeile ist.

fol. 3 c Text Römer 7, 1 dominat*ur* klar in der Hs. wie in der Vulgata, wofür Stokes 'dominatus', was sinnlos, aber trotzdem auch in den Thesaurus hinüber genommen wurde.

fol. 3 c, 28: *dianchomalninn* wie ich ohne Akzent über *di*.

fol. 3 d, 14: es fehlt das bei mir und bei Stokes im Beginn stehende '.i.' in der Hs., wodurch es wahrscheinlich wird, daſs *is.* der Hs. nicht in *ised* aufzulösen ist, wie ich tat und Stokes, sondern 'Isidorus', wie Stokes in den Corrigenda (S. 351) vorschlägt und im Thesaurus eingeführt hat.

fol. 4 b, 17. Rein paläographisch betrachtet kann man sowohl *do innilemm* lesen, wie Zeuſs (*innilem* ZE. 769. 771) und ich tun, als *doinni lemm* wie Stokes hat. Aber nach den ganz klaren Stellen Ml. 46 c, 18 und 54 a, 11 ist, wie Ascoli sah, die letztere Lesart vorzuziehen.[1])

[1]) So auch Stokes im Thesaurus Palaeohib. I, 519, aber die dort gegebene Übersetzung scheint mir verfehlt. Um den Sinn der Glosse ordentlich zu verstehen, muſs man sich in den Zusammenhang des Textes (Röm. 8, 33. 34) versetzen, was Stokes oft nicht tut. Im Texte handelt es sich um zwei parallele Gegensätze: 'accusabit nos : iustificat nos' (Vers 33) und 'mortuus est : resurrexit' (Vers 34), also 'accusabit nos' und 'mortuus est' stehen ebenso parallel wie 'justificat nos' und 'resurrexit'. Nun steht in Vers 34 'Jesus Christus qui mortuus est, immo qui resurrexit' zu den Worten 'immo qui resurrexit' die Glosse '.i. *isnessa doinni lemm oldaas bidarnáinsem* .i. *diarfírianugudni són ní diarnáinsem*', d. h. indem der Glossator sich in den Geist des Römerbriefschreibers versetzt, läſst er ihn sagen: 'es scheint mir (resurrexit) näher dem Sinne als — 'mortuus est' würden wir erwarten, wofür er aber das parallele 'accusabit nos' einsetzt, also: — er wird unser Ankläger sein, d. h. zu unserer justificatio ist dies (resurrexit) nicht zu unserer accusatio'. Es ist hier *áinsem* sowohl abstrakt 'Anklage' als konkret 'Ankläger' verwandt, eine in allen Sprachen häufige Erscheinung: lat. 'servitium', deutsch 'Beistand, Vorstand', altindisch die Abstrakte auf *-ti*

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fol. 4 c, 36 möchte ich *dodígail* für sicher halten.

fol. 5 a, 11 *hi tossuch* Stokes gegenüber *tossuch* bei Zeufs und Zimmer ist richtig.

fol. 5 b, 3. *ni armaid rosnuicc* hat Zeufs (ZE. 332), wofür in der Hs. steht, wie ich gebe, *nifarmaid rosnuicc.* Wenn man die *f* in der Nähe betrachtet (z. B. *fadésne* vorher und *foranidparar* hinterher), dann kann man an dem *f* gar nicht zweifeln, denn zu den Textworten '(Dedit illis Deus ...) oculos ut non videant' sagt der Glossator an 'oculos' anknüpfend: .i. interioris hominis d. h. ihre Vernunft ist unter ihren eigenen Willen gelassen worden und nicht auf (*far*) Gutes (*maid*) hat er sie gebracht (-führt), wobei noch in fol. 21 b, 3 in dem *ninruc formaith arsoire* eine vollkommene Parallele vorliegt. Stokes, der manchmal von einem so starken Bedürfnis besessen ist, anders zu lesen als die Vorgänger, dafs er offenkundige Selbstblamage nicht scheut, bietet in der revised edition *niparmaid.*[1])

fol. 5 b, 13 ist bei mir ausgelassen, richtig bei Stokes.

fol. 5 b, 21 lautet bei mir '.i. *imforling hicc ambeicc rochreti* ab illis', was tadelloses Altirisch ist und einen trefflichen Sinn gibt. Stokes bietet für *ambeicc* bei mir die Lesung *aníbeicc,* die kein Irisch ist und wodurch die Glosse sinnlos wird. In der Übersetzung (S. 251) übersetzt er nach meiner Lesung und hat dazu die Anmerkung [3] 'I read *am-beicc,* lit. of their little', gibt also schliefslich, was in der Hs. steht und ich lese, als eine Konjektur von sich.[2])

fol. 5 c, 19 'ut (o)pperabatur' Stokes, was Stokes in der Academy 1887 (19. Nov.) 'a blunder of the scribe for offerebatur'

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wie im Veda *abhishṭi* 'Beistand' in abstrakter und konkreter Bedeutung. Im Keltischen haben wir bei einem bekannten Wort, das zudem auch *m*-Bildung ist wie *dinsem,* beide Bedeutungen, nur auf die beiden Zweige des Inselkeltischen verteilt: altir. *altram* 'die Erziehung', während dasselbe Wort im Britannischen den 'Erzieher' bedeutet: kymr. *athraw* (dialekt. *alltraw, entraw*), korn. *altrou,* bret. *aotrou.* Die Flexion sowohl als *mu-* wie als *mon*-Stamm.

[1]) Im Thesaurus Pal. I, 526 steht dann meine Lesung *nifarmaid* im Text mit richtiger Übersetzung und in einer Note neben dem Hinweis auf die Parallele fol. 21 b, 3 die Worte: 'Ms. seems *niparmaid,* but Zimmer read *nifarmaid*'. Prompt schreibt der unparteiische Chroust auf S. 725 als Nachtrag zu 526, 29 kurz: 'Ms. *nifarmaid*'!

[2]) Im Thesaurus Palaeoh. I, 526 wird dann einfach gegeben, was ich in der editio princeps habe, ohne der grofsartigen Verbesserung der revised edition auch nur in einer Anmerkung zu gedenken. Es ist 5 b, 21 ein würdiges Seitenstück zu 5 b, 3.


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nennt; auch im Thesaurus Palaeoh. wieder die Lesart und die Korrektur in Anmerkung. Mir scheint ein teilweiser 'blunder' von Stokes vorzuliegen: ich habe Sommer 1885 'ut (o)fferabatur' gelesen (s. Supplement S. 8) und konnte auch 1900 bei gutem Licht nur so lesen.

fol. 6c, 30. Zeuſs (ZE. 630) und ich haben *ol*, Stokes dafür die unerhörte — bis heute im Irischen tonlose Proklitika — Form *ól*. Stokes sah einen Akzent in dem Strich für 'ro' in dem darüber stehenden 'inp(ro)peria' der vorhergehenden Textzeile. Dieser Anhalt für eine Verbesserung in der revised edition und im Thesaurus geht noch über den bekannten Strohhalm, nach dem der Ertrinkende greift.

fol. 7a, 4. *fuiribsi* Stokes richtig.

fol. 7b, 6. '*do* priscilla et aquilam' ist richtig neu bei Stokes, aber in Hs. steht pris mit Abkürzungszeichen.[1])

fol. 19a, 18. 19 sind zwei Glossen wie Stokes hat.

fol. 19b, 13 nicht 'testamento' in der Hs. wie Stokes hat, sondern 'e(ss)et'.

fol. 21d, 8. Die lange lateinische Randnote, die Stokes als Fortsetzung der irisch-lateinischen Glosse gibt — man weiſs nicht zu welchem Zweck, da er ebenso gut alle lateinischen Glossen hätte drucken können — hat weder mit der Glosse, deren Fortsetzung sie nach Stokes sein soll, noch überhaupt mit dem Text, wozu er sie stellt, das geringste zu tun. Es sollte doch dem blöden Auge klar sein, daſs sie nicht zu Epheser 3, 18 sondern — beginnend mit '.i. scientiae incarnationis Christi' usw. — zu 'scientiae' in 'scire enim supereminentem scientiae charitatem Christi' Vers 19 gehört.

fol. 22b, 6. 7 die Trennung *nairi esé* á deo und *madudéll ní taibred* bei Stokes richtig.

fol. 22b, 16. Die auch in den Thesaurus Palaeoh. übergegangene Anmerkung von Stokes halte ich angesichts der Handschrift für falsch: es steht einfach *dronei* da.

fol. 23c, 1. Der Anfang der langen Randglosse ist ganz unhaltbar, wie ihn Stokes gibt. Die Glosse steht in vielen kurzen Zeilen auf dem linken Rand neben Philipper 1, 27 beginnend. Der Umfang der nicht lesbaren ersten Zeile wird

[1]) Die Blätter meiner Notizen für fol. 7c bis 19a und 31c bis 34a sind für diesen Punkt beim Brande vernichtet; siehe Anmerkung zu S. 475.

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durch Zeile 2 und 3 bestimmt, die so lauten: *thar forsintesti* || *minso .i. abrith*; in der ersten Zeile glaubte ich bei mehrfacher Untersuchung bei guter Sonne als ersten Buchstaben ein 'Q' mit dem bekannten nach links unten gezogenen Abkürzungsstrich zu lesen, also 'Q(uod)', die beiden letzten Buchstaben der Zeile sind *la* oder *ta* mit *i* über *t*, also *tria*: alles andere war mir unleserlich.[1])

fol. 23 c, 23. Die von Stokes aus mir unerfindlichem Grunde hinzugefügte lateinische Erklärung aus Gregor gehört nicht hierher, sondern ist neue Glosse zu den Worten 'Deus enim qui operatur in vobis' in Vers 13.

fol. 23 d, 26. Der von Stokes gegebene Zusatz '[in marg.]' ist Unsinn. Die Textzeile beginnt 'cissio qui sp(irit)u deo seruimus' und über 'qui' bis 'deo' steht Glosse 26.

fol. 24 a, 8. Für *form* am Schlufs, wie Zeufs (ZE. 993. 333) und ich lesen, hat Stokes *forni*. Ich will nicht leugnen, dafs für den Fall, dafs der Sinn kategorisch ein *forni* erfordere, man so lesen darf; aber wenn der Sinn dies nicht erfordert, vielmehr ausschliefst und kategorisch *form* verlangt, dann wirft doch das Vorgehen, in einer 'revised edition' statt *form* der editio princeps *forni* zu drucken, ein eigenartiges Licht auf den Herausgeber der revised edition. Was würde man sagen, wenn ein Herausgeber eines Goethe oder Kleist statt der richtigen 'und' oder 'nie' in einer revised edition 'nud' oder 'ine' druckte, weil möglicherweise jemand, der kein Deutsch kann, so lesen würde.[2])

fol. 24 a, 21. Der Glosse *dondisin* 'zu dem' zu den Worten 'ad quod peruenimus' fügt Stokes als von mir weggelassen no(uum) tes(tamentum) hinzu. Tatsächlich ist no. tes. von prima manus geschrieben und darüber ist '.i. *dondisin*' vom gewöhnlichen Glossator so übergeschrieben, dafs kein Vernünftiger beim Einblick in die Hs. no. tes. wegen Stellung und anderer Hand als Fortsetzung der Glosse '.i. *dondisin*' auffassen kann.

fol. 24 a, 35. Zu 'germane compar' (Philipper 4, 3) gebe ich als irische Glosse *derbráthir*; Stokes gibt 'pro uiri l. mulieris l.

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[1]) Damit erledigen sich auch die neuen Tastversuche im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus.

[2]) Im Thes. Pal. wird im Text *form* gegeben und in der Note 'Ms. *forni*'. Auch eine Art, sich zu berichtigen.

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derbráthir'. Die von Stokes zugefügten lateinischen Wörter stammen von der prima manus: was Stokes als 'pro' gibt, ist die Wb. geläufige Abkürzung für 'proprium', d. h. 'nomen proprium'; also die prima manus erklärte 'germane compar' durch die Glosse als 'Germane compar', wozu der jüngere Hauptglossator die irische Erklärung 'oder leiblicher Bruder' fügte.[1])

fol. 25 b zwischen Glosse 21 und 22 ist zu dem Textwort (1. Thessalon. 4, 16) 'rapiemur' in dem Satz 'simul rapiemur cum illis' die Note a: 'Over rapiemur, in prima manu, is sā'; dieselbe Angabe findet sich im Thesaurus Palaeohib. S. 660 und dazu die geistreiche Vermutung, es handle sich um eine Abkürzung für altir. *samlaid* (!!!). In der Hs. hat an der Stelle die prima manus ganz deutlich 'sci' mit Abkürzungszeichen übergeschrieben, was natürlich lat. 'sancti' bedeutet, wobei der Glossator der prima manus in seiner gewohnten Kürze wohl an die Pelagiuserklärung hierher (s. Migne 868 C, 12) erinnert (Zimmer, Pelagius in Irland, S. 102).

fol. 25 c, 30. In der Hs. steht zu 'ut legatur æpistola' die Glosse '.i. *co arlégthar*', wobei zwischen *o* und *a* deutlich etwas wegradiert ist, so daſs fast ein Loch im Pergament. Ich gebe daher einfach '.i. *co arlégthar*' als Glosse, wie auch Zeuſs (ZE. 719). Da hier tadelloses Altirisch vorliegt, wie jeder sich durch einen Einblick in ZE. am angeführten Ort überzeugen kann, sofern er zweifelt, so übersteigt es mein Verstehen, warum Stokes sowohl in revised edition als im Thesaurus Palaeohib. *co(n)arlégthar* herausgibt.

fol. 26 a, 13. Die Teilung in zwei Glossen, wie Stokes will, ist nach der Überlieferung möglich, wenn der Sinn dies unbedingt erfordert. Für die Zusammenziehung, wie bei mir, spricht sehr entschieden, daſs vor 13 fehlt '.i.', was bei neuen Glossen der Hauptglossator so gut wie nie wegläſst, aber im Verlauf einer Glosse an Stellen, wo wir 'oder' setzen würden, fehlt.

fol. 26 c, 1. Die bei Stokes gegebene Beziehung der Glosse ist wohl die richtigere.

fol. 27 b, 1. Nach der Stellung in der Handschrift scheint mir ganz unwahrscheinlich, daſs es sich um eine Glosse zu den

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[1]) Im Thesaurus gibt Stokes nun 'proprium' und die Note 'Ms. *pro*': Stokes schiebt die Stäubchen auf seiner Brille immer dem Glossator von Wb. zu; er kann nicht irren.

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Worten 'in interitu' handelt, wie Stokes mich verbessert. Der Text ist 'in interitu in ipso usu'. Direkt über den Worten 'in ipso usu' steht '.i. *roboi dil* . . .'; höher hinauf über 'teritu' (in 'in interitu') beginnend und über die eben gegebene Glosse hin bis zu dem Buchstaben *d* in *roboidil* . . . und dem p in ipso des Textes laufend steht '.i. *hore arinchrinat*'. Darnach glaube ich meine Angaben, dafs die Glosse '.i. *hore arinchrinat*' den Text 'interitu' und '.i. *roboi dil* . . .' das 'ipso usu' des Textes erkläre, schon aus rein äufserlichen Gründen aufrecht erhalten zu müssen. Dazu kommt die Bedeutung: *hore arinchrinat* heifst 'quia intereunt', erklärt also 'interitu'; ganz bekannte altirische Wörter sind *diles* 'proprius' und *dilse* 'proprietas', und wenn über 'ipso usu' lesbar ist .i. *roboi dil* . . ., d. h. 'fuit *dil* . . .', dann liegt doch die Zugehörigkeit von Text und Glosse auf der Hand, auch wenn wir die fehlenden Buchstaben nicht mit Sicherheit als *es* oder *se* bestimmen können. Was Stokes in der revised edition (*roboided*) und im Thes. Palaeoh. *roboidíth* vermutet, ist schon palaeographisch so gut wie ausgeschlossen. Es bleibt also bei meiner Ausgabe 1881/86.[1])

fol. 27 b, 16. Die Ergänzung der abgeschnittenen Buchstaben ist bei Stokes besser als bei mir.

fol. 28 a, 1. Die Lesung *rectche* bei Stokes gegenüber *retche* bei Zeufs (ZE. 1031) und mir scheint mir jetzt auch palaeographisch richtig.

fol. 28 c. Als Kuriosum möchte ich anführen, dafs ich 1900 trotz Suchens bei gutem Licht die von mir Supplementum S. 7 und von Stokes S. 166 Anm. a gegebenen Spuren einer Glosse auf dem oberen Rande nicht finden konnte.

fol. 28 d, 14. Das von Stokes gegebene — sprachlich ganz unberechtigte — Längezeichen in *achómalnad*, das weder Zeufs (ZE. 1033) noch ich 1880 sahen, konnte ich auch trotz Suchens 1900 nicht entdecken.

fol. 28 d, 16 ist das Längezeichen in *cách*, das berechtigt ist und auch bei Zeufs (ZE. 1033) sich findet, richtig in der Hs.

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[1]) In meinem Handexemplar der Glossae Hib. habe ich 1900 zuerst die Erwägungen hinsichtlich des *roboided* von Stokes und komme zu dem Ergebnis: 'es ist an *roboi dil* . . . festzuhalten'; später bin ich bei günstigem Licht noch einmal zu der Stelle zurückgekehrt und habe in anderer Tinte zu diesen Worten hinzugeschrieben: 'ja 8. 10. 1900'.

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fol. 29a, 29. Zeufs liest (ZE. 1034) *itfoilsi*, ebenso ich (S. 176), wie auch der Sinn fordert. Stokes gibt (S. 170) *itsoilsi*, macht die Note '*itfoilsi* Zimmer', übersetzt (S. 327) als ob *itfoilsi* da stände und macht dazu wieder die Note '*soilsi* is perhaps a scribal error for *foilsi*'. In meiner Kollation von 1900 habe ich hinzugeschrieben: 'O sancta simplicitas! *itfoilsi* ist absolut klar; wie Stokes *itsoilsi* lesen kann, ist mir ein Rätsel'. Die Lösung dieses Rätsels gibt Stokes im Thesaur. Palaeohib. S. 688, wo er wieder *itfoilsi* (als seine Lesung? als Konjektur?) druckt und dazu die Anmerkung macht 'Ms. *itsoilsi*, Windisch'. Nun ist natürlich die ganze Irrfahrt klar.

fol. 29d, 29 liest Zeufs (ZE. 1036. 331. 431. 873) *isdia cotaóei ade* (est Deus qui id conservat illud), ebenso ich in meiner Ausgabe. Hier ist die Schreibung *cotaóei ade* die korrekte, nach altirischer Rechtschreibung unbedingt zu erwartende Form; in der Hs. ist *a* und *ó* durch einen Strich verbunden, zwischen *i* und *ade* ist ein kleiner Zwischenraum. Wenn nun Stokes unter solchen Umständen sowohl in der revised edition (S. 174) als im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I, 691 *cota óeiade* — was eher wie das Gestammel eines Trunkenen denn wie Altirisch ausschaut — als Verbesserung gegenüber Zeufs und mir gibt, die in der Hs. stehe, dann scheint mir das Mafs mehr als voll.

fol. 31b, 19. Die zu dem Text 'Dixit quidam ex illis proprius ipsorum propheta' gehörige Glosse steht auf dem Rande und zwischen den Zeilen so, dafs der Schlufs derselben '.i. ep. l. call.' über das Textwort 'propheta' zu stehen kommt. Man kann also sowohl '*déiccesiu inteist dorat afili fésine ɔdidtacair afoimtiu* et *aforcital* .i. epimenides l. callimachus' als eine Glosse geben, wie Zeufs (ZE. 1040) und ich tun, als auch '.i. epimenides l. callimachus' als neue Glosse zum Textwort 'propheta' fassen. Was aber Stokes in der revised edition als Besserung gibt, ist einfach Unsinn.

Zum Schlufs dieses Abschnittes sei festgestellt, dafs alle S. 478—484 erwähnten Irrtümer der revised edition (1887) sich auch in der Neuausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I mit Ausnahme der zu fol. 3c, 4. 5b, 3. 5b, 21 erwähnten vorfinden.

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IV. Unterschiede der Worttrennung in meiner Ausgabe (1881/86) und in Stokes' 'revised edition' (1887) im Lichte der Überlieferung.

Es ist bekannt, dafs in den altirischen Hss. mit zusammenhängender Rede, also in erster Linie in unserer Würzburger Hs., den Schreibern unverkennbar feste Regeln über Worttrennung und Zusammenschreibung vorschweben. Diese Regeln lassen sich unter den Hauptgesichtspunkt fassen, dafs zusammengeschrieben wird, was in der gesprochenen Sprache eine Einheit in bestimmter Hinsicht bildete. Der Akzent war das Kriterium. Darnach lassen sich zwei Kategorien aufstellen, die jedoch keineswegs scharf geschieden sind, sondern naturgemäfs, da jede Sprache zu jeder Periode im Flufs ist, in einander übergehen. 1. Eine Worteinheit in der Schrift bilden Wortformen mit vorangehenden und nachfolgenden Elementen, die selbständig in der Sprache nicht mehr vorkommen (z. B. *no-, ro-, -sa, -su, -som* u. a.) und einen solch festen Bestandteil der betreffenden Wortformen meist ausmachen, wie z. B. im Altindischen oder Griechischen Augment und Reduplikationssilbe. Der Wortakzent im eigentlichen Sinn ist hier das einigende Band. 2. Eine Einheit in der Schrift bilden auch die unter einen Satzakzent fallenden Einzelelemente der Unterabteilungen eines gröfseren Satzganzen: Diese Elemente wirken in Auslaut und Anlaut auf einander ein; sie haben, wenn sie immer in solchen Verbindungen im Vorton vorkommen, ihre ursprüngliche Form ganz verloren (*am* 'sum', *it* 'sunt' u. a.) oder eine neue geschwächte Form in solcher Stellung neben der in Stellung mit anderem Akzent erhaltenen entwickelt (z. B. *ala-* neben *aile*, *bid-* neben *bieid*, *a*: *ái* u. a.). Es läfst sich nicht verkennen, dafs — vereinzelter in Wb., in weitem Umfang in Ml. — oft das Bestreben der Schreiber zutage tritt, namentlich bei den zahlreichen Fällen der zweiten Kategorie, die noch gefühlten Einzelelemente in einem solchen Satzganzen weniger fest zusammen zu schreiben wie die einzelnen Laute in Wortunterganzen. Es entsteht oft ein Mittelding zwischen festem Zusammenschreiben und wirklicher Worttrennung, ganz wie wir es auch an denselben Stellen in lateinischen Glossen beobachten können: *sancti-ficatus, morti-ficate, ad-eamus, de-ponite, di-dicistis, festinemus, ad-sistens, de-positum* u. a. habe ich mir aus Wb. an-

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gemerkt, wo an den mit - bezeichneten, wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Nähten entschieden ein Mittelding zwischen wirklicher Trennung und festem Zusammenschreiben sichtbar ist, also in Satzteilen wie *festi-némus érgo íngredi in-íllam* der Unterschied deutlich zutage tritt. Auch in älteren mittelkymrischen Handschriften läſst sich etwas ähnliches beobachten und Gwenogfryn Evans hat in der Ausgabe des Llyfr coch dem Rechnung zu tragen gesucht (s. The Red Book of Hergest, vol. I, S. XVIII ff.). In der Ausgabe von Ml., in dem ja das charakterisierte Bestreben als nicht durchgeführtes Ideal stark in die Augen springt, hat Ascoli ebenfalls den Versuch dazu gemacht. Stokes seinerseits hat in seinem Neudruck von Ml. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus den Unterschied verwischt, indem er volle Trennung einführte. Ganz zu Unrecht. Wer die Praxis der Hss. beobachtet, namentlich Wb. gegenüber Ml., wer sich überlegt, welche Tatsachen der Sprache durch die Orthographie zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollen, der kann, sofern er nicht von der Stokes beherrschenden Bessermachungsmanie beherrscht ist, nicht zweifeln, daſs bei der Wahl, ob in einer Ausgabe für die charakterisierte Mittelstufe ganz Zusammendrucken oder ganz Trennen gebraucht werden soll, ganz Zusammendrucken geboten ist.[1])

Für eine Ausgabe des irischen Materials in Wb. kommt die Frage nach einem Mittelding zwischen ganz Zusammenschreiben und ganz Zusammendrucken nicht in Betracht, da der Schreiber nirgends andauernd Ansätze macht, bei den durch Wort- oder Satzakzent geschaffenen Einheiten der Sprache Unterschiede in der Schrift einzuführen. Es läſst sich in Wb. nur über vereinzeltes Schwanken rechten und die Frage aufwerfen, ob ein wirkliches Schwanken des Schreibers anzunehmen ist oder nur ein scheinbares. Wie weit man in Beurteilung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung auseinander gehen kann, dafür will ich aufs geratewohl die drei ersten vollständigen Sätze in Wb. nach drei verschiedenen Lesungen vorführen: I. Lesung von C. Zeuſs nach Ausweis der Grammatica Celtica (s. Güterbock und Thurneysen, Indices glossarum S. 40); II. meine unabhängige (s. S. 454 Anm. 1) Lesung (Glossae Hibernicae S. 3); III. Stokes' Lesung in der revised edition (S. 1).

[1]) Stokes' Neudruck von Ml. ist also in diesem Punkte ein Rückschritt gegenüber der Ausgabe von Ascoli: er verwischt eine Eigenheit der Hs. in der falschen Richtung.

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1.

I. *airisdia docách isinchétne tuiste* ... *óre donécomnacht* spm. scm.
II. *airisdia docách isinchétne tuiste* ... *óre donécomnacht* spm. scm.
III. *airisdia do cách isinchétne tuiste* ... *óre donécomnacht* spm. scm.

2.

I. *isdiasom domsa hóre nocretim* ihu. chro.
II. *isdiasom domsa hóre nocretim* Jesu Christo.
III. *isdiasom domsa hóre nocretim* iesu christo.

3.

I. *isairdircc icachthir rocretsisi do dia* et *ismór athorbe de*
II. *isairdircc icachthír rocretsisi dodia* et *ismór athorbe de*
III. *isairdircc icachthír rocretsisi dodía* et *ismór athorbe de*

I. *dúnni* .i. *húare rocreitset ardlathi inbetho cretfed cách iarum.*
II. *dúnni* .i. *húare rocreitset ardlathi inbetho cretfed cách iarum.*
III. *dúnni* .i. *húare ro creitset ardlathi inbetho cretfed cách iarum.*

In diesen drei Sätzen im Anfang von Wb., wo doch wahrscheinlich der Schreiber sorgfältig begonnen hat, finden sich nicht weniger als 16 Fälle — *ardlathi* gehört natürlich als Kompositum nicht dazu —, in denen die Probe gemacht werden kann, ob eine feste Regel über das Zusammenschreiben der unter Wort- oder Satzakzent fallenden kleineren Einheiten existiert oder nicht. In nicht weniger als 13 von 16 Fällen stimmen alle drei Benutzer der Hs. überein, darunter in so starken Belastungsproben wie *icachthir, isinchétne, airisdia, isdiasom;* Zeuſs und ich stimmen sogar in 15 von den 16 Fällen, und da in diesem Falle (*dodia* in Satz 3) Stokes auf meiner Seite steht, ist die Übereinstimmung so gut wie vollständig; Stokes weicht in den beiden Fällen *do cách* in Satz 1 und *ro creitset* in Satz 3 von Zeuſs und mir ab; aber es sind solche Fälle (*do cách* neben *dodía, ro creitset* neben *rocretsisi*), daſs Jeder sieht, daſs hier in der Trennung — wenn sie überhaupt anzunehmen ist — weder Sinn noch Verstand liegen kann, sondern nur Zufall.

Das so festgestellte Verhältnis der Unterschiede der Worttrennung in meiner und Stokes' Ausgabe, nämlich zwei von 16 möglichen Fällen in den drei ersten Sätzen von Wb., kann als im groſsen und ganzen gültig für die ganze Ausgabe angesehen werden, also ungefähr 12 Prozent Abweichungen bei den nach Tausenden zählenden Beispielen. Aber nicht nur die Zahl sondern auch die Art der Abweichungen zwischen den beiden Ausgaben ist dieselbe, d. h. Stokes nimmt in der erdrückenden

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Mehrzahl der abweichenden Fälle Trennung an, wo meine Ausgabe Zusammenschreiben hat. Stokes hat diese Trennung nach seiner Kollation meiner Ausgabe mit der Hs. eingeführt: er sieht sie also offenbar als Verbesserungen an; so wenig nun auch ein verständiger Benutzer nach den vorangegangenen Erörterungen auf diese Verbesserungen Wert legen mag, semper aliquid haeret für die Beurteilung der Zuverlässigkeit meiner Ausgabe. Da mufs ich denn auf Grund meiner Prüfung der Fälle an der Hs. im Sommer 1900 feststellen, dafs mindestens 10 Prozent von den 12 Prozent Abweichungen, also 5/6 aller Abweichungen derart, direkt eine Verschlechterung meiner Ausgabe darstellen, so wie sie Stokes in der revised edition gibt. Diese 5/6 aller Abweichungen in Bezug auf Worttrennung und Zusammenschreiben beweisen nur, dafs Stokes, als er 1883 meine Ausgabe mit der Handschrift auf der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek verglich, das granum salis nicht bei sich hatte, das selbst bei einer so wenig geistreichen Arbeit wie Kollationieren nötig ist. Ich führe diese Fälle unter zwei Gesichtspunkten vor und bedaure nur, dafs bei dem Brande mit dem Verlust vieler Blätter für Abschnitt II und III auch die Kollektaneenblätter für Abschnitt IV so weit beschädigt sind, als sie meine Notizen bis fol. 7 b der Hs. enthielten. Schlimm ist der Schaden nicht, denn was ich für fol. 7 b—33 c vollständig nachweisen kann hinsichtlich der Tätigkeit von Stokes, hat ja von selbst Geltung für fol. 1—7 a. Also:

A. Zeilenschlufs.

Bekannt ist, dafs die Hss. mit altirischen Texten weder die Regel kennen, dafs Zeilenschlufs mit Wort- oder Silbenende zusammenfallen mufs, noch ein Merkzeichen anwenden, wenn im Zeilenende Trennung einer kleineren oder gröfseren Worteinheit eintritt. Gewifs lieben die Schreiber es möglich zu machen, dafs Wort- und Zeilenende zusammenfallen, zu welchem Zweck sie oft Raum für einen Buchstaben frei lassen oder einen ja mehrere Buchstaben am Ende hinquetschen; sagt ihnen aber beides nicht zu oder haben sie vielleicht gedankenlos ein Wort angefangen, das unmöglich in die Zeile geht, dann brechen sie bei jedem Buchstaben ab, gleichgiltig ob eine Sprachsilbe zu Ende ist oder nicht. Ganz dasselbe läfst sich in den älteren Hss. des Kymrischen beobachten, wo nicht nur *wraged* in *wra* ‖ *ged* sondern auch *pwyll, ymeith, chwedleu* in *pw* ‖ *yll, yme* ‖ *ith,*

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chw || *edleu* getrennt werden ohne Trennungsvermerk (s. Red book of Hergest I, vor S. 1 die Photographie von Llyfr coch 718). Das irische Material nun in Wb. ist zu einem beträchtlichen Umfang auf dem schmalen Zwischenraum zwischen den beiden Textkolumnen jeder Seite sowie den schmalen Rändern links und rechts von diesen Kolumnen hingeschrieben. Oft ist durch weitere Umstände der Raum hier so beengt, dafs nicht mehr wie für 12—15 Buchstaben kleinster Schrift in der Zeile Raum vorhanden ist, so dafs eine gar nicht ausführliche irische oder lateinische Erklärung, die gedruckt nicht viel über eine Zeile einnimmt, in der Hs. vier oder fünf Zeilen fafst. Äufserste Ausnutzung des Raumes ist hier oft zu treffen, und man kann, wenn auch sehr vereinzelt, eine solche Ungeheuerlichkeit finden, dafs ein Wort wie *cách* getrennt ist *các* || *h*, weil das *h* eben nicht mehr hinging. Wenn man nun bedenkt, dafs unter den 25 geschriebenen Worteinheiten der oben S. 487 ausgehobenen drei ersten Sätze von Wb. sich nicht weniger als 16 befinden, in denen unter einem Wort- oder Satzakzent stehende Untereinheiten zusammengeschrieben sind, dann müfste es doch schon nicht mit rechten Dingen zugehen, wenn bei den vielen Trennungen im Zeilenschlufs nicht auch recht oft in den Glossen Zeilenschlufs und Ende einer Untereinheit zusammenfielen, also wenn in Beispielen wie *isinchétne, isdiasom, icachthir, dodia* (s. S. 487) nicht Trennungen wie *isin* || *chétne, is* || *diasom, isdia* || *som, icach* || *thir, do* || *dia* im Zeilenschlufs vorkämen. Sie kommen natürlich vor und Stokes trennt hier in seiner Ausgabe, ohne dem Leser eine Handhabe zur Beurteilung seiner Handlungsweise zu geben, wo ich, gestützt auf die 88 Prozent gleicher Fälle, in denen wirklich — auch von Stokes anerkannnt — zusammengeschrieben ist, diese etwa 4 oder 5 Prozent auch zusammengedruckt habe. Folgende Fälle seien angeführt, wobei || den Zeilenschlufs bezeichnet.

donpeccad a || *nirgaire* 3 c, 23 (in 3 c, 36 so *intim* || *marmus*); *is* || *heside as* || *eola* 4 b, 1; *dúib* || *si* 5 a, 8; *lib* || *si, atasamlibid* || *si* 5 a, 13; *ni* || *tha* 5 b, 10; *dind* || *tinchosc* 5 c, 14; *is* || *sóir* 7 b, 13; *for* || *nindassi* 7 d, 17; *arnifulngid* || *si* 8 c, 3; *forń* || *gnímai* 8 c, 4; *indium* || *sa* 8 d, 23; *diar* || *rísa* 9 a, 20; *á* || *animsom* 9 b, 7;[1]) *in* ||

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[1]) In derselben Glosse steht parallel *athidnaculsa*, wie Stokes druckt, und zwei Glossen weiter (9 b, 9) sogar *ánim*, wie Stokes selbst druckt,


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coimdiu 9 d, 3; *forsin* || *mertrich* 9 d, 5; *in* || *fechtsa* 10 a, 6; *ar* || *nidon* 10 a, 14; *noch* || *ba* 10 b, 9; *cen* || *nachtairmesc* 10 b, 15; *bed* || *uall* 10 b, 27; *do* || *ídlaib* 10 c, 2; *is* || *messe* 10 c, 20; *in* || *furóil* 10 d, 10;[1] *diarcosc* || *ni* 11 a, 31;[2] *á* || *tuare* 11 b, 5; *móir* || *sin* 12 c, 31; *do* || *baithius* 12 c, 39; *dind* || *soscélu* 13 a, 21; *inrecht* || *sin* 13 d, 27; *dia* || *réir* 14 a, 16; *dobar* || *nanamchairtib* 14 a, 32;[3] *ar* || *fochidi* 14 c, 2; *is* || *firion* 14 c, 29; *indor* || *sa* 14 d, 28; *nad* || *robe* 14 d, 29; *cenonmolid cenon* || *airid* 16 a, 1;[4] *annad* || *denamni* 16 a, 24; *ɔná* || *ruchretesi* 17 a, 13; *cona* || *bad* 18 a, 18; *farserc* || *si* 18 b, 21;[5] *for* || *comairli* 18 c, 6; *fora* || *sernte* 18 c, 8; *fo* || *recht* 19 d, 11; *ar* || *nícce* 21 a, 6; *ind* || *nóib* 21 a, 15; *óen* || *dán* 21 a, 16; *inna* || *idbairtesin* 22 b, 13; *fa* || *nac* 23 a, 6; *do* || *fesin* 23 c, 13; *fo* || *barmbídsi* 23 d, 11; *condid* || *ticci* 24 b, 5; *aris* || *foirbthe in* || *cách diarros* || *cribad* 25 d, 4;[6] *do* || *barcélib* . . . *dessimrecht* || *si tra dosin tre* || *foditin* 25 d, 8; *do* || *deimnigud* 30 a, 11; *isin* || *biuth* 30 c, 23; *arin* || *cheinélugud* 33 a, 12; *tri* || *hiris* 33 b, 5;[7] *trea* || *chéstu* 33 c, 7.

Ich brauche nach dem, was ich S. 485—489 ausgeführt und in den Anmerkungen zu den angeführten Beispielen zur Beleuchtung beigebracht habe, über diese 64 Verbesserungen der 'revised edition' kein Wort mehr zu verlieren. Man wird bei ihrer Betrachtung unwillkürlich an das Wort Schmoks in Freitags

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und doch benutzt Stokes den Zeilenschlufs, um in dem dazwischen stehenden Beispiel *á* || *animsom* zu schreiben *á animsom* gegenüber meinem *danimsom*. Es gehört Mut zu solchem Vorgehen und noch einiges Andere.

[1]) Siehe zu derselben Glosse unter B (S. 492 Anm. 3).

[2]) Wäre zufällig Zeilenschlufs nach *di* oder *ar*, dann würde Stokes als Verbesserung *di arcoscni* oder *diar coscni* bringen.

[3]) Man beachte, dafs die ganze Glosse lautet *dofarforcitlidib* et *dobar* || *nanamchairtib*; trotz des vorangehenden *dofarforcitlidib*, wie auch Stokes druckt, hat er den Mut, das *dobarnanamchairtib* meiner Ausgabe in *dobar nanamchairtib* in der revised edition wegen des Zeilenschlusses zu bessern, ohne den Grund solcher Besserung zu verraten.

[4]) Auch hier nimmt Stokes trotz des vorhergehenden *cenonmolid* den Zeilenschlufs zum Anlafs *cenon airid* für *cenonairid* meiner Ausgabe zu bessern!

[5]) Siehe auch unter B (S. 493 Anm. 3). Wäre der Zeilenschlufs zufällig vier Buchstaben früher, dann würde Stokes natürlich *far sercsi* als Lesart der Hs. geben.

[6]) Es ist reiner Zufall, dafs in dem dritten Falle der Zeilenschlufs nicht vor *s* oder vor *ro* eintritt; in diesem Falle hätte Stokes zu seinen beiden Verbesserungen *aris foirbthe* und *in cách* noch eine dritte (*diar roscribad* oder *diarro scribad*) anbringen können, was ganz gewifs dazu beigetragen hätte, seine 'revised edition' noch mehr 'desirable' erscheinen zu lassen.

[7]) In derselben Glosse vorhergehend *treamairis*.

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'Journalisten' erinnert: 'ich habe geschrieben links, und wieder rechts; ich kann schreiben nach jeder Richtung'. Hinzufügen mufs ich, dafs in der monumentalen Neuausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus in drei Fällen (*arnifulngidsi* 8 c, 3; *diarrísa* 9 a, 20; *indorsa* 14 d, 28) wieder zu der Zusammenschreibung zurückgekehrt ist. Es bleiben also nur mehr 61 Verbesserungen. Schade!

B. Hindernisse durch sonstige Raumrücksichten.

Wenn auch ein beträchtlicher Teil des Glossenmaterials von Wb. auf dem Mittelstreifen zwischen den Kolumnen, dem linken und rechten, obern und untern Rande der Seiten steht, so befindet sich doch der gröfste Teil zwischen die Zeilen des lateinischen Textes den zu erklärenden Wörtern und Satzteilen übergeschrieben. Dafs zwei Zeilen in der kleinen feinen Schrift des Glossators in dem Zwischenraum zwischen zwei Textzeilen hingeschrieben sind, ist eine ganz gewöhnliche Erscheinung, oft sind es sogar drei Glossenzeilen. Da ist es ganz natürlich, dafs die obere Zeile der irischen und lateinischen Erklärungen oft recht nahe an die vorhergehende des lateinischen Textes und die untere Glossenzeile ebenso nahe an die zu erklärende Textzeile herangedrückt werden, wie jeder an der meiner Ausgabe beigegebenen Photographie von fol. 5 cd sehen kann. Nun haben wir in der altirischen Schrift eine ganze Reihe von Buchstaben (*d, l, h, b*), die hoch über die Mittellinie hervorragen, und ebenso viele (*r, s, p, f, g, q*), die tief unter die Mittellinie hinunter reichen. Diese grofsen, kräftigen Buchstaben des lateinischen Textes sind für den Glossator oft mächtige, im Wege stehende Hindernisse. Bei dem Mangel an Raum für die Erklärungen beginnt der Glossator zu schreiben, als ob kein Hindernis im Wege stünde, bis zu einem überstehenden oder herunter reichenden Buchstaben: dieser Buchstabe wird dann so behandelt wie anderweitig in irischen Hss. ein Loch oder Rifs im Pergament, d. h. als ob das Hindernis nicht vorhanden wäre, wird von demselben Wort der Glosse, selbst von zwei eng zusammengehörigen Buchstaben, der eine vor und der andere nach dem Hindernis hingeschrieben, ohne irgend einen Vermerk oder Zeichen, dafs die Buchstaben zusammen gehören, weil der Schreiber seinem Leser das nötige Verständnis zutraut. Um ein Beispiel zu wählen: fol. 28 c ist die Glosse zu 1. Timoth. 3, 15

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'Si autem tardavero' (No. 10 bei Stokes) '.i. *nifetarsa moimthechta*' etc. nahe an die obere Zeile herangeschrieben und kommt direkt unter die Worte 'tibi scribo sperans' des Textes der vorhergehenden Verses zu stehen; dadurch wurden durch die tief herunter reichenden s von 'scribo' und 'sperans' zwei Hindernisse geschaffen, sodaſs die Glosse so aussieht '.i. *nifetar* || *sa moimthec* || *hta*'. Wenn man bedenkt, was ich schon S. 489 hervorgehoben habe, daſs unter den 25 Worteinheiten der drei ersten irischen Sätze von Wb. sich nicht weniger als 16 befinden, die wieder in durch den Wort- und Satzakzent zusammengehaltene Untereinheiten wie *domsa, dodia, athorbe* etc. zerfallen, dann ist es natürlich, daſs Hinternisse der erwähnten Art oft zufällig an einer Naht solcher Worteinheiten eintraten, also sagen wir sowohl *a* || *thorbe* als *athor* || *be* in der Hs. erscheinen kann, wie in dem konkreten Fall fol. 28 c, 10 *nifetar* || *sa moimthec* || *hta*. Die geringste Dosis von Überlegung muſs einem Herausgeber sagen was zu tun ist. Wie oben S. 485—488 gezeigt wurde, ist für die altirische Rechtschreibung in Wb. *athorbe, domsa, dodia, nifetarsa* ebenso eine Worteinheit wie *torbe, imthecht, airdircc* u. a., und der Herausgeber muſs daher in der Stelle fol. 28 c, 10 einfach *nifetarsa moimthechta* drucken. Das habe ich in meiner Ausgabe getan. Was tut Stokes in der revised edition? Er gibt die Stelle als *nifetar sa moimthechta* und handelt so in allen ähnlichen Fällen, d. h.: wo auch dem blödesten Auge nicht kann vorgemacht werden, daſs meine Ausgabe schlecht ist, ignoriert er das Hindernis wie sichs gebührt; wo er aber dem Fernerstehenden, der die handschriftlichen Verhältnisse nicht kennt, die Meinung beibringen kann, meine Ausgabe sei — wenn auch nur in untergeordneten Dingen — unzuverlässig, da benutzt er diese in die Glossen hineinragenden Textbuchstaben ebenso wie die Zeilenschlüsse der Hs. und trennt in seiner Ausgabe. Die Fälle sind wohl nicht weniger zahlreich wie die unter A betrachteten. Ich führe sie auf und setze || an Stelle des Hinternisses der Hs.

for || *nathar* 9 a, 14; *do* || *barcoscsi* 9 a, 19; *for* || *sinmertrich* 9 d, 8; *don* || *brathir* 10 b, 28;[1] *ba* || *coir* 10 c, 1;[2] *in* || *mór* 10 d, 10;[3])

[1]) In derselben Glosse findet sich infolge hereinragender Buchstaben nicht nur *don* || *brathir*, sondern auch *hini* || *riss* und *inni* || *riss*, wo Stokes *hiniriss* und *inniriss* gibt. Hätte der Zufall es gefügt, daſs in den beiden letzten Beispielen die von oben hineinragenden Textbuchstaben einen Buch-

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in || *so* 10 d, 14; *do* || *berthe* 10 d, 16;[1]) *do* || *loscud* 10 d, 18; *arnu* || *tarta* 11 b, 18; *fora* || *ciunn* 11 c, 9; *in* || *ben* 11 c, 14;[2]) *ā* || *buid* 11 d, 3; *is* || *hed* 12 c, 15; *for* || *nires* 13 b, 19; *as* || *fír* 13 b, 23; *is* || *triunni* 14 c, 16; *coni* || *hed* 14 c, 42; *ar* || *mochiunn* 14 d, 29; *do* || *inchosc* 15 a, 29; *is* || *indoc* || *bál* 15 b, 17; *is* || *assu* 15 c, 22; *niar* || *nert* 15 d, 18; *ar* || *baainm* 15 d, 20; *do* || *dia* 18 b, 21;[3]) *ciabeimmi* || *ni* 19 a, 16; *amal ṁ* || *bís* 19 c, 15; *ma* || *nudubfeil* 19 c, 20;[4]) *in* || *tain* 20 a, 3; *nib* || *íccfither* 20 a, 11; *no* || *bed* 20 b, 22; *do* || *dia* 21 c, 7;[5]) *is* || *dichéin* 21 d, 2; *cia* || *beo* 21 d, 3; *non* || *chretidsi* 23 c, 7; *rob* || *carsi* 23 d, 4;[6]) *cucuib* || *si* 24 c, 17; *a* || *fulang* 25 d, 9; *oc* || *fognad* 27 c, 31; *amal*

staben früher ein Hindernis gebildet hätten, also in der Hs. stünde *hin* || *iriss* und *inn* || *iriss*, dann würde Stokes die Gelegenheit benutzt haben, neben der grofsartigen Verbesserung *don brathir* für *donbrathir* meiner Ausgabe noch zwei weitere in demselben Satz, nämlich *hin iriss* und *inn iriss* für mein *hiniriss* und *inniriss* anzubringen. Wenn man Verbesserungen wie *don brathir* in der 'revised edition' im Lichte der Überlieferung und der Tatsachen betrachtet, dann denkt man unwillkürlich an das 'verbessert durch Joh. Ballhorn' der Lübecker Fibel.

[3]) Die Glosse 10 c, 1 bei Stokes mufs 10 b, 29 sein, denn sie steht auf dem unteren Rand von 10 b, also auf ganz anderer Seite, wie schon Glossae Hibernicae S. 62 unten mit Anm. 2 richtig zu sehen ist; s. oben S. 469.

[4]) Die ganze Glosse lautet bei mir *inmór* .i. *infuróil*, während Stokes *in mór* .i. *in furóil* hat. In der Hs. ragt bei ersterem ein p der oberen Zeile zwischen *in* und *mór*, zwischen *in* und *furóil* ist Zeilenschlufs.

[1]) Weil das untere Ende des s des darüber stehenden Textes 'sacrario' soweit herunter ragte, dafs der Glossator gehindert war glatt wegzuschreiben, will Stokes in einer 'revised edition' mit seinem *do berthe* weis machen, es sei Brauch gewesen, im komponierten Verb *dobiur* die Präposition in der Schrift — so zu trennen. Er rechnete offenbar auf ein Publikum, dem er alles bieten konnte, soweit ich — und Atkinson — in Betracht kamen.

[2]) Wegen der tief herunter reichenden p und s in 'caput suum' der vorhergehenden Textzeile sieht die Glosse in der Hs. so aus *in* || *ben air* || *mitin*. Stokes verfährt gegenüber meinem richtigen Text wie in der S. 492 besprochenen Stelle 28 c, 10; ebenso 15 b, 17 mit *is* || *indoc* || *bál* der Hs.

[3]) In dieser Glosse beruhen also die Besserungen von Stokes' *farserc si do dia* gegenüber *farsercsi dodia* bei mir auf Zeilenschlufs und Hindernis.

[4]) Ein gleiches Hindernis wie zwischen *ma* und *nu* im Anfang der Glosse ist gegen Ende in *amal so* || *din*, wo sogar *o* und *d* noch weiter getrennt sind als *a* und *n* im Anfang. Warum diese ebenso sichere als wichtige Verbesserung übersehen?

[5]) Stokes bessert auf Grund des Hindernisses in Glosse 7 *do dia*, während in Glosse 8, wo das Hindernis fehlt, also der Schreiber seine Intention unverfälscht zum Ausdruck bringen konnte, klar *dodia* steht, wie auch Stokes gibt.

[6]) Zwischen *b* und *c* ist ein Buchstabe wegradiert, daher der Raum.

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ro || *pridchad* 28 a, 18; *nifetar* || *sa moimthec* || *hta* 28 c, 10; *di* || *maith* 33 a, 15.

Auch zu diesen 42 Verbesserungen für fol. 7 b bis 33 c brauche ich nichts weiter mehr zu bemerken; ich stelle nur fest, dafs Stokes in der Neuausgabe von 1901 im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus in 6 Fällen wieder zu dem Zusammenschreiben zurückgekehrt ist: *inso* 10 d, 14; *doberthe* 10 d, 16; *armochiunn* 14 d, 29; *ṁbís* 19 c, 15; *nonchretidsi* 23 c, 7; *robcarsi* 23 d, 4. Es bleiben also noch 36 Verbesserungen der revised edition glücklicherweise beibehalten.[1])

Kehren wir nun wieder zu den Erörterungen S. 485—487 zurück. In ungefähr 88 Prozent aller Fälle stimmt Stokes mit mir bei der Wiedergabe von Wb. in Bezug auf die Zusammenschreibung überein, und in 12 Prozent weichen wir von einander ab. Von diesen 12 Prozent sind annähernd 8—10 Prozent auf S. 488—494 näher untersucht worden. Diese sind ja gewifs an sich keine Belege für das Zusammenschreiben, sie müssen in dem für Stokes günstigsten Fall aufser Spiel bleiben. Wollte Stokes wirklich genauer sein als ich, so mufste er in diesen Fällen die Ursache der Trennung angeben; tat er dies nicht, dann mufste er zusammenschreiben wie ich getan hatte, da die 8—10 Prozent unentschiedene Fälle nach den 88 Prozent sichern beurteilt werden müssen und nicht nach 2—4 Prozent wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Abweichungen. Wie Stokes in seiner revised edition und der monumentalen Neuausgabe gehandelt hat, ist ein illoyales Vorgehen, das mit Wissenschaft schon nichts mehr zu tun hat.

Um die noch bleibenden abweichenden Fälle (2—4 Prozent) richtig zu beurteilen, wird es gut sein, zu einem Hilfsmittel zu greifen, das mein verstorbener Lehrer W. Scherer in seinen Vorlesungen immer wieder heranzog; er nannte es die Methode der wechselseitigen Erhellung, d. h. er suchte Vorgänge in Sprache und Literaturgeschichte älterer Perioden durch Erscheinungen, die vor unsern Augen liegen, zu beleuchten. Versuchen wir dies

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[1]) Wenn man einmal die unter A und B vorgeführten Beispiele in bezug auf Parallelen vergleicht, kommen interesante Ergebnisse zutage. Weil Stokes Zeilenschlufs und Hindernisse so eigenartig einschätzt, mufs der Leser glauben, *forsinmertrich* sei geschrieben *forsin mertrich* 9 d, 5, aber *for sinmertrich* 9 d, 8; *forṅ gnímai* 8 c, 4 aber *for nires* 13 b, 19; *dobar nanamchairtib* 14 a, 32 aber *do barcoscsi* 9 a, 17 u. ä.

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mit vorliegendem Fall. Es wird wohl jeder zugeben, daſs wenn ein moderner Setzer in einer Druckerei ein Ms. von uns ohne Anwendung des bekannten Körnchen Salzes behandelte, dann würden selbst bei einem mustergültig klaren und sorgfältigen Ms., ja gerade bei einem solchen, sicher unter 100 Belegen für Wörter wie 'und' oder 'nie' sich drei oder vier finden, wo 'nud' oder 'ine' gesetzt wäre, und Wörter von der Kategorie wie 'Unverstand' würden auch gelegentlich als 'Un verstand' oder 'Unver stand' im Druck erscheinen: auch der sorgfältigste Schreiber setzt nämlich, wenn seine Gedanken wesentlich auf den Inhalt dessen gerichtet sind, was er schreibt, gelegentlich einen i-Punkt oder u-Haken etwas links oder rechts von der Stelle, wo er nach Schreibvorschrift stehen sollte; jeder ferner, der genauer beobachtet, wird bemerken, daſs — sofern es sich nicht um Leute handelt, die überhaupt nur so hinschmieren — in längeren Wörtern bei anhaltendem Schreiben die Hand oft einen Moment — auch ohne die Feder einzutauchen — in solchen Wörtern ausruht und dies Ausruhen ganz unwillkürlich am Schlusse von Sprechsilben und Untereinheiten der Wortganzen eintritt: man kann so, auch ohne Anwendung einer Lupe, auf jeder Seite eines guten Ms. Beispiele dafür auftreiben, daſs in Wörtern wie 'Unverstand', 'Schreibvorschrift', 'unwillkürlich' ein Mittelding zwischen Worttrennung und Zusammenschreibung an Nähten wie 'Un-verstand, Unverstand, Schreib-vorschrift, Schreibvor-schrift, un-willkürlich, unwill-kürlich' vorliegt. Sollen derartige Beobachtungen nicht auf die Glossen von Wb. Anwendung finden müssen?

In dem den durch den Text übrig gelassenen freien Raum von Wb. benutzenden umfangreichen Glossenmaterial kleinster Schrift liegen die Dinge für wirkliche und scheinbare unwillkürliche Abweichungen noch viel günstiger: 1) Ein durchgängiges Zusammenschreiben der einzelnen Buchstaben eines Wortes durch Verbindungsstriche wie in unserer gotischen Schrift kommt nicht vor, sondern die einzelnen Buchstaben stehen auch im Wort noch mehr selbständig wie in unserm Druck nebeneinander; 2) die in Ml. weithin offenkundige und auch in Wb. vielfach nicht zu verkennende Neigung, die kleinen Untereinheiten des altirischen Schriftganzen in der Schrift innerhalb des Wortganzen hervortreten zu lassen; 3) auch der mangelnde Raum für viele Glossen spielt eine Rolle. Wo hört überhaupt

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Zusammenschreiben auf, wenn man die Schrift rein mechanisch betrachtet, fragt man sich manchmal. Wie subjektiv öfter die Entscheidung bei Anlegung rein formeller Gesichtspunkte ist, dafür sind doch die oben S. 487 gegebenen drei ersten Glossensätze von Wb. lehrreich: im dritten Satz hat Zeufs *do dia,* wo ich unbefangen und auch der mir gegenüber verbesserungseifrige Stokes *dodia* lesen; im ersten Satz Zeufs und ich *docách* wo Stokes *do cách,* und im 3. Satz Zeufs und ich *rocreitset* wo Stokes *ro creitset.* Es braucht ganz klar oft nur der gute Wille, es anders als der Vorgänger zu machen, vorhanden zu sein, dann ist eine Trennung in der Hs. festzustellen. Ich führe nach meinen Sammlungen noch einige bezeichnende Stellen an, wo Stokes in der revised edition es für nötig befunden hat, von meiner Ausgabe abzuweichen.

fol. 8a, 4 *arnach naurchoissed* Stokes gegenüber *arnachnaurchoissed* Zeufs und Zimmer. In der Hs. ist der Raum zwischen *naur* und *choissed* gröfser als zwischen *arnach* und *naur*! Beides natürlich unbeabsichtigte Zufälligkeiten. — fol. 8b, 10 *isinchrud sin rofitir.* Hier mufste Stokes auch *ro fitir* trennen, da der Raum in beiden Fällen gleich weit. — fol. 8c, 12 *asfriss roairptha* Stokes wie Zeufs und ich; er müfste aber den Unsinn *asfrissro airptha* schreiben, da *ro* viel näher an *ss* als an *airptha.* — fol. 8d, 7 *intempul sin* für *intempulsin* Zeufs und Zimmer. Es müfste Stokes *intem pulsin* schreiben, da *m* und *p* viel weiter voneinander abstehen als *l* und *sin.* — fol. 9a, 23 *cotob sechfider* für *cotobsechfider* Zeufs und Zimmer. In der Hs. steht eigentlich genau *cotob sec hfider* und ist der Raum zwischen *sec* und *hfider* sogar gröfser als zwischen *b* und *s*! — fol. 10b, 28 *mad imdibthe* für *madimdibthe* bei mir. Der Raum zwischen *mad* und *im* ist keine Spur gröfser als zwischen *im* und *dibthe.* — fol. 12b, 23 ist lehrreich: dreimal kommt *oc* beim Verbalnomen vor, wo zweimal sicher *oc* mit dem Nomen zusammen geschrieben ist, wie auch Stokes tut; das erste Mal kann man möglicherweise zweifeln, obwohl der Raum zwischen *oc* und *tintuúth* sicher nicht gröfser ist als oft im Wort zwischen zwei Buchstaben; Stokes trennt. — fol. 12c, 43 *isint senmuim,* verglichen mit dem ganz gleichen *isindbuinniu* in Glosse 44, zeigt gut, wie viel auf zufällige kleine Spatien zu geben ist. Es mag hier bemerkt werden, dafs gewisse Zeichen wegen ihrer Gestalt überhaupt nicht so nahe aneinander in der kleinen Glossenschrift anschliefsen wie andere Buchstaben,

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so dafs bei einem Vergleich leicht der Anschein gröfseren Zwischenraumes geweckt wird; dies läfst sich z. B. bei aufeinander folgenden *d* und *h* beobachten. — fol. 15 a, 16 *is hed robói*; wenn Stokes *is hed* trennt, müfste er auch *ro bói* trennen, da der Raum zwischen *o* und *b* mindestens so grofs, wenn nicht gröfser wie zwischen *s* und *h* ist. — fol. 15 b, 8 müfste Stokes *tró caire* schreiben, da der Zwischenraum gröfser als gewöhnlich. — fol. 16 c, 25 schreibt Stokes *ni pu imdu* trotz des parallelen *nipulugu* in Glosse 26; bei dem Gewicht, das er auf unbeabsichtigte Einzelheiten der Hs. legt, um mich und Zeufs zu verbessern, müfste er an der Stelle auch *im du* schreiben. — fol. 28 d, 31 *a airitiu* Stokes; warum nicht noch korrekter *a ai ritiu*, da *ai* und *r* weiter auseinander als *a* und *ai* stehen. — fol. 4 c, 21 *dothabairt díglae foir nipo dia airchissecht* Stokes, indem er *dia airchissecht* gegenüber *diaairchissecht* von Zeufs und Zimmer gibt. In der Hs. steht *foirnípo diaairchissecht* ohne bemerkenswertes Spatium, jedenfalls ist es zwischen *dia* und *airchissecht* nicht gröfser als zwischen *ní* und *po*. Es ist also zu trennen nach den sonstigen Regeln der Orthographie in Wb.: das haben Zeufs und ich getan. Stokes steht es ganz gewifs frei, sich andere Regeln über die Orthographie in Wb. zu bilden, wenn er sie beweisen kann; es steht ihm auch frei, die Überlieferung darnach zu interpretieren. Wenn er aber eine 'revised edition' herausgibt, die unter dem Zeichen steht 'Abweichungen von der editio princeps um jeden Preis', dann hat er bei Abweichungen wie obiger zu markieren, dafs es sich nur um eine andere Interpretation der Überlieferung und nicht die Überlieferung selbst handelt. So wie er die Sache macht, verleumdet er den Herausgeber der editio princeps in den Augen aller, die die Verhältnisse nicht durchschauen, indem er hier in Kleinigkeiten und dort in Kleinigkeiten grund- und sinnlos auf ihn den Verdacht der Unzuverlässigkeit wirft: sind's auch nur Kleinigkeiten, semper aliquid haeret. — fol. 5 a, 25 *octadrad so* Stokes für das von mir gegebene und nach regulärer Worttrennung zu erwartende *octadradso*. Wenn Stokes trennt, dann müfste er *octad rad so* schreiben, da der Raum zwischen *octad* und *rad* gröfser ist als zwischen *rad* und *so*; dann müfste er auch in Glosse 19 *moch lainde* und in 20 *no chreitfed* schreiben, was er aber unterläfst. — fol. 21 d, 6 *rob clandad* et *robfothiged* Stokes; eigentlich müfste er dann *ro b c landad* drucken, da *b* von *ro*

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und *c* von *landad* mindestens so weit entfernt sind, wie voneinander. Da *robclandad* die reguläre altirische Verbindung ist, wie ja das sofort darauf folgende, von Stokes beibehaltene *robfothiged* zeigt, so habe ich *robclandad* geschrieben. Wenn Stokes bei dem dargelegten Tatbestand *rob clandad* als 'Verbesserung' schreibt, ohne die Tatsachen anzugeben, so ist dies doch direkte Unehrlichkeit gegenüber dem Benutzer, von mir zu schweigen. — fol. 28 b, 30 *iar nimmarmus ar nadecha foir*; hier müfste Stokes weiter gehen und *iar nimmar mus ar nadechafoir* schreiben: dann würde aber jedermann die Lächerlichkeit der angeblichen Verbesserungen einsehen. — fol. 29 a, 21 gibt Stokes *tre dagcomairli* für *tredagcomairli* bei Zeufs (ZE. 1034) und mir. Die Textzeile der Hs. schliefst mit 'decli' und das 'nando' ist übergeschrieben; dadurch kam der Glossator in Verlegenheit, denn mit *maniptre* kam er bis 'nando': kurz entschlossen schrieb er *degcomairli* über 'nando' und zog einen langen Verbindungsstrich zwischen *e* in *tre* und *d* in *dagcomairli.* Trotzdem hält sich Stokes für gemüfsigt, Zeufs und mich zu verbessern. — fol. 30 a, 25 *trem insamilso.* Warum Stokes nicht noch korrekter *trem i nsamilso* druckt, ist unklar, da die Überlieferung dies ebenso sicher empfiehlt wie seine Schreibung.

Bei dem durch die Beispiele S. 488—494 belegten krankhaften Bestreben von Stokes, die unhaltbarsten Anlässe zu benutzen, um in seiner revised edition vorzuspiegeln, dafs der Schreiber der Glossen von Wb. öfter sicher und bestimmt von der klar vorliegenden Regel altirischer Schrift über Wortzusammenschreibung abweiche als meine Ausgabe angibt, nimmt es nicht sonderlich Wunder, dafs auch noch Fälle in Stokes' Ausgabe vorkommen, wo man vergeblich nach Gründen für seine Abweichung von mir, also für Trennung, sich umsieht. Ich führe an: *dia nícc* 11 c, 6; *nipat ferr* 12 d, 28; *as fír* 13 b, 23; *a pecthu* 13 c, 6; *cenlobad cen legad* 13 d, 2; *ata hiressig* 19 b, 15; *ar niarilsemni* 20 d, 14; *ninruc formaith ar sóire* 21 b, 3; *ata ellachti* 21 c, 5; *far nóinur* 22 d, 25 (*r* und *n* direkt verbunden); *it maithsidi* 23 b, 14 (es sind *t* und *m* ebenso verbunden wie *t* und *i* in Glosse 16 *itinnonside*); *dó fessin* 23 c, 16; *far nimchomarc* 24 b, 29. 30 (*r* und *n* sind verbunden!); *dia imthrenugud* 24 c, 5 (*a* und *i* verbunden!); *isara fie* 25 c, 9 (*a* und *f* verbunden); *nechtar náii* 25 d, 14 (*r* und *n* verbunden); *oc fulung* 26 b, 7 (*c* und *f* wie

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verbunden); *na bad* 26b, 28 (*a* und *b* wie verbunden); *inna ellug* (*a* und *e* wie verbunden, daher auch Zeufs in ZE. 1027 verbunden wie ich); *la irnigdi* 27c, 19 (*a* und *i* wie verbunden); *dorígensat sidi* 28d, 19; *trea peccad som* 29a, 7; *iar neurt* 29d, 21. Bei diesen und ähnlichen Beispielen ist mir zuweilen der Gedanke gekommen, dafs es Druckfehler der revised edition sind;[1]) er ist jedoch zu verwerfen, weil in den erwähnten Stellen und anderen die Neuausgabe von Wb. im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus die Trennung mir gegenüber beibehält. Für den, dem die Annahme, Stokes habe auch ohne jede Veranlassung, aus reiner Änderungssucht Abänderungen in seiner revised edition vorgenommen, nicht zusagt, bleibt dann noch die Möglichkeit anzunehmen, dafs Stokes bei der Kollation meiner Ausgabe mit der Hs. im Jahre 1883 öfters Staubkörnchen auf der Brille

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[1]) Der Gedanke lag mir deshalb besonders nahe, weil mir selbst solche Druck- oder vielmehr Korrekturübersehungen vorgekommen sind. Die Hauptschwierigkeit bei dem Druck meiner Ausgabe ruhte darin, dafs der Setzer fortgesetzter Ermahnungen zum Trotz an den langen Worteinheiten des Altirischen Anstofs nahm und wo er glaubte aus meinem Ms. entfernt einen Grund für Trennung herauszulesen, im Satz trennte. In der ersten Korrektur waren daher die Seitenränder meist mit den bekannten Zusammenziehungsstrichen (⊂) besät. Wie wohl jeder aus Erfahrung weifs, werden solche Massenkorrekturen selten alle ausgeführt und wenn dies der Fall, entstehen oft neue Versehen. Die Bogen wandern hin und her: der Setzer wird unwillig über Kleinigkeiten und der Autor oft mürbe. Bei mir kam hinzu, dafs ich den gröfsten Teil der Korrekturbogen der Glossae Hibernicae, welche die Würzburger Glossen enthalten, im Spätsommer und Herbst 1880 in Irland selbst las: fünf Wochen in Claremorris, drei Wochen in Ballina-Killala, acht Wochen auf den Arran-Inseln. So sind bei mir öfters, während Stokes in der revised edition absichtlich auseinander reifst, wider Willen Trennungen stehen geblieben (z. B. *bid foglim* für *bidfoglim* fol. 30c, 15, wie schon der lateinische Text lehrt; *acachduini* 1c, 8; *dorpe* 4a, 16; *arndpforóil* 27c, 16 und andere Fälle, die oben S. 477—484 mit berichtigt sind). Sie fielen mir bei der Revision meiner Ausgabe im Winter 1880/81 und Sommer 1886 zum Teil auf, ich habe es aber nicht für notwendig befunden, sie in den Corrigenda aufzuführen. Die dem Schreiber der irischen Glossen in Wb. vorschwebende Schreibregel steht ja so bombensicher wie für sein Latein, und so war ich der Ansicht, dafs diese Korrekturübersehungen an sich so bedeutungslos seien, dafs sie ebenso wenig wie abgesprungene i-Punkte anzumerken seien. Es blieb dem Engländer Stokes vorbehalten, durch sein S. 485—498 charakterisiertes eigenartiges Verfahren in der revised edition diese querelle allemande, wie die Franzosen sagen, aufzurühren; er hat ja öfters der deutschen Wissenschaft das abgeguckt, was Kants Nachtreter nach Schiller ihrem Meister.

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hatte, die ihm Trennung im Ms. vorspiegelten, auch wo keine vorhanden ist.

Zum Schlufs will ich auch hier feststellen, dafs wo Stokes in den Stellen S. 494—499 in der revised edition (1887) von meiner Ausgabe abweicht, diese Abweichungen in die Neuausgabe von 1901 herüber genommen sind.

V. Die Unterschiede in der Aufeinanderfolge und den Beziehungen der irischen Glossen zum lateinischen Text, die sich zwischen meiner Ausgabe (1881/86) und Stokes revised edition (1887) finden.

Dieser Punkt ist aus mancherlei Gründen von viel gröfserer Bedeutung als der vorhergehende S. 485—499 abgehandelte. Zunächst sind die Fälle, in denen beide Ausgaben hierin abweichen, noch viel zahlreicher als die unter Punkt IV. Meine bei der Kollation von Wb. im Jahre 1900 hierzu gemachten Sammlungen umfafsten nicht weniger als 81 Seiten. Durch denselben Umstand, der den Verlust eines Teiles der Kollektaneen zu Punkt II und III verursachte, sind die Seiten 26—52 (enthaltend die Notizen zu fol. 7c bis 19b der Hs.) und 75—81 (enthaltend die Bemerkungen zu fol. 31a bis Schlufs) vernichtet worden. Die erhaltenen 50 Blätter zu fol. 1 bis 7b und 19c bis 30d bieten überreiches Material, die Arbeit von Stokes ins richtige Licht zu setzen. Wichtig ist dieser Punkt aber noch mehr aus anderen Gründen. Ganz offenkundig für jeden Nachdenkenden ist, dafs viele der irischen Glossen ihres Sinnes wegen nicht zu den lateinischen Texteswörten gehören können, zu denen sie Stokes in der revised edition in Abweichung von meiner Ausgabe bezieht. Stünden diese irischen Glossen wirklich dort in der Handschrift, dann folgte dreierlei: 1) Alle diese irischen Glossen müfsten als irische Glossen aus einer anderen glossierten Handschrift abgeschrieben sein; 2) der Schreiber der lateinischen und irischen Glossen in Wb. müfste unglaublich leichtfertig oder dumm gewesen sein, um solche Fehler zu machen, vorausgesetzt, dafs sie nicht schon in seiner Vorlage an verkehrter Stelle standen, womit dann der Vorwurf um eine Stufe zurückgeschoben würde; 3) ich müfste bei der Herausgabe sehr eigenmächtig verfahren sein, indem ich Änderungen gegen die Überlieferung in vielen Stellen vornahm, ohne in den An-

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merkungen darauf hinzuweisen. In Wirklichkeit steht die Sache so, dafs Stokes Änderungen gegen die Überlieferung und meine Ausgabe in den in Rede stehenden Fällen vorgenommen hat ohne ersichtliche Gründe und ohne Angabe von Gründen. Da nun Stokes in seiner revised edition zuerst die Glossen je einer Foliospalte fortlaufend gezählt hat, wie Ascoli, und nach dieser Zählung fast allgemein zitiert wird, ist für absehbare Zeit in vielen Fällen die irrige Anordnung von Stokes festgelegt, zumal diese Zählung in der Neuausgabe festgehalten ist, wie ich vorausgreifend bemerken will. Ehe ich auf weiteres eingehe, will ich einige Fälle (vgl. schon S. 465 und 466 Anm.) etwas ausführlicher vorlegen: ich gebe zuerst die Fälle für fol. 1 und 2 der Hs., obwohl sie nicht gerade die bezeichnendsten sind, und greife dann einige bezeichnende aus verschiedenen späteren Blättern der Handschrift heraus.

fol. 1 b, 14. 15. Stokes gibt im Text Röm. 1, 20 so: 'Invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta[14] conspiciuntur[15]' und darunter die Glossen: '14 .i. *æthgnithi* .i. *isfollus doib asnoipred fir oirdnithi.* 15 .i. elimenta .i. *adcither asuthine som* p. t ... orum'. Darnach mufs man annehmen, dafs Glosse 14 zu 'intellecta' und Glosse 15 zu 'conspiciuntur' in der Hs. geschrieben ist. Kein Gedanke daran. In der Hs. ist der in Rede stehende lateinische Text von Römer 1, 20 in zwei Zeilen geschrieben, von denen die erste lautet: 'Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi per ea quæ ||; über die Schlufsworte der Zeile 'per ea quæ' und auf dem rechten Rand weiter ist in zwei längeren Zeilen und dann nur auf dem Rande neben 'quæ' in zwei kürzeren fortfahrend geschrieben '.i. elimenta .i. *adcither* | *asuthine som* per ... || t ... || orum'; die Glosse gehört also ganz deutlich zu 'per ea' und ist auch in der Hs. ganz klar dazu geschrieben. Dann kommt die zweite Textzeile fortfahrend 'facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur . Sempiterna quo ||; direkt über 'intellecta' beginnend ist die Glosse '.i. *æthgnithi* .i. *isfollus doib asnoipred fir oirdnithi*' geschrieben. Stokes hat also ohne allen Grund seine Glosse 15 zu einem anderen Worte bezogen, als wozu sie dem Sinne nach gehört und in der Hs. steht, und er hat dadurch zugleich eine falsche Ordnung der Glossen eingeführt. In meiner Ausgabe ist alles richtig.

fol. 1 c, 11. 12. Im Text (Röm. 2, 1) gibt Stokes: 'Scimus enim quoniam iudicium[11] Dei est secundum veritatem[12]' und

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hat als Glosse 11 '.i. *dígal'*, als Glosse 12 '.i. *ní bocomitesti dó acht baléicthi* iudici iusto'. In der Handschrift stehen gegen Schlufs einer Zeile die Textworte 'Scimus enim quoniam iu ||' und hierüber in zwei Zeilen am Schlusse von 'Scimus' beginnend die Glosse '.i. *ní bocomitesti dó acht baléicthi* indici iusto'; über dem im Zeilenschlufs stehenden 'iu', d. h. dem Anfang von 'iudicium', steht '.i. *dígal'*. Die folgende Textzeile lautet dann wie bei Stokes und über den beiden letzten Worten 'secundum veritatem' ist die Glosse: 'Ori(genes) veritas autem hoc postulat ut malus mala bonus bona recipiat'. Demnach hat Stokes die bei mir schon gegebene richtige Reihenfolge der Glossen geändert, seine Glosse 12 von der richtigen Stelle weg zu einem Worte gestellt, wozu sie nicht gehört, das auch in der Hs. in einer ganz anderen Zeile steht und aufserdem eine Erklärung aus Origenes hat. Mehr konnten doch die Dinge kaum verdreht werden.

fol. 2a, 8. 8a. 'Si enim veritas Dei in meo mendacio[8] habundavit[8a]' gibt Stokes im Text und dazu die Glossen '8 .i. *imhulcsa* . 8a *madmóo de* veritas dei'. In Wirklichkeit ist es eine Glosse, die über 'meo mendacio' beginnt '.i. *imhulccsa madmóo de* veritas Dei', wie ich gebe. Warum Änderung?

fol. 2a, 15. 16. Der Text (Röm. 3, 9) nach Stokes: 'Causati enim sumus Judeos et Graecos omnes[15] sub peccato esse[16]', wozu die Glossen: '15 .i. *arnaib geintib huilib.* 16 .i. *doracartmar cois cáich niferr nech alailiu and'*. Die von Stokes zu 'peccato esse' gegebene Glosse gehört, wie der Sinn klar zeigt, zu 'causati enim sumus; sie steht auch über diesen eine Textzeile schliefsenden Worten, und zum Überflufs ist, damit auch dem blöden Auge kein Zweifel aufsteigen kann, über 'enim' ein Verweisungszeichen, das auch vor der Glosse '.i. *doracartmar'* usw. steht. In der folgenden Textzeile folgen dann die Worte 'Judeos' bis 'sub peccato esse': über 'et Graecos' steht '.i. *arnaib geintib huilib'* und über 'sub peccato esse' die lateinische Erklärung '.i. sub pede Diabuli'. Diesen Tatsachen gegenüber betrachtet Stokes seine Ausgabe als 'Revised edition', aber wie?

fol. 2a, 22. 23. Im Text steht bei Stokes (Röm. 3, 14) 'Quorum ós maledictione et amaritudine[22] plenum est[23]' und dazu unten die Glossen: 22. .i. *ocech cenélu serbe* 23. .i. *doberat maldactin forcách'*; dazu hat Stokes die weitere Anmerkung zu Glosse 22 'This gloss is on fol. 2b'. Man fragt sich, wie das sein kann,

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wenn sie vor Glosse 23 kommt und letztere auf fol. 2a steht. Die Glossen sind eben wieder durcheinander gebracht und 23 an falsche Stelle gesetzt. fol. 2a schliefst der Text mit 'Quorum ós maledictione' und über letzterem Wort auf 2a steht .i. *doberat maldactin forcách*, wie ja auch der Sinn zeigt; dann folgt 2b in erster Zeile Text 'et amaritudine plenum est', und über 'amaritudine' steht die von Stokes als 22 gegebene Glosse.

fol. 2b, 25. 26. Als Text (Röm. 4, 3) gibt Stokes 'Ei autem qui operatur mercis non inputatur secundum gratiam sed secundum debitum 25. 26' und dazu als Glossen: '25 .i. *iarfíach* 26. .i. *mad fochricc som nípa deoladacht acht bid fiach istrideoladacht didiu ronóibad ní archomalnad rechto'*. Darnach mufs man annehmen, dafs in der Hs. beide Glossen bei 'debitum' stehen und dafs 25 zuerst und als Art Ergänzung 26 kommt. Ist vollkommen falsch. In der Hs. bilden die Worte 'Ei hautem qui operatur' den Schlufs einer Textzeile, und über ihnen bei 'autem' beginnend steht die von Stokes als 26 gegebene Glosse '.i. *mad fochricc som* etc., wobei ich bemerken will, dafs es feste Praxis des Glossators von Wb. ist, Sacherklärungen, die den ganzen Vers betreffen oder den Zusammenhang eines Verses mit dem vorhergehenden erläutern, immer zu Anfang des Verses, meist über erstem oder zweitem Worte beginnend, zu geben; ich komme hierauf später zurück. Die folgende Textzeile bringt dann den Rest des von Stokes gegebenen Textes — von 'merces' an — und hier steht, also gerade eine Textzeile weiter als Glosse 26, die Glosse 25.

fol. 2c, 19. Text nach Stokes (Röm. 4, 16) 'Ideo ex fide, ut secundum gratiam firma sit promisio omni semini[19], wozu Glosse '.i. non ei qui ex lege .i. *óre isdeolid bid fír atairngire'*. In der Hs. steht am Schlufs einer Textzeile 'Ideo ex fide ut secundum' ||, das übrige in folgender Zeile. Über 'ex fide' findet sich '.i. non ex lege' (sic! nicht wie Stokes), und über 'ut secundum' etwas tiefer neu beginnend '.i. *óre isdeolid bidfír atairngire'*.

fol. 2d, 6. 7. Text (Röm. 4, 24) 'quibus reputabitur credentibus in eum [6. 7]', wozu die Glossen: '6. .i. deum *isdochretim adeachte*. 7. .i. *anadruirmed doabracham* .i. *fírinni trihíris'*. In Wirklichkeit liegt, wie der Sinn verrät und meine Ausgabe zeigt, die Sache in der Hs. so, dafs über der Textzeile '|| tabitur credentibus in eum qui suscitau ||' steht, über '(repu)tabitur' beginnend und

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dazu gehörend, '.i. *anadruirmed doabracham* .i. *fírinni trihíris'*, über 'eum' beginnend '.i. deum *isdochretim adeachte'*.

Im Anschlufs an diese Beispiele aus fol. 1 und 2 wähle ich noch einige bezeichnende Fälle aus späteren Blättern der Hs.

fol. 3 d, 6. 7. Stokes gibt im Text '(Römer 7) 19 sed quod nolo malum, hoc ago[6]. 20. Si autem quod nolo illud facio[7]', dazu die Glossen: '6 .i. opus *tairmthecto* et *nidiaforbu act iscuitir imraito.* 7. *ingním* carne perficere' und zu letzterer (7) die Note 'It is not certain to what words this gloss refers'. Die Sache steht einfach so: die Worte 'Sed quod nolo malum hoc ago' bilden das Ende einer Textzeile, und hoch über ihr in der Gegend von 'nolo' beginnend steht in zwei Zeilen die Glosse '.i. opus *tairmthechto* et *nidiaforbu ingnímo* || *act iscuitir imraito'*. Ganz klar ist die Lesung *ingnímo* und auch, dafs das Wort nach *diaforbu* und vor *act* gehört; ebenso klar ist der Sinn für jeden der etwas Altirisch versteht: in den idiomatisches Altirisch bietenden alten Sagentexten ist eine bekannte gewöhnliche Erscheinung, dafs wenn von einem transitiven Verb ein Objekt abhängig ist, dies Objekt durch ein beim Verb infigiertes oder beim Simplex suffigiertes Pronomen vorausgenommen wird (*doslécimse ingae* und *dollécimse ingae*); fast ebenso häufig ist es in dem genuinen Altirisch dieser Texte, dafs, wenn ein Nomen (speziell ein Verbalnomen) mit einem im Genitiv stehenden Objekt verbunden ist, dies Objekt durch ein vor dem regierenden Nomen stehendes infigiertes Personalpronomen vorausgenommen wird, wie in obigem Fall: *nidiaforbu ingnímo* 'nicht zu ihrer Vollbringung, der Tat'. So ist alles in Ordnung. In der Hs. findet sich dann noch über 'Sed quod nolo' des Textes die lateinische Glosse '.i. sp(irit)u' und über 'ago' des Textes '.i. cogito carne perficere'. Auch alles klar. Stokes hat also die zweite Hälfte dieser letztgenannten lateinischen Glosse genommen, damit ein falsch gelesenes Bruchstück der irischen Glosse verbunden und somit für die 'revised edition' — auch die Neuausgabe im Thesaurus — eine neue Glosse 7 gewonnen, die allerdings, wie Stokes versuchte Übersetzung zeigt, keinen rechten Sinn hat und deren Beziehung auch nach ihm unklar ist. Ich möchte die Frage aufwerfen, ob es menschenmöglich ist, dafs jemand, der mit meiner Ausgabe die Hs. vergleicht, eine gröfsere Verwirrung zutage fördern kann als Stokes hier in der revised edition getan hat?

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fol. 4c, 11. 12. Der Text bei Stokes ist: 'Römer 9, 9 secundum hoc tempus veniam[11]. 10 Rebecca ex uno concubitu habens, Isac patris nostri[12]', dazu die Glossen: '11 .i. *cinn rehe.* 12 .i. *ó oínsíl rogénartar damacc de'*. In Wirklichkeit steht Glosse 11 über 'secundum hoc tempus', wozu sie gehört und wie ich gebe, während über 'veniam', wozu sie nicht paſst, in der Hs. die lateinische Glosse '.i. ueniat auxilium' steht. Glosse 12 steht über 'ex uno concubitu', wozu sie gehört und wie ich habe. Die weiteren Textworte 'habens — nostri' stehen in anderer Zeile und haben zwei lateinische Glossen!

fol. 5a, 23. 24. Der Text: 'Domine, prophetas tuas occiderunt[23], altaria tua suffuderunt[24]' und die Glossen: '23. *cossóit athuaithe fridia inse.* 24. *rumúgsat* l. *rocechladatar* et *dorigéensat adrad hídal and'*. Die angebliche Glosse 23 steht nicht zu occiderunt, sondern links am Rande über Zeile 'prophetas — suffuderunt' beginnend und ist, weil .i. fehlt Fortsetzung einer Glosse und zwar ganz klar der Glosse 24, wie ich gegeben habe: Das in Glosse 24 gesagte ist 'ein Auflehnen seines Volkes gegen Gott', was die Fortsetzung (angeblich Glosse 23) sagt.

fol. 5c, 8. 9. Der Text (Römer 11, 29) ist bei Stokes: 'Sine penitentia enim sunt dona[8] et vocationes Dei[9]' und dazu die Glossen: '8. .i. *dílgud pecctho.* 9. .i. *nipad naidrech anduraírngert'*. In der Hs. stehen die Worte 'sine penitentia enim sunt' am Ende einer Zeile und darüber die von Stokes als 9 gegebene Glosse '.i. *nipadnaidrech anduraírngert'*; die folgende Textzeile fährt fort 'dona et vocationes Dei': über 'dona' die Glosse 8 (.i. *dílgud pecctho*) und über 'vocationes' die Glosse '.i. infidem'. Das kann jeder, der nicht ganz blind ist, seit 1881 klar und deutlich in der meiner Ausgabe beigegebenen Photographie von fol. 5c. d sehen.

fol. 5c, 18. Was Stokes hier als Glosse 18 gibt, sind, wie sich jeder durch Einblick in die Photographie überzeugen kann, zwei verschiedene Glossen über zwei verschiedenen Textzeilen: über 'exhibeatis — hostiam' steht '.i. ab omnibus vitiis *arisirlam'* bis Ende; in der nächstfolgenden Zeile über 'sanctam' beginnend '.i. castam — peccato', was Stokes als Anfang gibt.

fol. 5d, 23 (benedicite persequentibus vos). Die Worte, wozu Stokes angibt, stehen in der folgenden Zeile, die überhaupt keine Glosse enthält.

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fol. 6 a, 5. 6. Als Text (Römer 13, 2) hat Stokes: 'ipsi sibi dampnationem[5] adquirunt[6]' und dazu die Glossen: '5. .i. *rosmbia lóg asithichtho is dianimortun fésine nimathi nech doib.* 6. .i. *dígail* .i. *adcotat'*. In der Hs. steht im Schluſs einer Zeile der Text 'sibi dampnationem' und darüber in zwei Zeilen die Glosse '.i. *dígail* .i. *rosmbia lóg* etc.; in der folgenden Textzeile im Anfang 'adquirunt' und darüber '.i. *adcotat*', also ganz wie meine Ausgabe S. 36 genau angibt. Als ich im Sommer 1900 mit meiner editio princeps und Stokes revised edition bei der Hs. saſs, ist es mir bei dieser und zahlreichen ähnlichen Stellen oft heiſs und kalt über den Rücken gelaufen, ich habe mich an die Stirn gefaſst und gefragt, ob bei mir dort etwas nicht in Ordnung sei oder ob bei Stokes, als er solche Verbesserungen gegen Überlieferung, Sinn und meine Ausgabe vornahm, etwas nicht in Ordnung gewesen sei. — In der Anm. zu Glosse 5 sage ich: Litterae *tun* (in *imortun*) minus clare perspiciuntur; fortasse legendum *cun* 'est ad eorum castigationem ipsorum' (S. 36 Anm. 2). Stokes hat in der Übersetzung seiner revised edition zu der Stelle die Anmerkung 'I take *imortun* to be a clerical error for *immorcuin*' (S. 254, Anm. 2). Das nennt man, elegant jemand ausschreiben, ohne sich vor den Dummen zu verraten.

fol. 6 a, 28. 29. Der Text (Röm. 13, 12) bei Stokes 'induamur arma[28] lucis[29]', die Glossen: '28. .i. *irgala.* 29. .i. *cid fogním cid fochésath dotiagar'* und die letzte ist S. 255 übersetzt 'whether one goes into action or into suffering', was ebenso absurd ist wie die ganze Änderung. In der Hs. schlieſst die eine Textzeile mit 'et induamus' und darüber steht die sogenannte Glosse 29, die einfach aussagt, daſs *induamus* sowohl aktive *fogním* als passive (*fochésath*) Bedeutung hat. In der folgenden Textzeile stehen im Anfang die Worte 'arma lucis': über 'arma' steht '.i. *irgala'* und über 'lucis' steht '.i. scientiæ'.

fol. 6 a, 30. 31. Der Text (Röm. 13, 13) Sicut in die honeste ambulemus[30] ... non in cubilibus[31]'; dazu die Glossen und vor der Glosse 31 der Zusatz '[marg. sup.]'. Man überlege einmal, die letzte Glosse von fol. 6 a soll auf 'marg. sup.' stehen, welcher? zu 6 a? 6 b? beides ist doch Unsinn. Die würde doch fol. 6 a unterer Rand stehen, wo noch Raum für 6—8 Zeilen ist, aber von der angegebenen Glosse nichts zu sehen ist. Auch die von Stokes in den Addenda S. 351 aus meinem Supplementum S. 8,

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Zeile 6/7 ohne Quellenangabe (s. oben S. 457) abgeschriebenen Textesworte 'non in cubilibus' stehen nicht fol. 6a, sondern fol. 6b schliefst die erste Textzeile mit 'non in' || und die zweite beginnt mit 'cubilibus': über 'non in' d. h. auf dem stark geschwärzten oberen Rand von 6b steht als Teil einer Glosse lesbar '.i. *hicobligib* .i. pen ...' Alle diese Dinge sind in meiner editio princeps (1880) mit Supplement (1886) klar zu sehen: Die Glosse 6a, 31 bei Stokes wird richtig als erste auf 6b angegeben und dazu findet sich die Anmerkung (S. 37 Anm. 3) 'Sunt haec vestigia amplioris glossae hibernicae, quae in superiore margine — natürlich fol. 6b! — nunc prorsus pullo perspiciuntur'. Wenn man diese Verbesserung von Stokes in der revised edition, die auch in den monumentalen Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus übergegangen ist und wodurch mutwilligerweise die Zählung der Glossen für zwei Foliospalten in Unordnung gebracht wird — wenn man diese Verbesserung neben der Hs. sieht, dann kommt die vorhin zu fol. 6a, 5. 6 erwähnte Stimmung.

fol. 7b, 5. Text bei Stokes (Römer 16, 4) 'Qui pro anima mea suas cervices subpossuerunt[5]' und dazu Glosse : 5. '.i. *forrusuidigsetar* .i .in persecutionibus .i. *robtar irlim dothecht martre darmchenn'*. In der Hs. steht der Text in zwei Zeilen, von denen die erste 'adiutores meos in Christo Jesu qui pro anima mea' lautet; der Rest in der folgenden Zeile. Es steht nun am Ende der ersten Zeile über den Worten 'qui pro anima mea' die Erklärung '.i. *robtar irlim dothecht martre darmchenn'* als besondere Glosse, wie bei mir zu sehen ist; über den Worten 'subpossuerunt' in folgender Zeile steht dann die von Stokes als Anfang seiner Glosse 5 gegebene Erklärung '.i. *forrusuidigsetar* .i. in persecutionibus'.

fol. 20d, 5. 6. Text (Galater 6, 17) bei Stokes : 'Ego enim stigmata[5] in corpore meo porto[6]' und die Glossen: 5. *indá érrend* .i. turmenta flagillorum. 6. .i. *mind nabstalacte* .i. *conicimm dígail et cosc neich'*. In der Hs. beginnt mit 'stigmata' eine neue Zeile und darüber die von Stokes als 6 zu 'porto', wo gar keine Glosse steht, gegebene Glosse. Stokes Glosse 5 steht von 'prima manus' auf dem Rand daneben. Was soll die Umstellung und Änderung gegen meine Ausgabe?

fol. 21a, 4. 5. Der Text (Epheser 1, 13) bei Stokes: 'Signati[4] estis spiritu promissionis sancto[5]' und die Glossen: '4. [in marg.] *siglithi* 5. .i. *atácomarde fuirib* .i. spiritus sanctus'. Ebenso

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töricht gegen meine Ausgabe geändert wie unter 20d, 5. 6. Es beginnt die Textzeile in der Hs.: 'signati estis spiritu promisionis sancto'; über 'signati estis' steht als Glosse, was Stokes als 6 gibt: '.i. *atácomarde fuirib* .i. spiritus sanctus' und neben 'signati' auf dem Rand von prima manus findet sich *siglithi*; über 'promissionis' steht '.i. in semine tuo rl.' und über 'sancto', zu dem Stokes seine Glosse verweist, findet sich '.i. Abrache'.

fol. 23c, 19. Der Text (Philipper 2, 9) nach Stokes: 'Deus ... donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen[19]' und die Glosse '.i. *etarcne* quod est super omne nomen .i. *indocbál* patri'. In der Handschrift steht in einer Textzeile 'nomen quod est super omne nomen'; über dem ersten 'nomen' findet sich die Glosse .i. *etarcne* und rechts von ihr über dem Text 'est super omne' die Glosse '.i. *indocbal* patri'. Darüber kann man billigerweise zweifeln, ob '.i. *indocbal* patri' einfach Fortsetzung zu '.i. *etarcne* ist, wie ich in meiner Ausgabe habe, oder ob es als besondere Glosse zu 'quod est super omne' gedacht; nicht zweifeln kann man, dafs, was Stokes in revised edition und Thesaurus als Besserung gibt, Unsinn ist.

fol. 24a, 17. Die Glosse steht auf dem Rande neben Philipper 3, 11—13. Da nun Philipper 3, 13 beginnt mit 'Fratres, ego me non' und die Glosse ebenfalls mit 'Fratres ego rl. *cosmuilius*' etc. beginnt, so ist doch sonnenklar, dafs der Glossator durch den Beginn andeuten wollte, dafs die auf dem Rande stehende Glosse zu dem mit 'Fatres ego' beginnenden Vers 13 gehören soll, was auch der Sinn ausweist. Trotzdem stellt sie Stokes an das Ende von Vers 14, zu 'in Christo Jesu'. Die Glosse wird also weggerissen von dem Ort 1. wo sie steht, 2. wo sie hingehört und 3. wo ich sie habe, blos um die richtige Reihenfolge der Glossen, wie ich sie habe, in Unordnung zu bringen.

fol. 25c, 15 ist wegen seiner Einfachheit lehrreich für das Stokes in der revised edition beherrschende Bestreben, um jeden Preis von der editio princeps abzuweichen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin sich zu blamieren. In der Hs. steht (1. Thessalonicher 4, 12) 'et praesunt vobis in Domino' und über 'praesunt' die Glosse '.i. *remitaat*', was doch eine wörtliche Übersetzung von 'praesunt' ist. In meiner Ausgabe ist alles richtig. Stokes stellt '.i. *remitaat*' zu 'in Domino'! Vergleiche oben (S. 506) meine

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Bemerkung zu fol. 6a, 5. 6. In dem Neudruck im Thesaurus ist Rückkehr zur editio princeps!

fol. 26a, 33. 34. Der Text (2. Thessalonicher 3, 1) bei Stokes: 'ut sermo Dei currat[33] et clarificetur[34]'; dazu die Glossen: '33. .i. *icride cáich.* 34. *nigessid naaill act buáid precepte'.* In der Hs. steht über 'currat' .i. *cride cáich* und über diesen irischen Worten fährt der Schreiber fort *nigessid naaill act buáid precepte.* Über das abstehende 'clarificetur' ist die lateinische Glosse '.i. dominus' übergeschrieben.

fol. 28a, 19. Der Text (1. Timotheus 1, 18. 19) 'ut milites in illis bonam militiam[19], habens fidem et bonam conscientiam' und dazu die Glosse: '19. habens fidem .i. *isamlid bid maith domílte'.* Die Sache verhält sich so: Über 'bonam militiam' steht die lateinische Glosse 'vigelat malam' und über den Textworten 'habens fidem' steht, wie in meiner Ausgabe zu sehen, die Glosse '.i. *isamlid bid maith domílte*, woraus Stokes den Unsinn macht, als angebliche Besserung!

fol. 28d, 30. Der Text (1. Timotheus 5, 10): 'si tribulationem patientibus ministravit[30]' und Glosse: '30. *madudrimthirid óis carcre* ministravit .i. cibo et vestae'. In der Hs. einfach so: über 'si tribulationem patientibus' steht '.i. *madudrimthirid óis carcre'* und über den Textworten 'ministravit' '.i. cibo et vestae'. Ob man letzteres einfach als Fortsetzung des Irischen auffassen will, wie Zeufs (ZE. 1034) und ich (S. 175 meiner Ausgabe) getan, oder als besondere Glosse, darüber kann man angesichts der Hs. zweifeln; nicht zweifeln kann man aber, dafs Stokes' Besserung gegenüber Zeufs und mir Unsinn ist, der durch Aufnahme in den Thesaurus sogar monumental geworden ist.

fol. 29c, 9. 10. 11. Der Text (1. Timotheus 6, 20) bei Stokes so: 'depositum cus[to]di, divitans profanas vocum novitates,[9. 10] et oppossitiones falsi nominis scientiae[11]', und dazu die Glossen: '9. .i. *issamlid achomēit.* 10. .i. *etarcert diphecthib* et *cobre domunde.* 11. .i. *imchesti anfoirbthi'.* Die Beziehungen der Glossen 9 und 11 sind falsch angegeben. Über 'divitans' steht Glosse 9 *issamlid achoméit* 'so ist sein Bewahren (custodire)', indem Du vermeidest (divitans); über 'vocum novitates' steht Glosse 10; über oppossitiones steht Glosse 11. Das alles ist ganz richtig bei Zeufs (ZE. 1035) und in meiner Ausgabe (S. 178). Grund genug für Stokes in der revised edition und im Thesaurus die Dinge nach Kräften zu verwirren.

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Nachdem so Stokes' bessernde Tätigkeit an einer Reihe von Beispielen vollkommen klar gemacht ist, will ich, bevor ich mich dem Problem zuwende, wie solche Änderungen von Stokes gegen Überlieferung, Sinn und meine Ausgabe zu verstehen sind, die noch übrigen Fälle — natürlich mit der S. 500 erklärten Einschränkung — in Kürze vorführen. Ich behalte Stokes' Zählung bei, gebe aber immer die richtige Reihenfolge der Glossen und setze in Klammer das Stichwort des Textes, über dem in der Hs. die Glosse steht oder beginnt, also z. B. '2 d, 7 (reputabitur). 6 (eum)' bedeutet, dafs die Glossen in der Reihenfolge 7. 6 in der Hs. stehen, 7 über 'reputabitur' und 6 über 'eum' beginnt (s. Seite 503).

fol. 3 a, 9 (regnet; über 'vitam aeternam' steht die Glosse '.i. non in mortem)'. — fol. 3 b, 9. 10 (eine Glosse, ut oboediatis). — fol. 3 c, 21 (mit 'dicit' ist die Glosse zu Ende; das folgende 'Pelagius peccatum' etc. steht in der nächsten Zeile über 'concupiscentiam', wozu es auch der als Pseudohieronymus abgedruckte Pelagiuskommentar bei Migne hat). — fol. 3 c, 25 (peccatum per). 24. — fol. 3 c, 33. 32 (factum est): Die Glossen stehen übereinander und zwar die zum Ganzen (Quod ergo bis mors) gehörige 33 oben, darunter 32 über dem Wort, das erklärt wird (est). — fol. 3 d, 16 (Infelex; das 'gratia dei', wozu Stokes bezieht, steht in ganz anderer Textzeile und hat die lateinische Glosse 'Pl. quem lex non potuit liberare, liber est per gratiam)'. — fol. 3 d, 17 (dampnationis). 18 (hiis qui). — 3 d, 30 (nam prudentia). — fol. 4 a, 1. 2 ist eine Glosse ohne .i. zwischen 'romani' und *fobésad.* — fol. 4 a, 6 (Si Christus in vobis). 5 (propter peccatum); das 'iustificationem', wozu nach Stokes Glosse 6 steht, findet sich zwei Textzeilen weiter und hat die lateinische Pelagiusglosse '.i. ut iustitiam operetur'. — fol. 4 a, 10 (Ergo fratres debitores). 8 (non carni). 9 (ut secundum carnem)'; es steht Glosse 10 über einer ganz anderen Textzeile als 8 und 9. — fol. 4 b, 8 (praedestinavit); man beachte: 1. die irische Glosse übersetzt 'praedestinavit', 2. sie steht in der Hs. über pr., 3. ich gebe sie in meiner Ausgabe zu pr., 4. 'Filii sui', wozu Stokes sie setzt, hat die lateinische Glosse '.i. proprii'. Sicher eine Besserung der 'revised edition', die sich sehen lassen kann; die Neuausgabe (1901) kehrt in diesem Fall zur editio princeps zurück! — fol. 4 b, 26 (Veritatem bis Christo Jesu). — fol. 4 b, 30 (anathema; die Worte 'fratribus meis', wozu Stokes setzt, stehen

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in anderer Zeile und haben selbst eine Glosse '.i. proximi amore ut plures inveniret Deo vel pro amore Christi). — fol. 4 c, 14 s. S. 465 Anmerkung. — fol. 4 c, 18 (miserebor). — fol. 4 c, 20 (Igitur non uolentis, auf dem Rande). 19. — fol. 4 c, 34 (volens). — fol. 4 d, 18 (obsecratio; über 'in illis' steht eine lateinische Glosse '.i. iudeis'. — fol. 4 d, 20 (Testimonium enim; es steht 'secundum scientiam' in der folgenden Zeile und hat eine gröſsere Pelagiusglosse beginnend 'Pl. non intelligunt' etc.). — fol. 4 d, 21 (ad iustitiam; es hat 'omni credenti' die lateinische Glosse '.i. iudeo et greco'). — fol. 4 d, 29 (prope est; über 'in corde tuo' steht die lateinische Glosse '.i. in corde creden.'). — fol. 5 c, 11 (Dico ergo). 10 (caderent). — fol. 5 b, 18 (quomodo). — fol. 5 b, 42 (Nam si tu; olibam steht am Ende der folgenden Zeile und hat die lateinische Glosse '.i. credulitas fidei'). — fol. 5 d, 39 (sed vince; malum, wozu Stokes, hat die lateinische Glosse '.i. malum opus iniuriae illius', wie jeder aus der meiner Ausgabe beigegebenen Photographie von fol. 5 c d sehen kann). — fol. 6 a, 9 (Nam principes). 7. 8. — fol. 6 b, 21 (in hoc Christus mortuus est; das 'dominetur' steht am Ende einer anderen Zeile und hat eine Glosse aus Origines). — fol. 6 c, 19 (qui non iudicat). 18. — fol. 6 d, 5 (ministrum). — fol. 6 d, 8 (scriptum est; die Worte 'in gentibus' stehen in ganz anderer Zeile). — fol. 6 d, 9 (magnificate). — fol. 7 a, 1 (alenum funda). — fol. 7 a, 3 (Cupio hautem venire; es steht praecedentibus annis in ganz anderer Zeile). — fol. 7 a, 7: die Worte *túercómlassat cómtinól* sind von prima manus auf den Rand geschrieben, standen also da, ehe der erste Teil von Stokes Glosse 7 über den Text geschrieben wurde; wie können diese Worte der prima manus nun Fortsetzung sein? — fol. 7 b, 8 (domestica). 9 (eorum). — fol. 7 b, 10. 11 ist eine zu 'primitius' gehörige Glosse; es steht, was Stokes Glosse 11 nennt, auf dem Rande, ist aber Fortsetzung zu 10 nach dem klaren Inhalt, der 'primitius' erklärt und mit 'in Christo' gar nichts zu tun hat; auch das ist beweisend, daſs über 'primitius' steht 'l. a principio', was ja gerade in der angeblichen Glosse 11 aufgenommen wird.

fol. 19 b, 4 (O) 3 (insensati). — fol. 19 b, 17 (manifestum est). fol. 19 c, 3 (facta est lex). — fol. 19 c, 14 (custodiebamur). 13 (conclusi in eam fidem; zu 'revelanda erat', wohin Stokes 14 stellt, gehört die Glosse '.i. quando natus esset Christus'). — fol. 20 b, 14 (Dico hautem). — fol. 20 b, 22 (s. oben S. 466, Anmerkung. — fol. 21 a, 17 (essetis; das 'vestris' wozu Stokes die Glosse stellt,

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ist in ganz anderer Spalte, 21 b oben!) — fol. 21 b, 2 (spiritus qui nunc operatur). 1 (diffidentiae. — fol. 21 b, 9 (praeparavit).[1]) — fol. 22 a, 21 (propter). — fol. 22 a, 22 (disperantes): die Textworte, zu denen nach Stokes die Glossen 22 a, 21 und 22 stehen sollen, stehen in ganz anderen Zeilen als die Glossen, die zu ihnen nach Stokes Machtspruch gehören sollen. — fol. 22 a, 29 (iustitia). — fol. 22 c, 10 (die Glosse steht links hoch auf dem Rande und zwischen den Zeilen von Ephes. 5, 21; sie ist sicher Einleitung zu Ephes. 5, 22 'Mulieres viris suis subditae sint sicut Domino', wo über den Anfangsworten die Glosse '.i. ut dicit*som* infirmus factus sum infirmis' und über den Schlufsworten die von Stokes als 9 gezählte Glosse: also 10, dann neue Glosse, dann 9). — fol. 22 d, 11 (induite). 10 (armaturam). — fol. 22 d, 20 (et obsccrationem). 22 (instantia, woneben von prima manus 23). — fol. 23 b, 9 (in Christo in omni prae ||; die folgende Zeile beginnt mit 'torio' und daneben von prima manus, was Stokes als Glosse 8 bezeichnet). — fol. 23 b, 22 und 24 stehen über 'dum omni modo' und zwar 22 von prima manus und darüber Glosse 24 vom gewöhnlichen Schreiber. — fol. 23 c, 20. 21 sind, wie ich gebe, unzweifelhaft als eine Glosse über 'et omnis lingua confiteatur' geschrieben. — fol. 24 b, 5 (Et pax Christi). 4 (omnem sensum). — fol. 24 b, 23 (Thessalonicam). 22 (semel et bis). — fol. 24 d, 16 (praedicavimus). 15 (in vobis). — fol. 24 d, 25 (ut inpleant; es steht 'peccata sua' in anderer Zeile). — fol. 25 b, 9 (Rogamus autem). 8 (magis). — fol. 25 b, 21 (et mortui). 20 (primi). — fol. 25 b, 27 (De temporibus autem). 26 (momentis). — fol. 25 c, 21. 22 ist sonnenklar eine Glosse in der Hs., wie auch der Sinn (*ar* im Beginn von 22) ausweist. — fol. 26 a, 5 (nisi venerit discessio). — fol. 26 a, 6 (extollitur). 8 (über Zeile 'quod dicitur deus' bis 'in templo Dei se' ||). 7 (tamquam sit deus). — fol. 26 a, 11 (nunc quid detineat scitis). 10 (suo tempore). — fol. 26 a, 20 (virtute et signis). 19 (mendacibus). — fol. 26 b, 21

[1]) Stokes liest in der Glosse für mein *codosgnemi* einfach *codos gnem* und bemerkt 'The third downstroke of the *m* has a tail, as in *dom* 21 c, 9; but there is no final *i*'. Der Unterschied besteht darin, dafs in *dom* 21 c, 9 der Schreiber den 'tail' am *m* gebessert hat durch einen Strich zum Zeichen, dafs *m* gemeint ist und nicht *mi*, wie zuerst geschrieben war; diese Besserung fehlt in *codosgnem* mit dem 'tail', und man wird daher — trotz Stokes Besserwisserei — *codosgnemi* lesen müssen, wie Zeufs (ZE. 333) und ich getan haben.

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(quoniam si quis non vult).[1]) 20 (nec manducet). — fol. 26 b, 23 (Audivimus). 22 (inquiete). — fol. 26 b, 25 (silentio operantes). — 27 b, 11 (deponite vos). 10 (turpem sermonem).[2]) — 27 b, 13 (secundum imaginem eius). — 27 b, 14 (ubi non est gentilis). — 27 c, 5 (amari). — fol. 27 c, 14 (qui enim injuriam facit). 13 (id quod inique gessit). — fol. 28 c, 14 (quia in novissimis). 13 (discendent). fol. 28 c, 17 (cauteriatam). — fol. 28 d, 22 (si quis autem). 21 (domesticorum). — fol. 29 a, 1 (luxoriatae; mit 'nubere volunt', wozu Stokes die Glosse stellt, hat sie absolut nichts zu tun, und hierüber steht zudem eine lateinische Glosse!) — fol. 29 a, 2 (habentes dampnationem; 'inritam fecerunt', wozu Stokes die Glosse stellt, steht in ganz anderer Zeile und hat eine lateinische Glosse). — fol. 29 b, 21 (inutilia; die Textworte 'et perditionem', wozu Stokes bezieht, stehen ein und eine halbe Zeile weiter und haben eine lateinische Glosse). — fol. 29 b, 23 (inseruerunt). — 29 c, 8 (fundamentum bonum in futuro; die Worte 'prehendant veram vitam' stehen in anderer Zeile und haben eine lateinische Glosse). — fol. 29 d, 7 (sine intermissione). — fol. 29 d, 13 (ejus fidei quae est in te non ficta). 11 (avia tua). 12 (Loidae). Die Worte 'tua Eunichæ', wozu Stokes Glosse 13 bezieht, stehen zwei Textzeilen weiter und haben eine lateinische Glosse. — fol. 29 d, 25 (praedicator). — fol. 30 a, 2 (sanorum verborum). — fol. 30 a, 16 (placeat; zu 'probavit', wohin Stokes es setzt, findet sich eine lateinische Glosse). — fol. 30 b, 13 (ut cancer; die Worte 'ex quibus' bis 'Philetus' stehen in anderer Zeile und haben lateinische Glossen). — fol. 30 b, 28 (docebilem; über patientem steht die lateinische Glosse '.i. in tribulationibus'). — fol. 30 b, 30 (ut resipiscant). — fol. 30 d, 8 (coacervabunt sibi magistros; es steht 'prurientes auribus' in anderer Zeile und hat eine lateinische Glosse). — fol. 30 d, 11 (ego enim iam delebor; die Worte, wozu

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[1]) Stokes sagt zu seiner Glosse 21 [in marg.], was Unsinn ist. In zweiter Hälfte der Zeile stehen die Textworte 'quoniam si quis non vult oper ‖'; hierüber interlinear steht die Glosse in zwei Zeilen, die sich naturgemäſs bis auf den scharf beschnittenen Rand erstrecken, weshalb ich in meiner Ausgabe (S. 160 Anm. 1) sage: 'Haec glossa mutila est propter marginem nimis praecisum'. Hieraus, nicht an der Hand der Hs., hat Stokes seine Angabe gesogen, die auch in den Thesaurus übergegangen ist.

[2]) Von hier an hat der Leser ein gutes Kriterium, in welch gewissenloser Weise Stokes mit der Überlieferung umgesprungen ist, wenn er die Ausgabe von Zeuſs von Wb. 26c bis 32b vergleicht, die sich in der Grammatica Celtica 1. Aufl. S. 1038—1063 und in 2. Aufl. S. 1026—1042 findet.

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Stokes sie setzt, stehen in ganz anderer Zeile mit viel leerem Raum darüber). — fol. 30 d, 17 (Marcum adsume). — fol. 30 d, 19 (pænullam quam reli ||; die Worte veniens adfer stehen am Ende der folgenden Zeile ohne Glosse). — fol. 30 d, 24 (resistit).

Zum Schlufs dieser Aufzählung mufs ich wieder, wie in gleichen Fällen im Vorhergehenden, feststellen, dafs Stokes in allen von S. 501—514 aufgeführten 121 Beispielen in der Neuausgabe der Würzburger Glossen von 1901 im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I diese eigenartigen Verbesserungen der revised edition von 1887 durch Beibehaltung sanktioniert hat bis auf 11 Fälle (fol. 4 b, 8; 4 b, 26; 4 c, 14; 4 c, 34; 7 b, 8. 9; 22 a, 22; 24 d, 25; 25 c, 15; 27 c, 5; 29 a, 1; 30 a, 2). Für diese 11 Stellen wird der Unsinn der revised edition also schweigend zugestanden durch Rückkehr zu meiner Ausgabe; gerade in zehnmal soviel Fällen, in 110, wird er in der Neuausgabe stillschweigend und mit dreister Stirn beibehalten. Dies erschöpft aber noch lange nicht die Zahl der Fälle dieser Kategorien im Thesaurus für Wb. Wie Seite 500 bemerkt wurde und aus der Aufzählung S. 501—514 hervorgeht, sind mir von den zu Punkt V gehörigen Kollektaneen die Blätter zu fol. 7 b bis 19 b und 31 a bis Schlufs der Handschrift verbrannt, also zu 15 fol. der Hs. Da die Hs. nur wenig über 33 glossierte Folio enthält — 6 Glossen auf fol. 34 a —, so stammen die 110 im Thesaurus noch enthaltenen Fehler der Kategorie V von 18 Folio und es kommen nach höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die oben S. 501—514 nicht eingeschlossenen Folio rund weitere 90 Fehler, sodafs sich ihre Gesamtsumme für die Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus auf das stattliche Sümmchen von 200 stellt: 110 nachgewiesene und 90 mit mathematischer Sicherheit anzunehmende.

Am Schlufs der Vorrede zum ersten Band des Thesaurus (S. XII) konstatiert Stokes 'the fact that, with a single exception — die aber Wb. nicht berührt — every gloss and scholium in this volume has been copied or examined *in situ* by one of us'. Stokes hat 1883 meine Ausgabe von Wb. mit der Hs. verglichen, aber wenn er mit obigen Worten behaupten will, dafs die S. 501 bis 514 angeführten Abweichungen wirklich auf Grund Einblicks in die Hs. in der revised edition und dann im Thesaurus eingeführt wurden, so ist dies eine so ganz unglaubliche Behauptung, wie mir in 30 jähriger Tätigkeit noch keine vorgekommen ist. Ich

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selbst, der ich, um ein biblisches Gleichnis zu gebrauchen, in Bezug auf Wb. des Tages Last und Mühe getragen, d. h. der ich mich ohne Hilfe 1880 durch das Dickicht von lateinischen und irischen Glossen in Wb. zuerst durchgearbeitet habe, ich weifs sehr wohl, welche Mühe es an einzelnen Stellen macht, die richtigen Beziehungen von Glossen zum Text zu finden und dafs man in Einzelheiten irren kann — die Beispiele in Abschnitt II, oben S. 467—477 sind ja ein Beleg dafür —, aber das macht mir niemand weis, auch wenn er Seelenseligkeit dabei zu Pfand setzt, dafs die S. 501—514 aufgeführten Verballhornisierungen *in situ* gemacht sein können.[1]) Sie müssen anderen Ursprungs sein. Wie sie zustande gekommen sind, ist ein Problem, zu dessen Lösung ich folgendes beibringen kann.

Sehr bald nachdem ich mir Stokes revised edition etwas näher angesehen — sie einerseits mit meiner Ausgabe und anderseits mit der Grundlage meiner Ausgabe, meiner Abschrift von Wb. verglichen — hatte, fiel mir auf, in wie grofser Abhängigkeit Stokes in eben dieser revised edition von meiner von ihm so wegwerfend behandelten Ausgabe steht, und diese Abhängigkeit gibt, wie ich glaube, auch den Schlüssel zur Lösung des in den aufgeführten unbegreiflichen Änderungen liegenden Rätsels. Wer heutige kommentierte Schulausgaben klassischer Schriftsteller kennt, weifs, dafs die Einrichtung meist die ist, dafs die Erklärer einzelnen Kapiteln, Abschnitten, Strophen etc. zuerst eine — natürlich unten in den Anmerkungen stehende —

[1]) Stokes hat meine editio princeps und die mit Hilfe meiner Ausgabe gemachte Anordnung des Zeufs'schen Materials zur Hand habend eine Kollation von Wb. vorgenommen, auf Grund deren er in hochfahrender und gehässiger Weise gegen Fehler meiner Ausgabe von 1881, die ich selbst am meisten bedaure und durch das Supplementum aus dem Jahre 1886 gut zu machen gesucht habe, vorgegangen ist; dann hat er selbst eine revised edition (1887) gemacht, die zahlreiche Auslassungen und Fehler meiner Ausgabe einerseits indossiert hat (s. oben S. 467—484) und andererseits viele Änderungen vornimmt, die man beim besten Willen nicht als Verbesserungen betrachten und bezeichnen kann; dieses sonderbare Machwerk hat er dann 1901 in dem Thesaurus wieder präsentiert und sagt zum Schlufs der Vorrede, um die Kritik im Voraus zu entwaffnen: 'Mistakes and omissions will doubtless be detected in the work. But as Ebel wrote in his proem to the Grammatica Celtica : opprobret nobis qui volet, modo corrigat'. Diese Berufung auf Ebel ist, soweit Wb. im Thesaurus in Betracht kommt, nach den gegebenen Antecedentien von Stokes neuester Ausgabe doch ein Mifsbrauch der zitierten Worte.

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Sacherklärung vorausschicken, die auch auf Zusammenhänge Rücksicht nimmt und den Inhalt des Kommenden oft umschreibt; dann folgt die Erklärung von Einzelheiten innerhalb solcher Ganze. Das ist ja auch ganz die Methode, die der in der lateinischen Übersetzung von Pelagius Lehrer Rufinus erhaltene, in Wb. öfters benutzte (s. Zimmer, Pelagius in Irland, S. 115) Origineskommentar zum Römerbrief aufweist. Wesentlich dieselbe Methode finden wir bei dem Kommentator zu den paulinischen Briefen in Wb., wie jeder, der den ganzen Kommentar in seinen lateinischen und irischen Bestandteilen durcharbeitet, bald inne wird. Wie je dem ganzen Brief das 'argumentum' (des Pelagius) vorausgeht, so wird den einzelnen kleinen und kleinsten Ganzen, die ja sehr oft mit einem Vers unserer Einteilung zusammenfallen, in vielen Fällen eine Erklärung vorausgeschickt, die in der Regel interlinear, über dem ersten oder zweiten Wort des Verses beginnend übergeschrieben oder nebenan auf dem Rande beigeschrieben ist, wobei selten ein Verweisungszeichen über dem ersten oder zweiten Worte fehlt, dem ein gleiches der Randglosse vorgesetzt entspricht; die kurzen Wort- oder Sacherklärungen, die der Kommentator den einzelnen Wörtern oder Gliedern des gröfseren Ganzen widmet, sind meist, soweit der Raum es gestattet, dem betreffenden Wort übergeschrieben. Ich denke jeder kann sich aus den ausführlicheren Angaben oben S. 501—509 oder aus der meiner Ausgabe beigegebenen Photographie von fol. 5c d leicht ein Bild machen. Bei meiner Ausgabe nun schwebte mir das Ideal vor, ohne den Text der Briefe ganz zu geben, ihn soweit bei den einzelnen Glossen zu drucken, dafs diese verständlich würden, ohne dafs man fortwährend die Vulgata daneben benutzen müsse. Ich druckte daher, sobald eine Sacherklärung zu einem kleinen Ganzen, also Vers kam, dieses kleine Ganze, über dessen Anfang die Erklärung steht, soweit als mir zum Verständnis der Erklärung notwendig erschien; dann druckte ich die einzelnen erklärten Worte der Reihe nach mit ihren Glossen, hier oft, wenn der Sinn es verlangte, ein oder das andere vorangehende oder nachfolgende hinzufügend. Um ja keinen Zweifel darüber aufkommen zu lassen, über welchem Textwort eine längere Erklärung beginnt oder wozu eine solche geschrieben ist, habe ich in vielen Fällen dies betreffende Wort durch gesperrten Druck hervorgehoben. Ich gebe hier blos die S. 501

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ausführlicher erörterten Stellen fol. 1 b, 14. 15 und 1 c, 11. 12 (in Stokes Zählung) getreu nach meiner Ausgabe:

fol. 1 b, 14. 15.

'Röm. 1, 20. Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciunter .i. elimenta .i. *adcither asuthine som* p.... t... orum (ZE. 863).

Intellecta .i. *œtgnithi* .i. *isfollus doib asnoipred fir oirdnithi* (ZE. 869. 487. 802)'.

fol. 1 c, 11. 12.

'Röm. 2, 2. Scimus enim quoniam judicium dei est secundum veritatem .i. *ní bocomitesti dó acht baléicthi* judici justo (ZE. 481. 640).

judicium .i. *dígal*'.

Nach monatelanger andauernder Beschäftigung mit der Handschrift war mir die ganze Anordnung der Erklärungen und Glossen in Wb., weil sie die naturgemäfse ist, so in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen, dafs ich es für vollkommen überflüssig hielt, über die Einrichtung der Ausgabe Worte der Erklärung zu verlieren, zumal zwei Momente auch dem Blödesten jeden Zweifel nehmen konnten: 1. Für fol. 5 c d ist meiner Ausgabe eine schöne in wirklicher Gröfse der Hs. ausgeführte Photographie beigegeben. 2. ZE. 1026—1042 ist des Altmeisters Abschrift von fol. 26 c bis 32 a (die Briefe an die Kolosser, Timotheus, Titus und Philemon), entsprechend S. 161—190 meiner Ausgabe, beigegeben; hier ist auf oberer Seite der ganze Text gedruckt und zu den Wörtern, wo Glossen stehen, Zahlen beigesetzt, die auf die auf unterer Seite stehenden Glossen verweisen. Dafs es Menschen geben könnte, die sich Keltologen nennen und die Grammatica Celtica nicht ordentlich kennen, war mir undenkbar [1]) und ebenso undenkbar, dafs jemand den Mut haben könnte mir unterzuschieben, ich habe in Dutzenden von Fällen in meiner

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[1]) Nach 25 jähriger Tätigkeit auf dem Gesamtgebiet der keltischen Forschung denke ich allerdings anders. Es ist erstaunlich, was ich in der Zeit gelesen habe, das ungedruckt geblieben wäre, wenn die Grammatica Celtica überall so bekannt und verdaut wäre, wie sie sein sollte. Wenn Caspar Zeufs 1906 auf kurze Zeit aus dem Grabe erstanden wäre und einige Worte des Dankes für all die Reden, Schriftchen und Artikel aus Anlafs der Zentenarfeier hätte sagen sollen, dann würde er sich in seiner Art kurz gefafst und mit Lessing gesagt haben: 'Wir wollen weniger erhoben und fleifsiger gelesen sein'.


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Ausgabe die Reihenfolge der Glossen willkürlich geändert: das hätte doch die Photographie von fol. 5 c d und Zeufs Ausgabe von fol. 26 c bis 32 a sofort ans Licht gebracht. Die Folgezeit belehrte mich, wie harmlos ich 1880/81 noch gewesen war.

Ascoli's Ausgabe des Psalmenkommentars Ml., deren einzelne Lieferungen nach dem Erscheinen der Glossae Hibernicae in rascher Aufeinanderfolge herauskamen, beruht auf einem ganz anderen Prinzip als meine Ausgabe von Wb.: er druckt den vollen lateinischen Text auf der oberen Hälfte der Seite, setzt den Wörtern, über denen eine irische Erklärung beginnt oder wozu eine Glosse geschrieben ist, durch die einzelnen Kolumnen fortlaufende Nummern bei und druckt auf der unteren Hälfte der Seite in der Reihenfolge der Nummern die Erklärungen und Glossen ab. Diese Einrichtung akzeptierte Stokes in der revised edition 1887 und hat sie in der Neuausgabe 1901 beibehalten. Seine im Jahre 1883 gemachte Kollation meiner Ausgabe von Wb. mit der Handschrift war, wie ich schon bemerkte, ganz offenbar nur für eine Rezension und ohne Hintergedanken einer Neuausgabe gemacht. Als Stokes daher nach einigen Jahren zu einer überflüssigen Neuausgabe von Wb. schritt, ohne die Hs. auch nur in einem einzigen Punkte von neuem einzusehen, war er einerseits offenbar mehr auf meine Ausgabe angewiesen als einem gewissenhaften Neuherausgeber eigentlich gestattet ist, zumal wenn er die zu ersetzende Ausgabe für so schlecht hält, wie Stokes offenbar nach seinem Benehmen in der 'Prefatory note' meine Ausgabe. Anderseits war Stokes in Gedanken so in Ascoli's Anordnung verrannt, dafs er kopflos bei mir eine gleiche voraussetzte und alle die in meiner Ausgabe selbst und in dem Text der irischen Glossen liegenden Hinweise und ernsten Bedenken gegen die vorgefafste Meinung nicht sah; dafs er ferner gar nicht die Photographie von fol. 5 c d herbeizog bei seiner Ausgabe, nicht ein einziges Mal, und dafs auch Caspar Zeufs' Ausgabe von fol. 26 c bis 32 a in ZE. 1026—1042 für ihn nicht existierte. Rein und ausschliefslich unter Einflufs der erwähnten fixen Idee stehend, arbeitete er meine Ausgabe mit Hilfe der nicht überall zulänglichen Kollation von 1883 zu der 'revised edition' von 1887 um, wobei er es als ganz selbstverständlich ansah, dafs in den S. 517 gegebenen Beispielen meiner Ausgabe die Glosse '.i. elimenta .i. *adcither asuthine som* p...

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t... orum' zu dem Textworte 'conspiciuntur' statt zu 'per ea' geschrieben sei und die Glosse '.i. *ni bocomitesti dó acht baléicthi* judici justo' zu dem Textworte 'veritatem' statt zu dem Anfang 'Scimus enim'; dann gehörten diese beiden Glossen nicht vor die Glossen zu 'Intellecta' bezw. 'judicium' sondern nachher. Mit souveräner Machtvollkommenheit bestimmte Stokes daher, dafs die späteren Glossen die früheren seien, und setzte seinen Beschlufs in die Erscheinung. So entstand nicht nur in den in Rede stehenden beiden Beispielen sondern auch in Dutzenden, die S. 501—514 aufgeführt sind und fast ebenso vielen auf fol. 7b bis 19c, die ich aus dem S. 500 angeführten Grunde nicht einzeln aufführen kann, die gegen die Hs., den Sinn und meine Ausgabe verstofsende Neuordnung und Änderung der Beziehungen der Glossen zum Text, wie wir sie in der revised edition und dann in der Neuausgabe von 1901 finden.[1])

Gewifs eröffnet dieser Erklärungsversuch nicht wegzuleugnender Tatsachen einen eigenartigen Ausblick auf die Gewissenhaftigkeit des Herausgebers Stokes, und es ist auch ein eigentümliches Geschick, dafs gerade die Ausgabe, die er mit allen[2])

[1]) Die Neuausgabe von 1901 im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus ist mir noch viel rätselhafter als die revised edition von 1887. In 11 der oben S. 501 bis 514 aufgeführten Fälle, also in fast 10 Prozent, kehrt Stokes in der Neuausgabe zu meiner Ausgabe zurück. Sollte dies nicht dazu führen die ganze Frage betreffs der Abweichungen von meiner Reihenfolge einer Revision zu unterziehen? Zumal die von Stokes gegebenen Beziehungen oft keinen Sinn haben; sollte nicht einmal der Gedanke gekommen sein, für fol. 5cd die Photographie heranzuziehen? Sollte nicht einmal der Gedanke gekommen sein, für fol. 26c bis 32a Zeufs' Ausgabe (ZE. 1026—1042) heranzuziehen? Hält Stokes, um ein vor 1100 Jahren von dem Spanier Claudius von den oberitalischen Bischöfen gebrauchtes Bild zu verwenden, — hält Stokes die Keltologen für eine congregatio asinorum, dafs er in der revised edition (1887) und in der monumentalen Neuausgabe (1901) eine solche Ausgabe von Wb. 26c bis 32a trotz Caspar Zeufs in der Grammatica Celtica 1. Ausgabe (1853) S. 1038—1063, 2. Ausgabe (1870) S. 1026—1042 zu bieten wagt?

[2]) Stokes bietet in der 'Prefatory Note' zu seiner revised edition (S.VII) den Satz: The glosses in three of the Mss. were edited by Prof. Zimmer in 1881 "adiuvante Academiae Regiae Berolinensis liberalitate", but so incompletely and inaccurately as to render a revised edition desirable. Hier ist ein trefflicher Belag, wie Stokes überflüssigerweise die Atmosphäre vergiftet, wenn Atkinson oder ich in Betracht kommen. Ein Urteil über beide Ausgaben von Stokes (1887. 1901) ist nach dem im Verlauf gegebenen und im Text folgenden jedem möglich: mit Pfeilen mit Stokes'schem Gift bestrichen zurück zu schiefsen, fiele nicht schwer.


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Mitteln herabzusetzen und durch zwei successive Ausgaben zu ersetzen suchte, ihm derartig zum Fallstrick wurde. Aber wer diese die Mehrzahl der S. 501—514 aufgeführten und viele andere Fälle erklärende Vermutung nicht annehmen will, mufs Stokes eine nicht näher charakterisierbare Willkür zu erkennen, die ihm durch das Bestreben, seine Ausgabe möglichst von der meinigen abweichend zu machen, eingegeben wurde. Deshalb ist mir die gegebene Vermutung als die für Stokes meines Erachtens am wenigsten gravierende Erklärung am wahrscheinlichsten, zumal sie in bezug auf Stokes' Verfahreu Raum läfst für einen Trost: ist's gleich Unsinn, steckt doch Methode drin. Freilich eine stattliche Anzahl von Fällen, es mag der vierte Teil sein — sie treten, wie ein sorgfältiger Durchblick des S. 501 bis 514 gegebenen Materials lehrt, strichweise gehäuft auf, als ob Stokes öfters mit erneuter Kraft eingesetzt habe, und ein solcher Strich sind die aufser von mir auch schon von Zeufs in der Grammatica Celtica herausgegebenen fol. 26c bis 32a —, bleibt durch die S. 518 gegebene Vermutung unerklärt. Wenn Stokes, wie ich noch einmal betonen will, die Würzburger Glossen zum erstenmal, ohne Vorgänger, herausgegeben hätte, dann wären ja alle die S. 501—514 nachgewiesenen Wunderlichkeiten und Unrichtigkeiten verständlich, wenn auch nicht schön, als Versehen eines flüchtigen Herausgebers; aber er ist nicht der erste Herausgeber, mehr noch: Stokes wollte 1887 eine 'revised edition' geben und 1901 ein abschliefsendes monumentales Werk gegenüber mangelhaften Vorgängern, daher müssen derartig sich häufende Abweichungen von Zeufs und mir, wie sie sich für fol. 26c bis 32a nachweisen lassen, einen Sinn haben. Mit dem Gedanken, dafs jemand in ernsten wissenschaftlichen Dingen grundlos und sinnlos handle, kann ich mich nicht befreunden; ich habe mir aber wieder und wieder vergeblich den Kopf zerbrochen. Sollte der Grund für diese Änderungen von Stokes eine Bestätigung des Dichterwortes sein 'Was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht, das übet in Einfalt ein kindlich Gemüt'? [1])

[1]) Ursprünglich bestand meine Absicht, den Punkten I bis V noch einen weiteren hinzuzufügen, der nach Punkt III kommen sollte. Aus den Ausführungen von S. 467 bis hierher ist ja jedem klar, dafs in Wb. viele Stellen vorkommen, wo man über Lesung dieses oder jenes Buchstabens schwanken kann. Ich bin der letzte, der nicht den breton. Grundsatz *frankiz da beb barn* unterschriebe: in meiner Ausgabe von 1881 findet man in den An-



VI. Stokes' Neuausgabe der Würzburger Glossen im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I, 499 bis 712 im Verhältnis zur Hs., zu meiner Ausgabe 1881/86 und zu seiner revised edition 1887.

Ich sage mit Absicht 'Stokes Neuausgabe', denn wenn der Mitherausgeber des Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, der verstorbene John Strachan — seinen frühen, unerwarteten Tod kann aufser seinen nächsten Familienangehörigen niemand schmerzlicher empfinden als ich; denn neben der Wertschätzung des Gelehrten, worin ich keinem Fachgenossen nachstehe, kommt bei mir noch ein besonderes Gefühl persönlicher Hochschätzung und Dankbarkeit für den Verstorbenen hinzu: wir waren über manche Punkte unserer Wissenschaft teilweise anderer Meinung, aber dieser Meinungsverschiedenheit fehlte jede persönliche Spitze, weil Strachan, längst bevor wir uns in Kuno Meyers Heim in New Brighton persönlich kennen lernten, mir und meinen Arbeiten gegenüber eine vornehme Unbefangenheit und Unparteilichkeit bewahrt hatte und gelegentlich zum Ausdruck brachte, als noch ein gewisser persönlicher Mut dazu gehörte. Das werde ich ihm übers Grab hinaus in meinem Leben nicht vergessen; — wenn Strachan die Entstehung der revised edition durchschaut hätte, würde seine Beteiligung am Thesaurus, soweit Wb. in Betracht kommt, wohl eine andere gewesen sein, sofern er sich überhaupt beteiligt hätte. Er hat wohl wesentlich die Verantwortung für

merkungen 'Lege si vis, distinguere nequeo, discernere non ausim, de lectione ... non satis mihi constat, forma litterarum ... dubia est' wieder und wieder; im Supplementum (1886) leite ich eine Reihe von Fällen ein mit 'Dubitare licet utrum legendum sit ... an' (S. 9). Stokes, der die Eigenschaft eines gewissen deutschen Professors besitzt, von dem böse Zungen behaupten, er unterscheide sich von Gott dadurch, dafs er alles besser wisse, schwankt natürlich in diesen Fällen selten; mehr noch: in Fällen, wo man schwanken kann und wo ich nach Ausweis meiner Abschrift hin und her schwankte, diese Zweifel aber aus gewissem Überdrufs oder Nachlässigkeit nicht in den Anmerkungen verzeichnet habe, nachdem ich zu einer bestimmten Ansicht über die Lesung gekommen war, — in solchen Fällen hat Stokes in seiner revised edition und meist auch im Thesaurus totsicher, wie nicht anders zu erwarten ist, die Lesart, gegen die ich mich entschieden hatte. Nachdem ich unter Punkt III gewissenhaft festgestellt, wo ich nach meiner Kollation vom Jahre 1900 sicher bin, dafs ich oder Stokes Recht hat, sollten unter einem Punkt IV disputable Stellen behandelt werden. Da die Dinge jedoch meist herzlich unerheblich sind und ich kein Freund von einer *Dadl fawr yngghylch cynffon llygoden* bin, habe ich den Punkt weggelassen.

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die beigegebene Übersetzung zu tragen und diese Last ist leicht.[1]) Für den Text von Wb. ist Stokes verantwortlich, wo nicht in einer Note etwas anderes angegeben ist. Das Verhältnis des irischen Textes der Neuausgabe zu dem in der revised edition ist rasch festgestellt: bis auf verhältnismäfsig wenige Fälle, darunter solchen, wo die Neuausgabe unter Strachans Einflufs von meiner Ausgabe, namentlich dem Supplementum Gewinn gezogen hat, ist der Text der Neuausgabe ein genauer Abdruck des Textes der revised edition. Dadurch bestimmt sich nach den S. 459—514 gegebenen Nachweisen sehr leicht das Verhältnis zur Hs. und zu meiner Ausgabe: 1) In der Neuausgabe fehlen alle die oben S. 459—467 nachgetragenen altirischen Glossen (s. S. 467); 2) in den S. 470—484 aufgeführten Stellen wird sie der Überlieferung ebensowenig ganz gerecht wie die revised edition und meine Ausgabe (s. S. 477. 484); 3) es finden sich ohne Angabe der verschiedenen hinfälligen Gründe alle die S. 485—499 angeführten Worttrennungen auch in der Neuausgabe mit Ausnahme der S. 491. 494 hervorgehobenen wenigen Ausnahmen; 4) alle die S. 501—514 nachgewiesenen Konfusionen der revised edition in bezug auf Aufeinanderfolge der irischen Glossen in der Hs. und die Beziehungen der Glossen zum lateinischen Text sind in der Neuausgabe durch Herübernahme sanktioniert, bis auf die elf Fälle, die S. 514 angeführt sind.

Von den 714 Seiten des 1. Bandes des Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, die Glossen enthalten, waren seit 1869, dem Erscheinungsjahre von Nigra's Ausgabe der Turiner Glossen, bis 1889, dem Vollendungsjahre von Ascoli's Ausgabe der Mailänder Glossen, nicht weniger als rund 710 Seiten schon einmal oder mehreremal herausgegeben. Nachdem die bisherigen Herausgeber in der Preface (S. XI) mit den Worten 'some of the editors are far from representing with scientific accuracy the

[1]) Ich glaube noch bemerken zu müssen, dafs vorstehender Aufsatz nicht nur vor Strachans unerwartetem Tode geplant, sondern in wichtigen Teilen niedergeschrieben war, wie Strachan wufste, da er mir in einem Briefe aus West Kirby vom 13. August schreibt: 'I hear that you are to publish a paper on the Würzburg Glosses in Stern's Journal'. Dafs dieser competente Beurteiler meine Ausführungen nicht mehr sehen sollte, ist mir besonders schmerzlich.

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lections of the MSS. in which the glosses and texts are found; the context of the lemmas is seldom given with sufficient fulness; and the translations, when such exist, are often incomplete or erroneous' charakterisiert sind und so indirekt die Notwendigkeit einer Neuausgabe anscheinend dargelegt ist, wird ihr Ziel in dem Satz 'The aim of the present work is, therefore, to facilitate the study of the interesting and difficult language commonly called Old-Irish, and for this purpose to put scholars in possession of trustworthy materials in a convenient and comparatively cheap combination (S. XI)' zum Ausdruck gebracht. Ob man den ersten Band des Thesaurus 'convenient' und 'comparatively cheap' — er kostet 30 Mark — im Verhältnis zu den vor ihm vorhandenen Einzelausgaben nennen darf, ist zum mindesten zweifelhaft; um seine Existenz ihnen gegenüber zu rechtfertigen, kann aber der Ton einzig und allein auf 'trustworthy materials' gelegt werden. Herausgegeben waren von den 714 Seiten des Thesaurus: 477 Seiten (S. 7—483) von Ascoli; 10 Seiten (S. 484—494) von Nigra, dann Stokes und Zimmer; 2 Seiten (S. 4—7) von Stokes und Zimmer; 213 Seiten (S. 499—712) von Zimmer und dann Stokes. In Betracht kamen also Ascoli, Nigra, Stokes, Zimmer bei dem implicite ausgesprochenen Vorwurf keine 'trustworthy materials' geliefert zu haben.

Sofort nach dem Erscheinen des 1. Bandes des Thesaurus erhielt ich von Ascoli, der ja mit dem Löwenanteil (477 Seiten von 714) an ihm beteiligt war, einen höchst erregten Brief — den ersten glaube ich, seitdem unsere Korrespondenz durch die Seite 461 Anm. erwähnten Vorgänge ins Stocken geraten war —, in dem er mich als den in zweiter Linie betroffenen aufforderte, wir wollten öffentlich gegen diese in manchen Punkten direkt wahrheitswidrigen Worte aus der Preface protestieren. Ich hatte, da das Erscheinen des 1. Bandes des Thesaurus mit meiner Umsiedlung nach Berlin und dem Abschlufs des Druckes meines Buches 'Pelagius in Irland' zusammenfiel, mir den Band noch nicht näher angesehen und auch vor der Hand keine Zeit dazu. Dies schrieb ich Ascoli und führte weiter aus, ich glaube kaum, auch nach später vorzunehmender näherer Prüfung, Grund zu einem Protest zu finden, weil mir schiene, Stokes könne bei den Sätzen der Vorrede gar nicht an mich gedacht haben: Stokes habe 1887 durch seine revised edition der Würzburger Glossen meine editio princeps überflüssig zu machen versucht,

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was ihm ja auch durch das Ansehen seines Namens in weitem Umfange leider gelungen sei. Diese in Vergessenheit geratende Ausgabe sei also durch Stokes selbst schon ersetzt und auf sie könnte doch unmöglich in den Worten der Vorrede gezielt sein, zumal diese Ausgabe auch keine 'translations' bringe. Dagegen sei es mir a priori höchst wahrscheinlich, dafs Stokes in erster Linie in den von Ascoli beanstandeten Sätzen sich selbst gemeint habe, d. h. seine revised edition (1887). Diese — und nur diese — habe ja von den in Band I des Thesaurus vereinigten umfangreichen Denkmälern 'translations' und dazu solche, auf die die Worte 'incomplete or erroneous' vollkommen passen, wie ja Stokes in Revue Celtique 9, 104—108 und 365 bis 370 selbst zugegeben habe. Dazu komme, dafs ein Vergleich von Stokes 'revised edition' (1887) mit der Hs., den ich im Sommer 1900 angestellt hätte, mir gezeigt habe, dafs auch alle die wenig ehrenvollen Insinuationen, die Stokes in der Preface den Vorgängern des Thesaurus im allgemeinen mache, in ganz ungewöhnlich hohem Grade auf die revised edition zutreffe. Ich müsse deshalb annehmen, dafs Stokes, wohl durch eine neue Kollation von Wb., die Mängel des Textes in seiner 'revised edition' ebenso nachträglich erkannt habe wie die der Übersetzung nach dem Eingeständnis in Revue celtique. Wohl verstehen könnte ich, dafs diese Erkenntnis Stokes, nachdem er sich meiner editio princeps gegenüber so aufs hohe Pferd gesetzt habe, sehr schmerzlich berühre und er ein lebhaftes Interesse habe, seine revised edition in Vergessenheit zu bringen. Schön sei es ja nicht, dafs Stokes zu dem Zwecke Ascoli's mustergültige Ausgaben von Ml. und Pr. Sg. verstümmelt neu abdrucke; schön sei es auch nicht, dafs Stokes sein eigenes Schuldbekenntnis in der Preface in Worte kleide, die von Unbefangenen nur auf andere könnten bezogen werden: über diese und andere Punkte wichen aber meine Anschauungen — und wie ich konstatieren müsse auch die von Atkinson — über das was 'gentlemanly' sei, so sehr von denen Stokes' ab, dafs ich es vorzöge, darüber zu schweigen.

Von Ascoli erhielt ich gleich keine direkte Antwort; er kam auch später nicht mehr auf den Punkt zurück, scheint aber anderer Meinung über die Worte der Preface geblieben zu sein und dies Stokes gegenüber zum Ausdruck gebracht zu haben, denn die Preface des 1903 erschienenen 2. Bandes des Thesaurus

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enthält den Schlufssatz: 'We have, lastly, to express our surprise and regret that the statement in the preface to our first volume, as to the lack of scientific accuracy in some editions of Old-Irish glosses, should have been taken to apply to the publications of Professor Ascoli and Count Nigra. For the work of those distinguished scholars we have now, as we have had always, high admiration and sincere gratitude'. Damit erwies sich ja meine Ascoli gegenüber geäufserte Vermutung zum Teil als richtig; leider — d. h. leider für Stokes — steht es nicht ganz so mit ihrem anderen Teile. Im Wintersemester 1905/6 nahm ich aus Anlafs der Erklärung der Würzburger Glossen in Übungen den genauen Vergleich der Neuausgabe von Wb. im 1. Band des Thesaurus mit der revised edition von 1887 vor: soweit die beigefügte 'translation' geht, bei der hauptsächlich Strachans Tätigkeit in Frage kommt, ist die Neuausgabe ein erfreulicher Fortschritt über die 'erroneous translations' hinaus in der revised edition; ganz anders steht es mit Stokes Anteil, der Herausgabe des Textes. Das für ihn wenig schmeichelhafte Ergebnis der Vergleichung habe ich S. 459—514 am Schlusse jedes Abschnittes festgestellt und S. 522 kurz zusammengefafst. Darnach hat Stokes bei der Neuausgabe nicht die ihm von mir zugetraute Selbsterkenntnis von dem Wert seiner revised edition besessen, soweit die Ausgabe der Glossen in Betracht kommt; er kann daher auch bei den Insinuationen in der Preface zum ersten Band des Thesaurus über die nicht 'trustworthy materials' der Vorgänger nicht an sich gedacht haben, wie ich annahm. Da nun nach dem Geständnis in der Preface zum 2. Band Ascoli und Nigra nicht gemeint sind, so bleibe ich nur übrig als derjenige der getroffen werden sollte, sofern sich Stokes überhaupt etwas Bestimmtes bei seinen Insinuationen gegen die Vorgänger gedacht hat. Ich habe mich bei dem schon in dem Schreiben an Ascoli betonten Umstand, dafs Stokes durch seine 'revised edition' der Würzburger Glossen seit 1887 meine Ausgabe fast vollständig verdrängt hat, hin und her gefragt, woher diese Wut von Stokes, den anscheinend toten noch toter zu schlagen; ich habe mich gefragt, woher der Antrieb zu diesem kostspieligen Unternehmen, das — von den Würzburger Glossen ganz abgesehen — zu zwei vollen Dritteln nur Material bringt, das — wie Stokes selbst zugesteht — in mustergültigen und allgemein zugänglichen Ausgaben Ascoli's vorliegt, und zudem so bringt, dafs jeder

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Forscher auch nach dem Erscheinen von Stokes' Neuausgabe die Ausgaben Ascoli's nicht entbehren kann.

Ich bin bei längerem Nachdenken zu einer bestimmten Annahme gedrängt: Meine Glossae Hibernicae (1881) mit dem Supplementum (1886) enthalten aufser den Würzburger Glossen (S. 3—197) eine damals ziemlich vollständige Sammlung aller kleinen altirischen Denkmäler, namentlich so weit sie auf dem Kontinent sich befinden, und boten so mit Ascoli's Ml. und Pr. Sg. zusammen eine Art Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus. Meine in den Glossae Hibernicae gebotene Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen enthielt allein die Angaben über den Anteil der Prima manus, wofür Stokes 1886/87 noch so wenig Verständnis hatte, dafs er in seiner revised edition diese meine Angaben einfach wegläfst; der Wert dieser Angaben war aber seitdem so in helles Licht gesetzt worden, dafs er auch Stokes einleuchtete. Meine Glossae Hibernicae boten in den LIX Seiten Prologomena in zwei Kapiteln vieles für ernste Forschung wissenswerte, was sonst nirgends zu finden war. So sehr nun auch Stokes' Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen in der revised edition mehr und mehr anfing standard-Ausgabe hierfür zu werden, so konnte doch die revised edition meine editio princeps mit dem Supplement nicht völlig verdrängen aus den angeführten Momenten; und die Annahme, zu der ich mich nach sorgfältiger und gewissenhafter Überlegung aller Umstände gedrängt sah, ist dafs, um die völlige Verdrängung meiner Glossae Hibernicae zu erreichen, Stokes den Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus geplant und ins Werk gesetzt hat. Damit wurden zugleich die Stokes stets als unangenehme Mahner erscheinenden erroneous translations seiner revised edition unbemerkt beseitigt, indem er durch den neuen Thesaurus tatsächlich seiner revised edition das Schicksal bereitete, das den Glossae Hibernicae zugedacht war. Unter dieser Annahme kommt in die Worte und Handlungen von Stokes einigermafsen Sinn.

Meine Ausgabe der Würzburger Glossen in den Glossae Hibernicae (1881) und dem Supplementum (1886) ist nicht die, wie ich sie mir jetzt wünschte und seit vielen Jahren gewünscht habe: ich war Anfänger als ich sie machte; die Schwierigkeiten waren selbst für ältere Forscher gröfser als manch einer denkt, der mit meiner Ausgabe und dem mit Hilfe meiner Ausgabe schön geordneten Material in der Grammatica Celtica *in situ*

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die Hs. kollationiert;[1]) in untergeordneten Punkten habe ich auch nicht immer die nötige Sorgfalt auf die Ausgabe verwendet. Zwei Dinge aber darf ich getrost behaupten: 1) Wenn Stokes an meiner Stelle die editio princeps gemacht hätte und ich wäre in die bequeme Lage versetzt gewesen, in der er seit 1883 sich befand, dann würde eine von mir veranstaltete Kollation mit der Hs. und darauf gegründete revised edition (1887) sowie eine weitere Neuausgabe (1901) doch ganz anders ausgesehen haben als die Arbeiten von Stokes; dafür sind Zeugnis mein Supplementum (1886) und die den Bemerkungen S. 459—514 zugrunde liegende Kollation von 1900. 2) Meine Ausgabe von Wb. (1881/86) ist durch Stokes Bemühungen nicht ersetzt — weder durch die revised edition (1887) noch die Neuausgabe im Thesaurus, wie die Erörterungen S. 470—514 lehren —, auch sind die sie enthaltenden Glossae Hibernicae in anderen Teilen vorläufig durch den Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus nicht überflüssig gemacht worden, da die in den Prolegomena S. I—LIX niedergelegten Studien auch noch des Bessermachers harren.

Zum Schlufs die Frage: Ist nach den Ergebnissen meines Aufsatzes eine neue Druckausgabe der Würzburger Glossen nötig oder wünschenswert, die meine und Stokes beide Ausgaben ersetzen soll? *Na ato Duw hyn!* Wenn man bedenkt, was die keltische Forschung seit 1858 Stokes dankt für sein fortwährendes Regehalten des Interesses an keltischen Studien, sein Herbeischleppen von Forschungsmaterial aus allen Winkeln, seine zahlreichen Versuche, dies Material zu verwerten, wenn man dies alles bedenkt, dann kann es einem in der Seele wehtun, dafs Stokes durch seine 'revised edition' der Würzburger Glossen und den Abdruck im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus sowie manches andere[2]) sein Andenken selbst so getrübt hat, und man möchte

[1]) Die Überlegung, dafs Stokes 1883 doch darauf aus war, bei der Kollation soviel als möglich mir Vorzurückendes aufzustöbern *(aml bai lle ni cherir)*, dafs ich 1885 ein lebhaftes Interesse hatte, meine Versehen von 1880 gut zu machen, und dafs trotzdem eine von mir bei reiferer Erfahrung 1900 angestellte Neukollation all das S. 459—484 vorgebrachte noch aus der Hs. herausziehen konnte, mag billig Denkendem einen Mafsstab für die Schwierigkeiten abgeben, die ich als Anfänger bei der editio princeps zu überwinden hatte.

[2]) Wenn ich mir so vorführe, was Stokes seit 25 Jahren gegen Atkinson und mich geschrieben und ins Werk gesetzt hat, dann habe ich den Eindruck, als ob Stokes, wenn er die Namen Atkinson oder Zimmer sieht, dasselbe



sich am liebsten diese Denkmäler in seinem Interesse wegdenken. Aber für die keltische Philologie ist das alles doch kein Grund, eine neue Druckausgabe der Würzburger Glossen für nötig zu halten.

Etwas anderes aber scheint mir, wenn auch nicht absolut nötig, so doch sehr wünschenswert. Die königliche Bibliothek in Berlin besitzt vortreffliche[1]) photographische Platten des ganzen Würzburger Kodex, die eine photographische Ausgabe jederzeit ermöglichen, die in mancher Hinsicht lesbarer ist als die Hs. selbst. Stern, dem wir diese weise Vorsorge danken und unter dessen Obhut sich diese die Hss. ersetzenden Platten befinden, ist der geeignete Mann, um diese photographische Ausgabe zu liefern. Dann kommt der 'Jeremias' wohl endgiltig zur Ruhe. Aber nicht blos deswegen und nicht blos darum, weil auf dem irischen Material in Wb. das grundlegende Werk unserer Wissenschaft in seinem altirischen Teil vornehmlich aufgebaut ist. Die Hs. und das dem Text beigegebene Erklärungsmaterial hat einen weit über die keltische Philologie hinaus reichenden Wert, wie meine Schrift 'Pelagius in Irland' (Berlin 1901) so nebenbei gezeigt hat. Ernste theologische Kritiker meines Buches haben aus beachtenswerten Gründen bedauert, dafs dasselbe nicht auch das übrige lateinische Glossenmaterial aus Origines, Hilarius (Pseudo-Ambrosiaster), Hieronymus, Augustin, Pseudo-Primasius, Gregor, Isidor und anonymen Quellen, das ich S. 112—137 meines Buches charakterisierte, ebenso vollständig bringt, wie das Material aus der Hauptquelle, Pelagius, gegeben ist (S. 39—112). Es lag selbstverständlich aufser dem Bereiche meiner Arbeit in dem Punkte weiter zu gehen als dort S. 112 bis 137 geschehen ist. Um aber dem an sich berechtigten Wunsche nachzukommen, dachte ich das gewünschte Material in einer kleinen Schrift nachzutragen, da es mir in meiner Abschrift von 1880 und der Kollation von 1900 vollständig vorlag. Das mehrfach erwähnte Brandunglück macht dies unmöglich:

widerfährt, was dem König Saul beim Anblick Davids nach der Erzählung 1. Samuelis 19, 9—10 widerfuhr.

[1]) Da ich bei meiner viermaligen Durcharbeitung der Hs. Wb. — im Sommer 1880, Winter 1880/81, Sommer 1885, Sommer und Herbst 1900 — rund zehn Monate meines Lebens jede freie Minute auf die Hs. verwendet habe, glaube ich ein Urteil über die Güte der photographischen Platten zu haben.

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von dem etwas über 700 Quartseiten umfassenden Mss. meiner Abschrift (1880) und der Kollation (1900), das in vier Päckchen aufbewahrt wurde, sind zwei Päckchen verbrannt oder vernichtet worden, enthaltend die Seiten 198—371 (die beiden Corintherbriefe, fol. 7c bis 18c) und 500 — Schlufs (I. Timotheus — bis Hebraeerbrief, fol. 27d bis 34a); ich besitze also nur mehr das gewünschte Material für den Römerbrief (fol. 1—7c) und die Briefe von Galater bis Colosser (fol. 18c bis 27d): eine erneute Durcharbeitung grofser Teile von Wb. zu rein kirchengeschichtlichen Zwecken ist für mich vollständig ausgeschlossen. Eine Photographieausgabe von Wb. würde also kirchengeschichtlichen Interessenten nicht viel weniger erwünscht sein als Keltologen. Sie würde aber noch höheren Wert haben: sie würde ein nationales Denkmal für Irlands Ruhm in geistig nicht hochstehender Zeit sein. Ich habe in dem Schlufskapitel des ersten Teiles meines Buches 'Pelagius in Irland' Kriterien aufgesucht, um 'das Verhältnis der Bildung in den irischen Klöstern zu der Bildung in kontinentalen Klöstern im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert' zu bestimmen (a. a. O. S. 213—216). Die Würzburger Hs. der Paulinischen Briefe (M. th. f. 12) ist ein solches Kriterium und zwar ein hervorragendes. Das berühmteste Kloster der abendländischen Kirche auf dem Kontinent war in jener Zeit das von Cassiodor bald nach 540 begründete Kloster Vivarium, das ein Ersatz für eine in Rom nicht zustande gekommene theologische Fakultät des Abendlandes sein sollte. Von Cassiodor selbst besitzen wir in seinem Werk 'De institutione divinarum litterarum' einen vollständigen Katalog der reichen Bibliothek dieser Musteranstalt. Werfen wir aber die Frage auf, ob im 6./7. Jahrhundert ein Mönch dieses Klosters imstande gewesen wäre, einen Kommentar zu den Pauliner Briefen zu kompilieren wie der in der Würzburger Hs. enthaltene, so mufs man entschieden 'nein' sagen. Das irische Kloster, in dem die Kompilation zustande kam, besafs nicht nur alle Hilfsmittel der lateinischen Kirche zu dieser Materie, die Cassiodor in seinem Katalog nennt, es besafs die Werke zum Teil in besserer, vollständiger und älterer Form als Cassiodor sie kannte (s. a. a. O. S. 213. 214). Die Handschrift ist von diesem Gesichtspunkt einzig in ihrer Art und verdient auch deshalb neben den streng wissenschaftlichen Interessen des Keltisten und Kirchenhistorikers eine photographische Herausgabe. Mit einer solchen wurde fernerhin

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Deutschland, wo dieser Schatz der altirischen Kirche liegt, einen Teil des Dankes abtragen, den es Irland schuldet für die Tätigkeit der irischen Glaubensboten im 7./8. Jahrhundert und der irischen Gelehrten im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert in deutschen Landen. Mir persönlich wäre eine solche photographische Ausgabe der Hs. am allererwünschtesten: sie würde Unbefangene einen Blick in die Schwierigkeiten tun lassen, die ich 1880 zu überwinden hatte, und die Billigkeit von Stokes Kritik ins rechte Licht setzen.

Schmargendorf-Halensee
bei Berlin

H. ZIMMER.

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BEMERKUNGEN
ZU DEM WÜRZBURGER GLOSSENCODEX.

Wohl erkannte Johann Georg von Eckhart, als ihm in der Dombibliothek zu Würzburg die seit alter Zeit dort verwahrten 'Epistole beati Pauli glosate glosa interlineali' in die Hand fielen, den unschätzbaren Wert des Codex und eifrig begann er alsbald die irischen Erklärungen zwischen den Zeilen abzuschreiben. Der im Studium von Hand- und Inschriften viel geübte Paläograph war gewifs befähigt die kleinen und eigenartigen Schriftzüge zu lesen, aber unüberwindlich blieben die sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten für ihn, der nur Edward Lluyds Archaeologia zu Rate ziehen konnte, und der beklagte, dafs er keine irischen Bücher mehr habe, 'eorundem quondam dives'. Er hat seine Arbeit, in der er bis zum 8. Kapitel des Römerbriefs fortfuhr, in den 1729 erschienenen 'Commentarii de historia Franciae orientalis' niedergelegt, von wo sein Andenken in der Geschichte der celtischen Philologie noch fortlebt; aber erst nach mehr als hundert Jahren hat er eine Nachfolge gehabt.

Ohne Zweifel durch Eckharts Werk wurde in seinen geschichtlichen Forschungen 1844 Zeufs auf diesen Codex (M. p. th. f. 12) geführt, dessen sprachlichen Schatz ihm im Laufe der Jahre zu heben gelang. Neben philologischem Geschick mufs er ein vorzüglich scharfes Auge gehabt haben: mit solcher Sicherheit hat er die irischen Glossen mit den dazugehörigen Textworten rasch niedergeschrieben — in 1346 Absätzen, von deren ersten 215 über den Römerbrief er noch eine besondere Abschrift hinterlassen hat. Wie gut diese Kopieen sind, die mir jetzt wieder vorliegen, zeigt die Grammatica celtica. Zeufs hat auch die Randglossen, aber manche, die ihm nicht mehr deutlich lesbar waren, übergeht er.

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Auf Ebels Bearbeitung der Grammatica folgte 1881 die erste höchst verdienstliche Ausgabe der irischen Glossen mit dem Text des Paulus von H. Zimmer. Tiefer als irgend ein anderer drang er auch in die Sache ein, indem er ebenso die lateinischen Glossen des Codex durchforschte und die darin überwiegende Bedeutung des Pelagius, dessen Kommentar ihm in St. Gallen wiederzufinden vergönnt war, 1901 in einer mühevollen Arbeit darlegte.

Eine zweite Ausgabe der irischen Glossen lieferte nach neuer Kollation des Codex 1887 Wh. Stokes, indem er eine wörtliche Übersetzung hinzufügte. Der Wert dieses Buches, von dem im Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus 1901 ein Neudruck mit weiteren sprachlichen Anmerkungen von J. Strachan erschien, ist nicht leicht zu verkennen, wenn man auch über die nach Ascolis Vorgang beliebte unbequeme Anordnung der Glossen als Fufsnoten anderer Meinung sein kann. Sie werden dadurch zu Vokabeln und ihre Beziehung auf den Text mitunter bestreitbar, und von der sachlichen Bedeutung, die die zwiesprachige Interpretation des Iren hat, geht dadurch viel verloren. In dieser Hinsicht hat Chr. Sarauw in dieser Zeitschrift 5, 505 meines Erachtens nichts Unbilliges gesagt. Die rechte Vorstellung von diesem Werke irischer Gelehrsamkeit empfängt man eben nur aus dem Original selbst, denn der Codex ist, man kann wohl behaupten, unerschöpflich.

Es sind von dem Pergamentcodex noch drei Sesternen übrig; es fehlt, wie Zimmer gezeigt hat, ein Blatt zu Anfang und eines am Ende, so dafs die Episteln mit Hebr. 12, 24 abbrechen. Die Lagen waren in die beiden fehlenden Blätter als in ihren Umschlag eingelegt, denn in Holz gebunden wurde das Buch, wie der nicht-irische Charakter der Aufschrift des Vorderdeckels zeigt, erst im 15. Jahrhundert. Nach der Meinung seines einstmaligen Besitzers, der es so fleifsig glossiert hat, sollte es nicht gebunden werden, denn seine Schrift geht dicht an den inneren Rand und in einigen Fällen, wie 23^{r}. 24^{r}, darüber hinaus auf das anstofsende Blatt, also 13^{v}. 14^{v}. Daher können die Marginalien nicht vollständig gelesen werden, wenn das Buch nicht aus seinem Einbande genommen ist. Und so ist es gekommen, dafs sich spätere Buchbinder an dem alten Codex noch mehrfach versündigt haben, indem sie die äufsern Ränder einiger unbotmäfsigen Blätter, damit sie der metallenen Schliefse nicht

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hinderlich wären, mit dem Messer stutzten und wohlmeinend, um eine haltbare Arbeit zu liefern, den inneren Rücken so dick zusammenleimten, dafs wiederum mancher Buchstabe verschmiert und weggefressen wurde. Aber ehe das Buch die schützende Hülle empfing, ist es Jahrhunderte dem Rauch und dem Staub ausgesetzt gewesen, so dafs sich die Ränder allmählich dunkelbraun bis schwarz färbten. Auch wurde, so oft ein Leser den Codex in die Hand nahm und die harten Blätter niederdrückte, die überall an die Ränder reichende Schrift berührt und vielfach verwischt. In solchem Zustande fand ihn Zeufs, und wenn er auf die Lesung mancher Randglossen überhaupt verzichtete, so suchte er die Schrift an andern stark gedunkelten Stellen wieder aufzufrischen. Zu zweifelhaften Glossen schreibt er an den Rand seiner Kopie oftmals mit Blei 'Reagens' und er hat dann auch das Ergebnis der chemischen Entzifferung an manchen Stellen nachgetragen. Das auf diese Weise Gewonnene ist indefs nicht erheblich und kann nicht zur Erneuerung einer Gewaltmafsregel ermuntern, die die bibliothekarischen Gesetze in aller Welt längst verdammt und verboten haben. Von den Rändern abgesehen ist der Codex wohl erhalten. Die Blätter (32×23 cm) sind freilich vergilbt und gegen Ende gebräunt, aber ohne dafs die Deutlichkeit der schwarzen Schriftzüge darunter gelitten hätte; nur zu Anfang sind einige Seiten des Textes mit auffallend blasser Tinte geschrieben. Das Pergament ist sehr dick, hart und wellig, und eine Eigentümlichkeit seiner Zubereitung scheint es zu veranlassen, dafs es hier und dort auf seiner Oberfläche einen feinen Mehlstaub absondert, der gelegentlich die Schriftzüge verschleiert; es scheint sich abzugreifen und durch die starke Benutzung sind die Blätter am äufsern Rande zum Teil dünn und brüchig geworden. Er ist der Hiob unter unsern Handschriften, klagte der verstorbene Oberbibliothekar Dr. Kerler. Diesem hochverdienten Manne und dem Senate der Würzburger Universität bin ich nun zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet, da sie gestatteten, dafs ich den Codex, so wie er auf unsere Zeit gekommen ist, durch eine photographische Aufnahme für die Königliche Bibliothek uns erhalten durfte.

Wer die irischen Glossen in dem Codex durchgeht, wird den vorhandenen Ausgaben nicht allzu viel von Wichtigkeit hinzuzufügen oder darin zu berichtigen finden. Und wenn wir die letzte Ausgabe mit dem Original vergleichen, so macht eben

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die peinliche Sorgfalt, die im allgemeinen beobachtet wurde, manche Sphalmata bemerkbar, über die man sonst ohne weiteres hinweggehen würde. 'Amlwg gwaed ar varch gwelw'.

So zeigt der Codex in der Akzentuierung viel Willkür und bezeichnet die Länge der Vokale nicht so regelmäſsig, wie es die Grammatik forderte. Daſs der als berechtigt bekannte Akzent in den Ausgaben ohne Rücksicht auf ungenaue Schreiber gesetzt werde, ist eine Forderung, auf deren Erfüllung im Alt- und Mittelirischen man dringen muſs, aber erst allmählich rechnen kann. Im Neuirischen ist sie als selbstverständlich längst anerkannt und auch aus der alten Sprache wissen wir, daſs *a* und *á* zwei verschiedene Buchstaben sind. Hält man sich aber streng an das zufällige Verhältnis der Handschrift, so fehlt in der erwähnten letzten Ausgabe der Glossen der Akzent in den folgenden Wörtern, wo er im Original erkennbar ist: 3b18 *ishé,* 6a7 *áhómon,* 11 *sí sis,* 6b18 *sí,* 10a27 *fórñgaire,* 12d3 *essarcón,* 13b3 *áill* (ebenso 7c23), 14c7 *iarnasóirad,* 9 *dún,* 15d23 *caích,* 33 *sís,* 16a23 *dénamni,* 16b11 *dinéuch,* 16c 16a *uoluntás,* 16d11 *moirbág,* 17d15 *clébene,* 18b9 *dúib,* 18d7 *doaírfenus,* 20a3 *aírib,* 22a24 *adíb,* 23b11 *hóre,* 24b16 *réit,* 26b12 *eólig,* 26d13 *inchenéli,* 27b4 *issoínmichi,* 27d23 *immálaile,* 31a1 *soscéle,* 31b 25a *sencháissi,* 32b3 *léu,* 32c18 *baás.*

Andererseits aber sind die Akzente, wollen wir die Handschrift genau wiedergeben, zu tilgen in 1b6 *écnib,* 3b24 *do cach cenéolu,* 3c28 *díanchomalninn,* 5a1 *hóre . . . fáthi,* 6c30 *ól,* 9d31 *eterróscra,* 10a17 *dagnímu,* 10b9 *bachóir,* 14a17 *dofóidid,* 15a1 *caníralsid,* 15c7 *inmór,* 16a23 *anísiu,* 16d4 *hierúsalem,* 22a24. 30 *hóre,* 25a17 *farsáithar,* 25d26 *étir,* 27c34 *arnábad,* 27d19 *áfil,* 28b1 *hóre nád,* 28d8 *inhiríss,* 14 *achómalnad,* 30d12 *frisnadédencha,* 33a7 *chésta.* Die sprachliche Richtigkeit hängt von diesen Schreiberlaunen nicht ab. Die Länge des Diphthongs bezeichnet die Handschrift bald auf dem ersten und bald auf dem zweiten Vokale, aber nach dem überlieferten Brauche muſs der Akzent auf dem ersten stehen, also kein *caích, coír, eólig* usw.

In der Worttrennung oder Verbindung verfährt der Schreiber oft nach Willkür; aber *nidodulib* 18c5 ist ebenso in eins geschrieben wie das vorhergehende *nidodóinib* (nicht *ni do dulib*). Für die Auflösung der Abbreviaturen kann man nur nach Gleichmäſsigkeit streben. Wenn man für *n̄* 'non', für *qm̄* 'quoniam', für ÷ 'est', für ⁝ 'enim', für h· 'hoc' und für h⁓ 'autem' schreibt,

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so sollte man auch für ł vielmehr 'uel' erwarten. Für letzteres ist in der Cambridger Ausgabe l. beibehalten, aber einige Male hat sich 'uel' eingeschlichen (wie 7d 1, 8a 20, 8b 16, 21d 7, 33b 17) und einmal ist es sogar in *tri* aufgelöst (14c 38). Das ≃ oder *m* durch den Druck auszuzeichnen, scheint mir nicht ratsam, denn ≃ ist kein Abkürzungszeichen mehr, sondern eine irische Form des *m*. Eine solche Kleinigkeit führt so leicht zum Irrtum, wie denn 10c 3 statt *cumme* vielmehr *cumme* und 10c 4 statt *cumme* vielmehr *cumme* zu drucken war.

Wenn ich nun fortfahre nach Vergleichung des Codex die Lesung der letzten Ausgabe der irischen Glossen hier und dort zu berichtigen oder auch nur die erhobenen Zweifel zu beseitigen, so nehme man an den minutiae, die dabei notwendigerweise mit unterlaufen, keinen Anstofs. Einige Stellen, die man nicht mit Sicherheit gelesen hat, werden dem geschärften Auge erkennbar, an andern mufs man selbst an hellen Sommertagen verzweifeln. Was der berufenste Herausgeber der Würzburger Glossen Nachträgliches und Abschliefsendes seit Jahren bereit gelegt hatte und nun gleichzeitig der Öffentlichkeit übergibt, wird in den folgenden Notizen nicht berührt und findet sich darin nur ausnahmsweise und zufällig wiederholt.

Es ist also zu lesen:

1a 5 (Rom. 1, 9) 'Memoriam facio sine intermisione l. in orationibus meis sine inter(mi)sione quod commendat Pelagius' — wovon die letzten drei Wörter zwischen den Zeilen stehen. Die Worte, auf die Bezug genommen wird, sind vorher ausgehoben (Zimmers Pelagius p. 40).

1a im Text Rom. 1, 11 'Desiderio enim uidere uos ut aliquid impertiam gratiae uobis spiritalis ad confirmandos uos' (nicht 'desidero ... ut aliquid impertiar uobis gratiae spiritualis'). Es ist wohl mancherlei in dem lateinischen Texte der Episteln mit dem Codex nicht in Übereinstimmung, aber es ist nebensächlich und, da die Worte meist nur auszugsweise abgedruckt werden, ohne Belang.

1b 5 *ardofórmaich*.

2a 13 gratia (statt grat*ái*).

2b 23 de genere abracham (nicht abrachae); 26 *ní archomalnad rect* (so im Ms. statt *recto*).

2c 19 tilge 'ei qui'.

3d (Rom. 7, 19) mufs im Texte stehen: 'sed quod nolo malum[6], hoc ago'[7], wogegen die Note [7] in Vs. 20 zu streichen ist. Die

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Glossen lauten: [6] .i. opus *tairmthecto* et *nidiaforbu in gnímo act iscuitir imraito* (Zimmer hat es richtig), und: [7] cogito carne perficere.

3d 19 cristi (x̄pi), nicht *crist.*

4b 1 (Rom. 8, 26). Hier hat Zeufs das Reagens angewendet, aber nicht mehr gelesen als: 'Nam quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus sed ipse sp. postulat (... *in spirut nóib*) pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus'; Zimmer liest *[immi]tirchorsa in spirut nóib,* Stokes *[ferid inne]tirchorsa inspirut nóib.* Das Zweifelhafte bilden 7 bis 8 Buchstabenschäfte; ich vermute *.i. innitirchorsa inspirut nóib* „d. h. die Vermittelung, der heilige Geist."

5d 13 elegit (statt delegit); 22 tollerare (statt tolerari), wie der Glossator auch Wb. 33d tollerantia schreibt.

6a 28 im Text Rom. 13, 12 induamus (nicht induamur).

6b 29 (Rom. 14, 13) *brithemnacht bes hu . . . nísńdenaith,* Glosse zur 'non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus'. Stokes hat für das erloschene Wort *hua* ... und Zeufs vermutet *huadsom*; deutlich läfst sich nicht mehr als *hu* ... erkennen, wie Zimmer hat. Vielleicht ist *huáibsi* zu ergänzen: „fällt kein Urteil, das vor euch ist, zukünftig ist" oder „ferner".

7a 7 (Rom. 15, 26) *tuercomlassat* wird durch zwei Punkte auf 'probauerunt', *comtinol,* eine besondere Glosse, durch einen Punkt auf 'conlationem' bezogen.

7b 17 (Rom. 16, 10) .i. *ꝑmthe iniriss* (Gl. probum in Christo), zwischen den Zeilen, und dazu am Rande, durch einen Punkt auf dasselbe Wort bezogen, *ꝑumthe* von der ersten Hand, wie Zimmer schon bemerkt hat.

7c 11 (Rom. 16, 25) *isech,* Glosse der älteren Hand zu '(euangelium meum) et praedicationem Iesu Christi', heifst doch wohl 'ultra, supra' d. i. 'besonders angeführt', wie in '(Christi) et Dei' .i. *sech*, 22b 22. Das sind seltene Fälle des absoluten Gebrauchs der Konjunktion *sech,* die sich sonst mit der Kopula verbindet (GC. 717).

7c 15 (Rom. 16, 27) *is do is coir indocbáal,* wie Zimmer richtig hat; Stokes läfst *is coir* aus.

8c 16a (1. Cor. 3, 10) *Hīr* THKTONAC artifices vocant (wie Zimmer im Pelagius p. 11 hat), nicht 'uocat'.

8d 3 *dernum* am Rande von der ersten Hand wird durch einen Punkt als Glosse zu 'detrimentum' (1. Cor. 3, 15) bezeichnet, ist also eine Variante für ir. *díith,* vielleicht ist es aber nur ein Schreibfehler für 'damnum'.

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9b17 *arnitat* (nicht *arnitaat*).

9c11 æclesís (nicht æclesiís).

9d1. *dubrúcti assom tra híc cid aratairchela na túari*, Glosse zu 1. Cor. 6, 13 'Corpus autem (.i. conuenit) non fornicationi sed Domino et Dominus corpori (.i. conuenit, sed ad hoc conditum est, ut Deus habitat in eo)'. Die Ausgaben bezweifeln *dubrúcti*, wie Zeufs gelesen hat und auch Chroust empfiehlt, und lassen *cid* aus. *Dubrúcti* oder *dobrúchti* kann doch wohl nur das Participium necessitatis von *dobrúchtaim* 'ausspeien' sein (Tripartite Life 176, 20), so dafs der Sinn ist: „Es ist aus ihm (dem Körper) auszustofsen, was die Speisen umschliefsen, in sich schliefsen", d. h. die böse Begierde oder Lust, die Unzucht. *'Εν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὔ*, wie Euripides sagt.

9d32 (1. Cor. 7, 11) *mad co techt di co fer bad hé a fer incétne* — hier ist doch wohl *a fer* das Subjekt: ihr Mann sei der erste (nicht „der Erste sei ihr Mann").

10c1 steht auf 10b unten (Zimmer, Glossae p. 62 Anm. 2) und soll, wie es scheint, die wesentlichen Gedanken des hier beginnenden Kapitels 1. Cor. 8 ausdrücken. Es ist wohl recht, dafs einer Kenntnis von den Götzen der griechischen Kultur hat, aber er soll ihre götzendienerischen Gebräuche nicht mitmachen, nicht gewohnheitsmäfsig von dem Opferfleische essen, damit er den weniger Starken oder Gebildeten nicht durch sein Beispiel ungünstig beeinflusse. 10c fängt erst mit der folgenden Glosse an.

10d7 *is snisni* steht deutlich im Ms., nicht *snissi*.

10d25 auf 'suam' folgt *rl*.

11a1 ist ganz unlesbar; ebenso 11b1, wo hinter 'perfectio detur' noch *s* . . . sichtbar ist.

11b 1a (1. Cor. 10, 12) 'Qui sé existimat stare uideat ne cadat'. Hierzu hat die erste Hand über die beiden letzten Wörter geschrieben *fomnas* „das Achtgeben" (was Zimmer im Supplementum nicht richtig *fomnar* liest). O'Davoren erklärt das Wort mit *frithailed* „Aufwartung, Sorge" (Archiv 2, 336); bei Cormac kommt *fomnae* in gleicher Bedeutung vor; vergl. auch Laws 6, 396.

11b19 *icundrat* | *tig* (gl. in macello, 1. Cor. 10, 25), wie Zimmer hat, von *cundrad* 'merx'; es ist keine Spur von einem *h* (*icundrathtig*) sichtbar.

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11c 1 *fein* bezeichnet schon Zeufs als zweifelhaft; ibid. 13 liest er, wie Chroust, *roberrthe* statt des zu erwartenden *noberrthe.*

12a 33 tilge 'reliqua'.

12b 1. Im Ms. steht 'feminå|', ibid. 5 'honestas'; ibid. 24 sind die Worte 'et adhuc excellentiorem uiam uobís demonstro' zu streichen, da sie zum Text (1. Cor. 12, 31) gehören.

12c 46 (1. Cor. 14, 8) *cosmuilius tuib* „das Gleichnis von der Tuba", nicht *cosmulius.* Sie hat verschiedene Töne, .i. *issain fri cath, sain fri scor l. fri imthect l. fri sroin l. comairli* „nämlich für die Schlacht, für das Abschirren, für den Marsch, für den Rückzug (?), für die Beratung". *Sróin* (Stokes' *suan* ist nicht möglich, Zeufs las *.roin,* Zimmer *s*...) ist wohl dasselbe wie *sróen* Salt. 269, wo es freilich nicht leicht zu erklären ist. Gegen Ende der Glosse erkennt man in der Handschrift *mani dechrít|her et mani tintither a bélre,* ganz wie es Zeufs und Zimmer haben, nicht *dechrigther ... ambélre.* Zu *dechríther,* das vermutlich noch die Aussprache des walisischen *th* hatte, ist wohl *dersciddu* = *derscigthu* 'potiora' 23b 3 zu vergleichen.

12d 24 *ismith* (nicht *irmith*); ibid. 35 streich *aut.*

13b 1 *dona cóic* (nicht *donaib coic*) und *issinchaithir* (nicht *isin-*); ibid. 13 *forriuth s ...* (oder *f...*), wo Zeufs *s(i)* ergänzt; wie viel Buchstaben fehlen, läfst sich nicht sagen, da der Rand beschnitten ist.

13c 2a 'a patre' (nicht a patri); ibid. 10 *dóinecht (Christ)i* und am Ende deutlich *romtha* (nicht *nomtha*).

14a 1 (1. Cor. 16, 2) per unam .i. diem; diese Glosse steht auf 14a (nicht auf 13d); ibid. 8 macedonii (nicht macedonsi) und im Text 16, 19 Priscella (nicht Prescella).

14b 24. Vor den Worten 'ut mori ... cuperemus' (zu 2. Cor. 1, 8) steht 'Pelagius', wie Zimmer im Pelagius p. 79 richtig hat.

14c 2 (2. Cor. 1, 11) *afottegidsi* (nicht *afotegidsi*), Glosse zu 'adiuuantibus nobis', scheint geschrieben zu sein mit dem relativen *t,* „indem ihr dazu helft"; ibid. 24 *(an)isiu* (nicht *[i]ssiu*); ibid. 37 *ishé dia* (nicht *dia* ...) ist als Erklärung zu der Randglosse 38 geschrieben; ibid. 40 sind die Punkte hinter 'petrus' zu tilgen.

14d 1 .i. (statt et); ibid. *issos̄* (statt *isoscélu*).

15b 1 *isr(l .i. induili)* mir nicht erkennbar; ibid. 23 *ni derge|mor|ni,* Glosse zu 'non destituimur' (2. Cor. 4, 8) von der ersten Hand, aber kein *eter.* Über *mor* scheint *n* und über diesem *i* zu stehen.

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15d 6 'armgistir'; ibid. 11 'desideris carnal*ibus*' (statt 'desiderio carnali').

16a 29 (2. Cor. 7, 5) *hóre nadfitemmar fis scél úaibsi* — über dem *i* von *fis* ein Akzent, wie es scheint, der dann als irrtümlich durchgestrichen wurde, so dafs ein Zeichen ähnlich einem schräg liegenden *o* entstanden ist (kein *v*).

16c 14 *on nurid* (nicht *hurid*), wie Zeufs und Zimmer haben.

16d 4 *nángabimmsi* (nicht mit *ṅ*); ibid. 7 *áisa* (nicht *áissa*).

17c 4a. Die in der Anmerkung ausgesprochene Vermutung trifft nicht zu; *m'amam*, 'mein Leben' ist Glosse zu 'In omnibus sine honere me uobis seruaui et seruabo' (2. Cor. 11, 9).

17d 2 *madaessoir* liest Zeufs, was nur in den ersten sechs Buchstaben richtig ist; statt des zweiten *s* müssen es zwei Buchstaben sein; Zimmer hat *mad(a)s(c)óir*. ibid. 13 *rectire* steht auch von der ersten Hand als Glosse zu 'praepositus' am Rande.

18a 2a *car* (gl. infirmor) 2. Cor. 12, 10 erklärt Stokes durch das irische *car* 'brittle'. Man wäre versucht es *air* zu lesen, aber dieselbe erste Hand schreibt 18b (2. Cor. 13, 2) 'ex infirmitate .i. carnis'. Es ist daher wahrscheinlicher, dafs 2. Cor. 12, 10 'car' zu lesen und 'carne' zu verstehen ist. Vergl. 'infirmabatur per carnem', Rom. 8, 3. Das Wort 'carnem' von der ersten Hand findet sich auch 10b (1. Cor. 7, 36).

18a 9a gehört zur vorherigen Glosse 9; ibid. 11 tilge 'donate'; ibid. 21 *ṁenmnihi* von der ersten Hand am Rande wird durch einen Punkt über dem ersten *m* auf das Wort des Textes 'animositates' (2. Cor. 12, 20) bezogen, über das der spätere Glossator *sotli* geschrieben hat. Es handelt sich also um Synonyma.

18c 11. Die Randglosse fängt an mit *ni fíu dúibsi.*

18d 14 ist die Fortsetzuug der Glosse 12; ibid. 13 (nihil) mea (interest) Gal. 2, 6 erklärt die erste Hand als 'doctrina'.

19a 1. Die lateinische Glosse gibt Zimmer im Pelagius p. 98 f. richtiger.

19b 11. Die Glosse 'in genissi' steht im Texte (Gal. 3, 6), wohin sie der Schreiber aus seiner annotierten Vorlage versetzt hat. Im Codex Boernerianus steht sie richtig am Rande. Ibid. 13 quasi in nouo esset (nicht 'in nouo testamento').

19d 14 .i. *kal* — nichts weiter.

20b 1 *forsanobith* steht im Ms.

21d 1. Nach Anwendung des Reagens hat Zeufs *arnifitetár* gelesen (jedoch ohne Akzent), wie auch Zimmer, und vor *ataat*

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sidi hat er noch 'in cælestibus'. Die Glosse 1a ist die Fortsetzung zu 1 wie bei Zimmer. Ibid. 3 *arisgloria duibsi ón* ist deutlich, auch Chroust ist für diese Lesung; Zeufs hatte auch *arngloria* gelesen, aber er korrigiert seine Abschrift. Ibid. 6 Nur *clan* steht am Rande zu Eph. 4, 17 (nicht *clantai*) und ibid. 8 IIII statt 'quattuor'.

22a 2 *amal rombo chuimse* liest Zeufs; ibid. 7 *cith isse*; ibid. 13a 'filii legis' (von der ersten Hand), dann .i. ignorantes etc.

22b 2 *arnarobat lib* ist nicht richtig; auch die Glosse 3 ist nicht mehr lesbar. Was Zeufs durch das Reagens zu erkennen glaubte, habe ich in der Zeitschrift 3, 200 mitgeteilt.

22c 10 *a feir* ist nicht richtig; Zeufs hat (*na*)*feir armbat* (*i*)*rlam*(*u*)*de*, weniger wahrscheinlich ist Zimmers Ergänzung (*inna*)*feir*.

23b 1 hat Zeufs mit dem Reagens gelesen.

23c 2 Zeufs hat nur *ished ón;* ibid. 11 *aat tre lathar* und deutlich *for aláim* (Zeufs hat nur ... *aláim*); ibid. 19 ist 'quod est super omne nomen' zu tilgen; ibid. 23 'omnia bona', Glosse der ersten Hand; *arniba* (? statt *-bu*). Statt 'ergo' steht *ğ*.

23d 22 und 26 stehen nicht am Rande.

24a 17 (Phil. 3, 14). Die Glosse ist gut lesbar und von Zeufs gelesen, bis auf die Worte *dochum* (*lainn*)*e buade* (.i. *ishé*), wo er für die letzten beiden Wörter *et fri* vermutet. 24b 32. 24c 16a. 24d 18 sind von der ersten Hand.

25a 3 .i. *tacco issíi* ist Glosse zu 'nonne'.

25b 1. Zeufs hat *noscomalnid* ... und beabsichtigte das Reagens anzuwenden, scheint aber dann darauf verzichtet zu haben. Man erkennt noch *horc* ... *i fiss.* Ibid. 10. Was *nert*(*ad*) gelesen worden ist, ist eine Randglosse der ersten Hand zu 1. Thess. 4, 11 'ut honeste ambuletis ad eos qui foris sunt' und heifst '.i. extr(a) fid(em)'. Ibid. 17 adsumptio; ibid. 28 *dorrega* (statt *dorriga*), wo der Schatten des *e* noch sichtbar ist.

25c 26 'quo intellegamus' ist von der ersten Hand.

25c 28a 'Salutate fratres omnes in osculo sancto (1. Thess. 5, 26) .i. non sanctum osculum uigelat', darnach zu tilgen 'alias æclesias non in deo collectas'. Denn diese Worte mit vorangehendem 'uigelat' sind Glosse zu 'Paulus ... æclessiæ Thessalonicensium' (2. Thess. 1, 1). 'Uigelat' ist ein Lieblingswort unseres Glossenschreibers. So sagt er schon 7b zu 'in osculo sancto' (Rom. 16, 16): 'uigelat osculum non sanctum ut Iudas contra

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Christum'; ebenso 25c (1. Thess. 5, 26). Ferner 28a zu 'ut milites in illis bonam militiam' (1. Tim. 2, 18): 'uigelat malam'; 31a zu 'Apostolus Iesu Christi secundum fidem electorum dei et agnitionem ueritatis secundum pietatem est' (Tit. 1, 1): 'uigelat ueritatem quae non est secundum pietatem deo'; und 31c 1 zu 'anus in habitu sancto' (Tit. 2, 3): 'uigelat *aní nadnóib*'. Uigelat ist die regelmäfsige Schreibung des Iren für vigilat (wie er auch *euigelate* 13c hat) und dieses vigilare, aus der sonstigen Latinität mir nicht bekannt, bedeutet ihm soviel wie 'abwehren, ausschliefsen'.

26a 8 (2. Thess. 2, 4). *Fis itempul am̄ donesfid cr̄* ... und weiterhin *et gebtit iudei inafid*. So Zeufs. Für das erste Wort hat man *Seiss*, für das letzte *rid, sud, pid* vermutet. Erkennbar ist beides nicht.

26b 1 (2. Thess. 2, 4) *duthractar olcc dunn* hat Zeufs, Zimmer *doduthractar;* ibid. 5 (3, 4) *ammi torissig* 'confidimus' Zeufs, *is*(*nini*) *torismi*(*ch*) Zimmer. Die p. 667, Note a (in 3, 7) erwähnte Lesart ist übrigens oporṭẹtiat (nicht oporteaat).

26d 1 .i. *arisbidixnichthesom* hat Zeufs gelesen; über die beiden ersten Buchstaben bleiben Zweifel; ibid. 8 *disuidiu* (nicht *disudiu*). Im Text Col. 2, 4 lies 'in subtilitate sermonum', entsprechend dem *glicc* der Glosse (nicht sublimitate); das Versehen ist aus Zimmers Ausgabe in Stokes' Abdruck übergegangen.

27a 12 'diuinæ'. 27b 16 *ishé i*(*nde*)*chellt* — das Strichelchen über dem *i* ist der Akzent zu *ishé*; ibid. 17 *frichéile*, wie Zeufs und Zimmer haben (nicht *friachéile*). 27d 17 ist von der ersten Hand, wie Zimmer schon bemerkt hat.

28a 1 hat Zeufs mit Anwendung des Reagens gelesen; ibid. 19 gehört zu 1. Tim. 1, 19 (nicht 18). 28d 7 *anrolegais.*

28c 1 im Text 1. Tim. 3, 8 diacones (nicht diaconos, wie in der Vulgata); ebenso 1. Tim. 3, 12 diacones (für diaconi der Vulgata) und Phil. 1, 1 diacon(i)bus (statt diaconis). Nur diese drei Male kommt das Wort im Paulus vor und der Ire flektiert es nach der dritten Deklination.

29a 29 *it foilsi* (nicht *soilsi*); 29b 1 *siis* (statt *sis*).

30a 1 ist von Zeufs so gelesen; 30b 13 (2. Tim. 2, 17) 'uetanda', wie Zimmer im Pelagius p. 109 richtig hat (nicht uitanda).

31c 11 (Tit. 2, 8) *commandeisimrecht* (nicht *dessimrecht*); 31d 1 (Tit. 3, 4) *is dôseirc móir dodech ind airitiu colno do cr̄,* ist Zeufs' ursprüngliche Lesung. Im Argumentum ad Philem. steht 'literas fecit pro Onessimo' (nicht litteras ... Onissimo).

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32c fängt an mit 'et adorent' (Hebr. 1, 6); die Glosse 1a steht also auf 32b; ibid. 13 ist (*is*) zu tilgen, auch Zeufs hat es nicht.

33a 5 *Alīl is dī dar̄ moysi .sin tegdais ishesom im̃ ɔrotaig in tegdais,* so Zeufs mit *is dimdar*[*thid*] am Rande; *isclí darach moysi* (*i*)*sintegdais* . . ., so Stokes mit der Erklärung 'an oaken pillar in the house'. Schwer zu entscheiden, denn der dritte Schreiber ist rasch und flüchtig; aber im Original sehen die zweifelhaften Worte so aus: *is dī dár moysi.*

33b 10 ist nicht von der ersten Hand; ibid. 14 *tra* zu streichen; ibid. 17 (Hebr. 4, 12) 'acepti torporis' (nicht accepti temporis).

33c 9 *ised inso a indas ind fir* — so Zeufs mit dem Punctum delens, das auch nach Zimmer (Suppl. S. 9, 11) deutlich ist und auf keinem Zufalle beruht. (Vergl. Grammatica celt. p. 55).

33c 15 .i. *brothchán aschóir duib ní biad bes* (*so*)*nairt,* Glosse zu 'et facti estis quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo' (Hebr. 5, 12). Es wird die weichliche Milchspeise der derbern Kost entgegengesetzt (vergl. *forcetal sonairt,* ibid. 17). Die Randglosse, die Zeufs nicht hat, lautet vollständig: ut lac denuo b(ibatis) rl. .i. *brothchan aschoir duib ni biad besairt* „Suppe kommt euch zu, nicht derbe Speise." Das letzte Wort ist flüchtig geschrieben und unsicher, aber die Ergänzung *bes* (*son*)*airt* naheliegend. Ich hatte versucht *biad beru rl.* „Speise vom Bratspieſse und dergl.", aber *beru* (statt *bera* LU. 69b 14) ist kaum möglich und der letzte Buchstabe ist eher ein *t* als ein *l.*

34a 4 'pro longitū temporis', nicht longitudeni, wie in der Anmerkung gesagt ist.

Man kann den Würzburger Codex nicht aus der Hand legen ohne sich über sein Alter Rechenschaft zu geben, wenn sich auch zu dessen Bestimmung neue und entscheidende Momente nicht auffinden lassen. Ist diese Handschrift wirklich das älteste Denkmal der irischen Sprache? Ohne die Sicherheit paläographischer Merkmale zu übertreiben, läſst sich unbedenklich behaupten, daſs der Text der paulinischen Episteln nicht so alt ist wie das Antiphonar von Bangor von 697, noch auch wie der Codex Usserianus oder selbst der Cathach. Diese kennen noch nicht die hier gewöhnlichen Compendia scribendi (wie für *enim* und *est*), noch hat sich die irische Unterscheidung zwischen der geraden Abkürzungslinie (wie *ā*) und der gewundenen für *m* (wie *ã*), bei ihnen befestigt, eine Tatsache, die in der Einleitung

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zur Ausgabe des Antiphonars von F. E. Warren 1, p. XXIV unbeachtet geblieben ist. Die Würzburger Halbunciale ist von der Hand eines gelernten Schreibers aus der Schule von Bobbio, gleichmäſsig, kräftig, quadratisch, nicht sehr groſs; er war mit allen jenen irischen Abkürzungen vertraut, etwa wie Dimma mac Nathi und der Schreiber des Domnach airgid. Die Argumente der Episteln sind in einer schnörkelhaften Kursive des Urkundenstils geschrieben, in dem das ſ und einige andere Buchstaben über die Zeile weit hinausragen. Ein St. Gallener Dokument der Art ist aus dem Jahre 757 datiert (Fr. Steffens, Lateinische Paläographie 1903, Nr. 32), und eine Probe ist auch aus dem Buche von Armagh bekannt (J. T. Gilbert, Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland I, Nr. XXIX = Bl. 103 r). Mit der griechischen Schrift ist der Schreiber des Würzburger Codex viel vertrauter als der von Armagh, weil jener aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf dem Kontinente, dieser in der Heimat schrieb. Der Würzburger scheint immer noch älter als das Buch von Kells, das Psalterium von Laon und andere Prachthandschriften, deren dichtgedrängte Buchstabenreihen, rote Punktumrahmungen und überladene Initialen das reife 9. Jahrhundert kennzeichnen. Vier Hochschulen mit Tausenden von Studenten blühten damals vor den Invasionen in Irland, wie Keating sagt, und die Annalen erwähnen manche berühmte Scribae aus jener Zeit. Die kraftvollen Initialen des Würzburger Codex sind durch Einfachheit, Gradlinigkeit und Ausfüllung der leeren Räume mit Gelb und blassem Rot charakterisiert. Aber dem übergroſsen *P* zu Anfang sind noch altertümliche geometrische Muster eingezeichnet; auch sind (ähnliches kommt übrigens auch im Cathach vor) 23ª der Name *Paulus* und 31ª das *P* rot umrändert, und aus einigen der groſsen *P* (7ᵈ. 14ᵇ. 27ᵈ) sehen die Rudimente eines phantastischen Vogelkopfs hervor. Nach allem scheint mir der Würzburger Codex nicht viel älter zu sein als das Buch von Armagh, das ins Jahr 807 gesetzt wird. Auf das Jahrzehnt wird es sich kaum bestimmen lassen.[1])

[1]) Es schien mir wichtig mit dem Glossencodex einen andern Paulus zu vergleichen, der gleichfalls zu den Schätzen der Würzburger gehört. Dieser (M. p. th. f. 69), auch scottice scriptus, wird wohl mit Recht dem 8. Jahrhundert überwiesen. Er ist dadurch bemerkenswert, daſs dem argumentum jeder Epistel die Aufzählung der *tituli* vorangeht (von den von J. M. Thomasius gegebenen vielfach abweichend); die Zahlen dieser Abschnitte werden dann



Der Schreiber der Episteln hatte eine Vorlage, die bereits mit einigen Glossen in lateinischer und irischer Sprache versehen war. Eine davon (Gal. 3, 6) hat er versehentlich in den Text aufgenommen, sie sonst aber an den Rand oder zwischen die Zeilen geschrieben. Diese seine kleinere, ein wenig nach links geneigte Hand ist unverkennbar, obwohl sie gegen die des Textes schwach, unsicher und unbeholfen aussieht. Da er nämlich seine Feder an die kräftigen Grundstriche des Textes gewöhnt hatte, so konnte er sie nur vorsichtig zu den Glossen benutzen, um den kleinen Buchstaben nicht die ganze Breite der Federspitze zu geben. Thurneysen hebt die Altertümlichkeit der wenigen irischen Glossen der ersten Hand hervor (CZ. 3, 48), und sie können ja einem erheblich älteren Originale entnommen sein.

Auch der Hauptglossator des Codex, der die Ränder und Zwischenzeilen mit einer Fülle theologischer Gelehrsamkeit in lateinischer und irischer Sprache dicht beschrieben hat, ist nur ein Abschreiber, wie Zimmer gezeigt hat (Glossae Hibernicae p. XV f.). Er war ein Meister der kleinen geraden Kursive, die sich bei ihm von den unschönen Zügen der älteren Glossen vorteilhaft unterscheidet. So oft freilich seine Feder stumpf und abgeschrieben war, werden die Buchstaben gröfser und verlieren von ihrer Schönheit. Mit ihren vielen Abbreviaturen ist die Schrift schwerlich älter als das Buch von Armagh; auch das Griechische nimmt sich darin gewandt und kalligraphisch aus. Das Original der Glosse kann freilich immerhin noch dem 8. Jahrhundert angehören.

Es verging wohl geraume Zeit, bis sich ein dritter Schreiber fand, der die von dem Hauptglossator mit 32[d] abgebrochene

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im Texte eingefügt oder, wie in dem Glossencodex, an den Rand gesetzt. Es ist keine sehr prächtige Handschrift, aber sie verzichtet nicht ganz auf stattliche Initialen, zum Teil mit Vogelköpfen und Mustern aus Ringen und Flechtwerk und mit roter Punktumrahmung und farbiger Ausfüllung. Die ersten Zeilen der Episteln sind in Kapitalschrift von geradliniger und eckiger Form und verwenden das griechischer *Π* für P und oft *H* für E. Dergleichen ist aus den angelsächsischen Codices des 8. Jahrhunderts bekannt (Thompson, Catalogue pl. 9. 22). Die Schrift ist aber sonst die irische spitze Kursive; Abkürzungen sind in ihr spärlich und das Compendium für *m* vermieden, obwohl es auch in England schon, wie in der Urkunde von Canterbury von 803, sehr gebräuchlich war. Nach allem scheint dieser Codex ein angelsächsischer zu sein, wie auch eine alte Bleistiftnotiz zu Anfang besagt: 'a Benedictinis in Britannia scriptus liber'.

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Arbeit zu Ende führen wollte. Er förderte sie jedoch nur bis 34a. Über den gelehrten Apparat des Vorgängers verfügte er nicht und seine Erklärungen sind meist kurz gehalten. Ein Charakteristikum seiner etwas gröfsern und steifern Schriftzüge ist das durchaus geschlossene *a*. Er gebraucht regelmäfsig 7 für *et* und schon das Punctum delens über dem *f*, und hat uns damit gewifs in das 9. Jahrhundert geführt. Er oder ein anderer gelegentlicher Leser hat noch auf 3b eine Glosse zu Rom. 8, 3 hinzugefügt.

Als ein Denkmal der irischen Literatur des 8. bis 9. Jahrhunderts und der patristischen Gelehrsamkeit dieses Zeitalters sowie als die Grundlage der Grammatik der ältesten uns erhaltenen celtischen Sprachformen ist der Würzburger Codex, wie gesagt, unschätzbar und unerschöpflich. Kein Typendruck kann eine Vorstellung geben von seinem altertümlichen Werte, von seiner mannigfaltigen Schreibart, von dem Reichtum seines Inhalts und von der Emsigkeit des Studiums, das die Kommentare und Superkommentare jener irischen Theologisten zur unmittelbaren Anschauung bringen. Es ist daher der Wunsch ausgesprochen, man möchte ein solches Buch in seiner eignen Form allgemein zugänglich machen, und gewifs würde eine getreue Nachbildung sowohl dem Sprachgelehrten als auch dem Kirchenhistoriker willkommen sein. Wenn die Unterstützung, die das Unternehmen nötig hat, nicht fehlt, so soll die Ausführung nicht lange auf sich warten lassen.

Berlin.

L. Chr. Stern.

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ÜBER DIE IRISCHE HANDSCHRIFT IN ST. PAUL.

Der Codex Sanblasianus 86 aus dem Kloster Reichenau, der seit 1809 in St. Paul verwahrt wird und hier von F. J. Mone entdeckt wurde, hat das kärntner Benediktinerstift unter den Celtisten berühmt gemacht. Er enthält die ältesten Niederschriften nicht-theologischer Stücke, die in irischer Sprache erhalten sind, denn die Bestimmung seines Alters, wonach er ins 9. Jahrhundert gehört, wird sich kaum anfechten lassen. Sein Inhalt in lateinischer Sprache ist wenig wichtig, jedoch wegen seiner Mannigfaltigkeit so bemerkenswert, dafs er eine vollständigere Verzeichnung zu verdienen scheint, als ihm bisher zuteil geworden ist. Diese kann hier freilich nur kurz gefafst sein, denn wie anziehend es ist, die geistige Kultur eines kontinentalen irischen Klosters vor mehr als tausend Jahren und die Schriften, die man im Trivium und Quadrivium dort studierte, kennen zu lernen, so verraten diese Aufzeichnungen doch den unfertigen Schüler.

Die Handschrift ($22 \times 15^{1}/_{2}$ cm), die vor nicht langer Zeit einen neuen Einband erhalten hat, trägt die Signatur 25. 2. 31 (ehemals 25. d. 86). Es war ein Quinio (irisch *cín* 'quina'), den sich ein irischer Klosterbruder für den Handgebrauch angelegt hatte, um darin Excerpte und Notizen, die sich ihm in seinem Studiengange darboten, einzuschreiben. Er nahm aber das zweite Doppelblatt heraus, ehe er noch die zweite Hälfte des Büchleins erreicht hatte, so dafs nun zwischen Blatt 1 und 2 eine Lücke klafft, die zwischen Blatt 7 und 8 nicht bemerkbar ist.

Bl. 1a. Die Handschrift beginnt mit der Einleitung eines Kommentars zur Aeneis, worin nach der Gewohnheit der Grammatiker die Nachrichten über Virgils Leben zusammengestellt werden. Sie ist 1882 ediert von M. Petschenig in den Wiener Studien 4, 168f. Der Anfang lautet: 'Locus tempus persona in

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hac arte Aeneidos quaerendi sunt et caussa scribendi. Certum est (d. i. irisch *ní ansa*), nam Mantua locus huius libri, in tempore Caesaris Augusti scriptus, persona Virgilii filii figuli cui Stimichon nomen erat et Maiae sororis Lucretii'. Dieses Exordium eines Kommentars ist ganz irisch[1]) und wörtlich ebenso hebt mit irischen Worten an der Kommentar zum Félire Oengusso: *Cethardai condagar da cech elathain .i. locc 7 aimser 7 persa 7 fáth airicc.*

Der Lebenslauf Virgils gibt nichts, was nicht in der Vita des Donat enthalten wäre. Er führt auch die Angaben des Eusebius nach der Bearbeitung des Hieronymus an und am Rande stehen zu diesem Citat die Buchstaben ıō, deren Erklärung schwierig ist. M. Tangl, der die erste Seite des Manuskripts ediert und transskribiert hat (W. Arndts Schrifttafeln Nr. 42), liest sie i(de)o, was nicht als sicher gelten kann. Auch ist es wohl zweifelhaft, ob man sie für die gewöhnliche Abkürzung ioh⁻ (Iohannes) nehmen darf. Und mit Zögern kann man eine andere Erklärung nur eben andeuten. Führt das Diagramm ıō etwa auf die Deutung des vom I durchstrichenen O, das noch in späteren irischen Handschriften als Siglum am Rande vorkommt? In der Táin Bó Cúalnge steht es vor den meisten metrischen Einlagen (z. B. 56a. 57b. 58b. 60. 61a etc.) und bezeichnet vielleicht irgend ein Verhältnis, das der Schreiber zu seiner Quelle hatte.

Anderer Art scheint die Bedeutung der Buchstaben *Aḡ* zu sein, die sich vor dem letzten Absatze dieser Einleitung zur Aeneis finden: 'Uirgilium nempe propterea paruuli legunt, ut uidelicet poeta magnus omnium [1 b] praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris hebitus[2]) (uel aeui) animis non facile obliuione possit aboleri secundum illud Horatii (Epist. I 2, 70):

Quo semel est inbuta recens seruabit odorem
Testa diu.'

Nach dem Brauche sonstiger irischer Handschriften des 9. bis 10. Jahrhunderts zu urteilen, bezeichnen die Buchstaben *Aḡ* am Rande den Autor, dem das betreffende Stück gehört oder

[1]) Ähnliche Eingänge haben sonstige Kommentare des Mittelalters, z. B. Honorius über das Hohe Lied: 'In principio librorum tres requiruntur, scilicet auctor materia intentio'. Das sind scholastische Forderungen, die auf Aristoteles zurückgehen.

[2]) Wohl für 'habitus' verschrieben.

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der darauf Bezug genommen hat.[1]) Eine ähnliche Abkürzung *aūr* steht vor den beiden ersten lateinischen Glossen des Würzburger Codex (Wb. 1 a), wo sie Zimmer (Pelagius p. 117) als 'auctor' deutet. Nun findet sich *aḡ* einmal am Rande des Codex Boernerianus (Bl. 74 a) und man hat es hier als den in derselben Handschrift mehrfach vorkommenden Namen *Αγανον* erklärt, der nach L. Traube der Bischof Agano (oder Hagano) von Bergamo (837—867) wäre. Wenn das *Aḡ* unserer Handschrift, das auf Bl. 4 b und 5 a wiederkehrt, die gleiche Bedeutung hat, so wird sie damit in die zweite Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts gerückt, wohin auch andere Erwägungen leiten.

Bl. 1 b 4 Excerpte einzelner Sätze sehr verschiedener Art, aus der Grammatik, aus der biblischen Geographie und Beobachtungen aus dem Tierleben: 'v̄ sunt nomina et feminina et neutra communia ut tellus olus; taberna diminutiuum tarbernaculum (sic). — Ipsa metropolis tua prius Iebus postea Salem tertio Ierosolima et nunc Elia. v̄i milia sunt a Dan usque ad Bersabe, quae uix CLX milium in longo spatio tenditur ab Iope usque ad uiculum nostrum Bethlem'.[2])

'Caelum non animum motat qui trans mare currit (cf. Hor. Epist. I 11, 27). — Noli dispicere animam pro qua Xp̄c mortuus est. Impossibile est enim solum per se unumquemque adepisci quod in Adamo perdidit.

'Quid de luscinia dicamus, quae peruigil custos, cum oua quodam sinu corporis et gremio fouet, insomnem lo(n)gae noctis laborem cantilenæ suauitate solatur, ut mihi uideatur haec summa eius esse intentio, quae possit non minus dulcioribus modulis quam fotu corporis animare oua quae foueat. — Lupus si prior hominem uiderit, uocem eripit et dispicit eum tanquam uictor uocis ablatae; idem si se praeuisum senserit, deponit ferociam, non potest currere.

'Leo gallum et maxime album ueretur. — Caprea uulnerata dictamnum petit et de uulnere excludit sagittas.[3]) — Nouerunt bestiae remedia sua. Leo aeger simiam quaerit, ut deuoret quo possit sanari. Leopardus capreae agrestis sanguinem bibit, ut uim langoris saeui euadat. Omnis fera aegra canis austo curatur

[1]) Vergl. die Bemerkungen zu dem Berner Codex, CZ. 4, 181.

[2]) Vergl. Jud. 19, 10. 20, 1. Im Hieronymus mir nicht auffindbar.

[3]) cf. Cicero de natura deorum 2, 50; Hieronymus in ecclesiasten, Migne 23, 1122.

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sanguine. Ursus aeger formicas deuorat.[1]) Ceruus oleae ramusculos mandit. Ergo ferae nouerunt petere quae sibi prosint — tu ignoras, o homo, remedia tua'.

Bl. 1 b 20 *Adgúisiu fid nallabrach* — irischer Zauberspruch, ediert von E. Windisch, Irische Texte p. 316; H. Zimmer, Glossae Hibernicae p. 267; Thesaurus palæohibernicus 2, 293.

Bl. 1 b 25. *Messe ocus Pangur bán* — 'der Klosterbruder und sein weifser Kater' (*Πάγγυρος*? wie *πάγκυφος*), irisches Gedicht im Metrum Debide, ed. Windisch l. l.; Zimmer l. l. p. 267; Thes. palaeohib. 2, 293; vergl. Revue Celtique 5, 128f., Academy 1883. II. 419.

Bl. 2 a 1. Ein Stück aus Scholien zu Virgils Aeneis, nämlich zu den Versen 28—39 des I. Buches, mitten in einem Satze anfangend: ('Et genus inuisum' propter Dardanum) Ioue et Electra natum a quo Troiani Dardanidae genus. 'Et rapti Ganimedis' quia Ganimides Troi filius aquilae ministerio in caelum raptus Ioui poculum tradidit summotata Hebe filia Iunonis. 'his' supernis. 'accensa' .i. irata. 'super' .i. insuper .i. pro aduerbio ponitur, ut Priscianus[2]) dicit, quamuis non dicit pro quo aduerbio, sed putandum pro insuper uel ualde. 'iactato(s)' fugatos uel uexatos. 'aequore toto' .i. mari toto. 'Troas' Troianos. 'Danaum' Graecorum. 'immites' saeui. 'arcebat' uetabat. 'Latio' ab Italia. 'multosque per annos' per multa temporum spatia. 'errabant' uehebantur. 'acti' compulsi. 'tantae molis' tantae molis uel difficultatis. 'gentem' originem. 'condere' abscondere uel aedificare. 'uix' tantum. 'Siculae' Siciliae. 'in altum' in mare. 'uela dabant' nauigabant. 'laeti' alacres. 'spumas' fluctus. 'salis' maris. 'aere rueban(t)' rostris aeratis nauium diuidebant. 'cum' quo tempore. 'seruans' animo retinens. 'sub pectore' in animo. 'uulnus' animi dolorem. 'haec secum' d(e)est loquebatur uel dicebat. 'mene'[3]) .i. uideo. 'incoepto' proposito. 'disistere' cesare. 'uictam' uel ut uictam. 'nec posse' nec ualere. 'Italia' ab. 'Teucrorum' Troianorum. 'auertere' auocare. 'regem' Aenean. 'quipe' sine dubio. 'uetor' prohibeor. 'fatis' a diis. 'Pallas'

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[1]) Plinius, Hist. nat. 23, 133.

[2]) 'Invenitur tamen etiam verbo adiuncta vel nominativo participii, in quo sine dubio adverbium esse ostenditur'. Prisciani Institutiones 14, 52.

[3]) Über dem *ne* steht ℊ (ergo).

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dea .i. Minerua, a pato pallintos[1]) .i. a moratione uel a nobilitate'.

Auf diesen Absatz von 13 Zeilen, vor dem am Rande Xb̄ steht,[2]) folgt eine astronomische Tafel, ein Viereck von 12×13 Feldern über die Stellung der Zeichen des Tierkreises durch die Tage des Monats im bürgerlichen Jahre, deren immer 2 bis 3 zusammengefafst sind. Diese Tafel findet sich in der Ephemeris, einem fälschlich dem Beda beigelegten Werke (ed. Migne 90, col. 753).

Bl. 2 b 1. Zwei Glossen: 'confestim' ueluti competendi festinatione. 'nullus' pro non. (Charisius in den Grammatici latini ed. Keil 1, 196. 207).

Bl. 2 b 3. Ein Abschnitt aus der Logik: 'De modis sylogismorum, qui fiunt cum aliqua conclusione sunt VII. Primus modus est, si dies est lucet; est autem dies, lucet igitur ... Septimus modus est ita, non dies et nox (sic), et si nox non est, dies igitur est'. Vergl. die sieben Modi der dritten Figur des kategorischen Syllogismus bei Boetius (Migne 64, 823).

Bl. 2 b 18. Astronomischer Auszug über die circuli paralleli v (Hygini astronomica 1, 6 ed. Bunte): 'Secundus circulus ex eo terminos qui tropicos dicitur ... aestatem autem his qui ad austri partes commorantur'.

Am Rande dieser Seite beginnen Notizen über die Elemente der griechischen Grammatik, und zwar zunächst Articuli Graecorum, als welche der Schreiber aufser den eigentlichen, wenig zuverlässig aufgezählten auch die Relativpronomina anzusehen scheint: *ω* uel *ο* hic, *ων* huius, *ω* huic, *ον* hunc, *αι* o etc., *οι* hi, *α* hae, *ων* horum, *οις* his, *ους* hos etc.

Bl. 3 a. *Χρ̄η βωηθησον* adiuua nos Xp̄e. Eine Auswahl griechischer Nomina in lateinischer Umschrift mit lateinischer Erklärung, darunter 'ptolemos' bellum (unde rex Ptolemos), 'caeruleus' caelo ruens, und die fraglichen 'ptosis' stupor, 'filargia' aspectus, 'oreicsis' rictus, 'anchoresis' retentio. Gegen Ende gebraucht der Schreiber die griechischen Buchstaben, mit denen er sich in der Folge ziemlich vertraut machte, sodafs er 7 a in einem Hymnus sogar das Wort *ψ*allimus mit dem griechischen

[1]) Entstellt aus den griechischen Worten *ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλειν τὸ δόρυ* im Kommentar des Servius 1, 28 ed. Thilo et Hagen.

[2]) Diese beiden Buchstaben finden sich auch auf Seite 7 a oben am Rande, und sie scheinen *Christe boëthêson* zu bedeuten, das in griechischen Buchstaben über Seite 3 a steht.



Buchstaben schreibt. Seine griechische Hand ist die des 9. Jahrhunderts, wie sie sich in dem Pariser sogenannten Psalterium des Sedulius in der Bibliothek des Arsenals und in dem Dresdner Codex Boernerianus der griechisch-lateinischen Episteln findet.[1])

Bl. 3b und 4a. Beispiele zur griechischen Deklination, für die der Schreiber das Masculinum *κυριος* und die Neutra *ονομα* und *εργον* als Paradigmen aufstellt, wogegen seine Wahl für das Femininum so unglücklich wie möglich ist: 'Nomina feminina sic declinanda *η γυνη* mulier, *της γυνης, τη γυνεη*' etc. Der Schreiber hält sich vom Itacismus frei und unterscheidet nicht zwischen *ο* und *ω*, zwischen *ε*, *η* und *αι*, zwischen *ι* und *υ*, zwischen *τ* und *ϑ*, zwischen *κ* und *χ*. Beispiele sind *φυλος* amicus, *μυκρος* modicus uel pussillus, *κλυνε* lectum, *κhρονος* tempus, *κερα* uidua, *ενεσις* laus, *αντροπος* homo, *τανατος* mors. Schlecht unterwiesen ist er mit *μεγαλος* magnus und verlesen hat er *σvαγριος* crux (*σταυρός*) und *πιτοσος* pauper (*πτωχός*). Unerklärt bleiben *ινερνον* 'desinens' und *κατος* 'maritus'. Dem Glossar, das von M. Petschenig in den Wiener Studien 5, 159—163 veröffentlicht ist, liegen zum Teil die Glossen des Grammatikers Servius zugrunde (Corpus glossariorum latinorum 2, p. XXXVII). Auf Bl. 4b werden noch einige Pronomina hinzugefügt.

Bl. 4b 1 'Incipit diffinitio substantiarum et subsistentiarum. Substantia ipsa rei alicuius naturam rationemque qua constat designat, subsistentia autem uniuscuiusque personae hoc ipsum quod extat et subsistit ostendit', etc. Dieser metaphysische Abschnitt ist $\overline{gg}$ überschrieben, als sei er von Gregorius.

Bl. 4b 14. 'Hi sunt pedes qui coniunctionem sibi alterius pedis non admittunt', etc. Verzeichnis der Versfüſse der Metrik, das Bl. 5a fortgesetzt wird. Darunter Worterklärungen, wie 'scobebam spiritum meum hoc est fodiebam quasi agrum' (Psalm 76,7; cf. Wiener Studien 7, 35); ferner aus Rufinus: 'Fulserat hac Plautus pulcherque Terentius arte' (Grammatici latini ed. Keil 6, 560), und: 'Charius de n͞uis. Bachiatum metrum est tale. bachare laetare' etc. — aus demselben Rufinus entnommen, der es mit den Worten 'Flavius Sosipater Charisius de numeris sic dicit' einleitet (ed. Keil 6, 572, cf. 1, 513).

[1]) Nach L. Traube (O Roma nobilis p. 348) wären der Dresdener und der Pariser Codex von der Hand des Sedulius. Der ausgezeichnete Paläograph würde diese Meinung schwerlich aufrecht erhalten haben, wenn er die Schrift beider hätte zusammenhalten können.


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Auf derselben Seite *Cas̄*: 'patria quasi patris atria, inopia ubi nulla est copia, ruina quasi repetens ima'. (Cassiodori Expositio in psalterium ed. Migne 70, 679. 628. 652).

Hr̄ 'Iurauit dominus in superbia Iacob r̄ (Amos 6, 8) nec mirandum est; si deus iurare dicitur, cum dormientibus dormiat, cum uigilantibus uigilet'. Unsicher, aus wessen Kommentar die Worte genommen sind; unter den Schriften des Hrabanus findet sich keiner zu den kleinen Propheten.

Bl. 4b am untern Rande: *Aḡ* 'est enim gaudium quod non datur impiis sed eis qui te gratis colunt, quorum gaudium tu ipse es'. Das Excerpt wird Bl. 5a unten, wieder mit vorgesetztem *Aḡ*, fortgesetzt, wo es am Ende heifst: 'Beata quipe uita est gaudium de ueritate', und dazu gehört 4b am untern Rande: 'Beatus ergo erit, si nulla interpellante molestia sola ueritate gaudebit'. Nicht bekannt ist das Werk des Agano, worin solche Betrachtungen vorkommen.

Bl. 5b. Ein astronomisches Fragment, anfangend 'Nam ut diuersa spatia sunt caelestis circuli que medialis ita et diuersis centrorum signis punctis torquentur . . quo fit ut terra solaris circuli centron non sit sed haec centros habeatur'..., und auf Bl. 6a endigend ... 'et ab Aeratostene archimedico'. Eine irreführende Überschrift des fehlerhaften Auszugs besagt *pli*, als sei das Stück aus der Historia naturalis des Plinius.

Bl. 6a bis 8a folgen mehrere Hymnenreihen, nämlich:

Bl. 6a 7 vier Hymnen für die kanonischen Stunden: 'Iam lucis orto sidere', 'Nunc sancte nobis spiritus', 'Rector potens uerax deus', 'Rerum deus tenax uigor'.

Bl. 6a 27 acht Hymnen ad uesperos, von Sonntag bis Sonntag: 'Lucis creator optime', 'Immense caeli conditor', 'Telluris ingens conditor', 'Caeli deus sanctissime', 'Magnae deus potentiae', 'Plasmator hominis deus', 'Deus creator omnium', 'O lux beata trinitas'.

Bl. 7c 7 sieben Hymnen ad nocturnam, von Sonntag bis Sonnabend: 'Primo dierum omnium', 'Somno refectis artibus', 'Consors paterni luminis', 'Rerum creator optime rectorque noster respice', 'Nox atra rerum contegit', 'Tu trinitatis unitas', 'Summe deus clementiae'.

Bl. 7b 14 sieben Hymnen ad matutinum, von Sonntag bis Sonnabend: 'Aeterne rerum conditor',[1] 'Splendor paternae gloriae',

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[1]) Nach diesen drei Worten des Anfangs geht der Schreiber bis zum Ende des Hymnus in die kontinentale Hand über.

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'Ales diei nuntius', 'Nox tenebrae et nubila', 'Lux ecce surgit aurea', 'Aeterna caeli gloria', 'Aurora iam spargit polum'.

Bl. 8 a 23 zwei Hymnen ad completorium, d. h. den Tag abschliefsend: 'Christe qui lux es et dies', 'Te lucis ante terminum'.

Bl. 8 a 35 Ymnus ad uesperum in pascha: 'Ad caenam agni prouidi', schliefsend 'ab omni mortis impetu tuum defendas populum'.

Dies sind alte und sehr bekannte Kirchenlieder, die man im Breviarium Romanum und in Daniels Thesaurus hymnologicus 1, 15 ff. beisammen findet.

Bl. 8 b 1 Suibne Geilt. *M'airiuclan hi Tuaim Inbir* — Lob des Bethauses in Tuaim Inbir in irischen Versen (Rannaigecht bhec), ed. Windisch l. l. p. 318 f.; Zimmer, l. l. p. 268; Thesaurus palaeohib. 2, 294.

Bl. 8 b 7 Maling. *Is én immo ṅiada sás* — zwei irische Strophen im Metrum Rannaigecht mhór, ediert von Windisch l. l. p. 319; Zimmer, l. l. p. 268; Thes. palaeohib. 2, 294.

Bl. 8 b 10. Die Abwandlung von *ο κιϑαριστης* mit Einschlufs des Ablativs durch *απο.* Aber es fehlt dem Schreiber noch viel, wenn er im Singular den Dativ auf *τω*, den Akkusativ auf *τα*, den Vokativ auf *της* und im Plural den Nominativ und Vokativ auf *ταις* und den Dativ auf *τοις* bildet.

Daneben stehen einige theologische Sätze mit dem Anfange 'quod ab initio ætherea corpora sensibilia habent angeli', etc. Der Schreiber ahmt hier wieder, wie in dem Hymnus 7 b 15 ff., den kontinentalen Schriftcharakter nach.

Darunter folgt ein Vers Virgils, Aeneis 2, 659.

Bl. 8 b 23 *Aed oll fri andud nane* — irisches Lobgedicht im Metrum Rannaigecht bhec auf den Fürsten von Leinster Aed den Sohn Diarmaits, der möglicherweise der um 713 lebende Aed mac Dermato ist; ediert von Windisch, l. l. p. 319 f.; von Zimmer, l. l. p. 268; und im Thesaurus palaeohib. 2, 295. Zu Anfang des Gedichts am Rande steht eine Abbreviatur *mē*, aber der erste Buchstabe ist zum Teil verwischt und ganz unsicher; er könnte auch ein *r* sein (*retoric?*), und vermutlich bezeichnet *m̊ē*, wie oben Suibne Geilt und Maling, den Autor oder die Quelle, aus der das Gedicht genommen ist. Es ist zu bemerken, dafs in den irischen Texten der letzten Seite das *n* der Eklipse stets (*nane* ausgenommen) mit einem Punkte versehen ist, also: *ṅiada, ṅglan, ṅarggit, ṅdíne, ṅainm, ṅAeda,* und dafs in der 5. Strophe des letzten Gedichts die Handschrift *ammail* (b über m) hat.

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Die Schrift des St. Pauler Codex ist, obwohl von einer und derselben Hand, recht verschieden, bald grofs und weit, bald klein und gedrängt; auch die grofsen kühnen Formen der irischen Kalligraphie stehen dem Schreiber zu Gebote (wie auf Bl. 2 b). Aber für gewöhnlich ist seine Kursive mehr oder weniger flüchtig und nicht so kräftig wie die dritte des Codex Wirziburgensis, der sie sonst nahe kommt. Wie zur Übung versucht sich unser Ire auch in dem kontinentalen Schriftcharakter, den sich wohl manche Iren der Zeit aneigneten: ein Beispiel dafür ist die verwelschte Schrift des Codex Boernerianus. Zahlreich sind in der St. Pauler Handschrift die compendia scribendi, von denen einige nicht einmal gewöhnlich sind; erwähnt seien ā (aut), at̄ (autem), ɔ (con), c̄ (cum), ɔ (eius), ⁑ (enim), ꝛ (est), ēē (esse), hn̄t (habent), h⁻ (haec), hs̄ (huius), m̄ (mus), cs̄ (cuius), nōē (nomine), n̄ (non), ꝑ (per), p̄ ṗ (prae), ꝓ (pro), q̄ (quae), q̊ (qua), q̃ (quem), ꝗ (quod, quam), qͥ (qui), s̄ (sed), s̄t (sunt), ts̄ (trans), ūsus (uersus), ł (inter) und v̊ (uero), was auch der Boernerianus Bl. 64 b ult. für *δέ* hat. Die geschlossene Form des *a* kommt neben der offenen vor und *v* findet sich schon neben *u*.

Der kleine St. Pauler Codex ist von einem Iren, man darf vermuten, in Süddeutschland oder in Oberitalien geschrieben. Die Bruchstücke mittelalterlicher Gelehrsamkeit, die er darbietet, sind weder selten noch bedeutend; der Schulstaub der Jahrhunderte liegt darauf. Aber noch bis heute bewahrt seinen Glanz, was der Schreiber von der Poesie seiner Heimat darunter zu mischen sich nicht entbrechen konnte; es sind seine 'premières amours'. Er war vermutlich ein Mann in gesetzten Jahren, der die westliche Welt durchwandert und nun in der Einsamkeit des Klosters die Mufse für seine Studien gefunden hatte. Er gestattet uns einen Blick in seine Klause. Ist er der Dichter jenes *Messe ocus Pangur bán*, so zeigt er sich mit der irischen Versform ganz vertraut und auch den sinnigen Zug des Humors, der seinen Landsleuten eigen ist, verleugnet er nicht. Für den deutschen Leser sei eine Übersetzung dieses Poems hinzugefügt, die mit der ersten französischen von E. Windisch und der englischen von Wh. Stokes in allem Wesentlichen übereinstimmt.

'Ich und dieser weifse Kater haben jeder seine Kunst:
Ist auf Jagd sein Sinn gerichtet, steht mein Sinn nach meinem Sport.
Mehr als Ruhm lieb ich die Ruhe bei dem tiefgelehrten Buch;
Nicht mifsgönnt's der weifse Kater, liebt er selbst doch Jugendsport.

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Wenn wir zwei im Hause weilen (voll von Kurzweil ist die Mär),
 Haben wir woran wir üben unsern Scharfsinn — endlos Spiel.
Manchmal hängt durch kühn Beginnen eine Maus ihm in dem Netz,
 Während mir ins Netz gefallen dunklen Sinns ein schwerer Spruch.
Auf die Mauerfugen richtet er sein Auge funkelnd, voll;
 Und mein helles Auge richt' ich auf Finessen, wenn's auch schwach.
Hängt die Maus in scharfer Kralle ihm, ist hastig froh sein Sprung;
 Eine schwier'ge eigne Frage faſs' ich und bin gleichfalls froh.
Obzwar also immer, sind wir doch einander nicht zur Last;
 Seine Kunst liebt unser jeder und vergnügt sich so allein.
Er ist Meister seiner Weise, wie er sie tagtäglich treibt;
 Schwierigkeiten aufzuklären, dies Geschäft betreibe ich.'

Berlin.

L. Chr. Stern.

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MISCELLEN.

5. Zur irischen Kanonensammlung.

(Zeitschrift VI, p. 1 ff.)

Professor Thurneysen has not touched the arguments, from internal evidence, that the collection was made at I, by or under Adamnan; and if Cúchuimne was satirized by Adamnan as a ladies' man, and lived with a wife, as the preface to his Hymn says or guesses, is he likely to have belonged to Adamnan's own monastery?

Oxford. E. W. B. Nicholson.

6. Corrections of the Text and Translation of the 'Life of Bevis of Hampton'.

p. 279, l. 30. Read *nir cian do* [*co*] *facaidh.*
281, l. 7. For *dobeth* read *do beth.*
l. 12. For *dodenase* read *dodena-se.*
l. 25. For *Damaisc* read *Damaisci.*
286, l. 31. For *docrocadar* read *docrochadar.*
288, l. 8. For *dochuaidsi* read *dochuaid-si.*
291, l. 23. For *senniad* read *seninad.*
292, l. 34. For *dar* read *d'ar.*
294, l. 1. For *na san* read *nas an.*
296, l. 9. For *Bibus* read *Bibuis.*

Cambridge (Mass.). F. N. Robinson.


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ERSCHIENENE SCHRIFTEN.

The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy, by Prof. John Rhŷs. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. II. 101 pp. 8°.

Eine neue, sehr dankenswerte Sammlung sämtlicher gallischen Inschriften. Der Verfasser hat sich die Mühe nicht verdriefsen lassen, jeder einzelnen Inschrift in Frankreich und Italien nachzureisen und sie genau zu kollazionieren. Und wenn sich auch erfreulicherweise ergibt, dafs die Lesungen im Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum meist sehr genau und zuverlässig sind, wird man doch dem Verfasser Dank wissen, dafs er über jeden unsicheren Buchstaben eingehend Bericht erstattet, so dafs man nun genau weifs, wo sichere Lesung vorliegt oder wo man mit weiteren Schlüssen vorsichtig sein mufs. Auch der Kalender von Coligny ist Buchstabe für Buchstabe neu verglichen.

Was die Deutung anlangt, so kann ich freilich mein obiges Urteil (p. 244) nicht ändern. Schon bei den einfachsten Dingen verstehe ich den Verfasser oft nicht. Warum nimmt er z. B. p. 18 an, der Dativ *Ταρανοου* gehe wahrscheinlich auf *Taranoụi* zurück? Warum soll es nicht der Kasus auf *-ou* sein, der aus dem Italischen als Dativ wohlbekannt ist (lat. *cornū, exercitū,* umbr. *trifo*)? Und wieso lehrt uns die Inschrift *taruos trigaranus* auf dem Altar von Cluny, dafs das letzte Wort ein *u*-Stamm war (p. 49)? Die Inschrift ist doch lateinisch (*Iouis, Uolcanus*). Und warum werden alle Monatsnamen des Kalenders von Coligny mit dem Nominativ auf *-os* angesetzt, selbst *Simivisonnios* p. 84? Auf Schritt und Tritt, auch wo es sich gar nicht um weitere Kombinationen handelt, trifft man auf solche befremdliche Äufserungen. Einige Inschriften werden — *inuita Minerua* — gar als Verse gelesen.

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Es sei mir gestattet, zu einer Inschrift eine, wie ich glaube, richtigere Deutung, zu einer andern wenigstens eine Vermutung vorzutragen.

Die Stele von Bourges (CIL. XIII, 1326, Rhys XXXIa) trägt zwei Inschriften. Die erste:]*os uirilios,* darunter]*χτος ουιριλλιο,* weiter *ανεουνος* | *εποει* macht keine Schwierigkeit; Aneunos hatte die Stele für einen]tos, Sohn eines Virillos, gemacht. Aus irgend einem Grunde ist sie aber so nicht verwendet worden; die Inschrift war im Altertum wahrscheinlich überstrichen und darunter findet sich nun eine neue eingemeifselt: *eluontiu* | *ieuru* . *aneuno* | *oclicno* . *luguri* | *aneunicno,* d. h. 'Elvontio fecit Aneunus Ocli filius, Lugurix Aneuni filius'. Aneunos, gemeinsam mit seinem Sohne, bestimmt dieselbe Stele nun einem Elvontios. Das Weglassen der Endkonsonanten in *Aneuno*(*s*) *Oclicno*(*s*) *Luguri*(*x*) *Aneunicno*(*s*) (vgl. in der ersten Inschrift *Ουιριλλιο*) findet sich ebenso auf dem Kalender von Coligny, in *ματρεβο Ναμαυσικαβο* (Rhys XVII) und ist auch auf lateinischen Inschriften Galliens nicht selten. Rhys übersetzt nach andern: 'Elụontiu made this for Aneụnos son of Oclos and for Luguris son of Aneunos', nach Form (Dat. auf *-o* neben Nom. auf *-u*) und Inhalt wenig befriedigend.

Die Vermutung betrifft die Inschrift von Alise-Ste.-Reine (CIL. XIII, 2880, Rhys II): *martialis* . *dannotali* | *ieuru* . *ucuete* . *sosin* | *celicnon* . *etic* | *gobedbi* . *dugiiontiio* | *ucuetin* | *in* [.] *alisiia* . Rhys meint p. 8, *gobedbi* sei zweifellos das Verb des (zweiten) Satzes. Mir ist seit jeher die Aehnlichkeit von *dugiiontiio* mit den relativen Formen der Dritten Pluralis im Irischen aufgefallen, wie *bert(a)e, sluindite,* die ja ähnliche Grundformen voraussetzen; zum Endvokal vgl. bret. *'s-o* 'welcher ist'. Ist die Gleichung richtig, dann darf man in *gobedbi* einen Dativ Pluralis, gleichfalls irischer Bildung, sehen, der mit *ucuete* koordiniert ist, also etwa: 'Martialis, Sohn des Dannotalos, machte für Ucuetis dieses *celicnon* (irgend ein Gebäude) und für die Priester, die den Ucuetis bedienen (*qui colunt Ucuetim*) in Alisia'. Natürlich ist die Bedeutung von *gobed-* und *dug-* dabei nur ganz vermutungsweise, der Füllung halber angesetzt; was sie tatsächlich bedeuteten, weifs ich nicht. An kymr. *gof* mittelir. *goba* 'Schmied' wird man nicht denken dürfen.

Freiburg i. Br. R. Thurneysen.


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T. Rice Holmes, Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press 1907. XVI, 764 pp.

Wenn die Philologie erst mit dem geschriebenen Worte anfängt, so verfolgt sie doch von ferne stehend nicht ohne Teilnahme jene Studien, die über ihre Grenze hinaus die Vorgeschichte der Völker aufzuklären suchen. Der Gegenstand des angezeigten Buches ist das schriftlose Britannien der vorchristlichen Zeit bis zu Caesars Invasionen. Mit beharrlichem Fleifse hat der Verfasser die verstreuten archäologischen und anthropologischen Funde, die man auf der Insel gemacht hat, gesammelt, um daraus eine Geschichte der entlegensten Vorzeit zu konstruieren. Da gibt es viel Unsicherheit und Zweifel, aber er ist ein kundiger Wegweiser, nicht nur durch umfassende Kenntnis der Literatur ausgezeichnet, sondern auch durch die Besonnenheit, womit er die Meinungen abwägt, gewinnend. So führt er uns hinauf in die Steinzeit, in die unermefslichen paläolithischen Zeiträume, in denen die Urbewohner (es waren keine Riesen) vor dem eisigen Klima Schutz in den Höhlen suchten und von der Jagd auf längst ausgestorbenes Wild lebten, und in das neolithische Zeitalter nicht-arischer Einwandrer von länglicher Schädelform, die als Hirten mit vollkommenern Geräten und Werkzeugen und mit mancherlei Fertigkeiten die ersten Anfänge der britischen Civilisation schufen. Auf sie folgte die steigende Kultur des Bronzezeitalters; die neuen Einwandrer, die dieses herbeiführten, waren grofse und finstere Gestalten mit runden Köpfen, sie bestellten schon den Acker, hatten ihre Druiden und haben ein Heiligtum wie das Stonehenge in Wiltshire hinterlassen. Ihre Zeit dauerte noch an, als der Columbus unter Alexander dem Grofsen, Pytheas von Massilia, Britannien besuchte — *Πρετανικαὶ νῆσοι*, nur wenn diese Form gesichert ist, läfst sich eine Verbindung des römischen *Britannia* mit dem alten Namen des Piktenlandes *Prydyn* (ir. *Cruithne*) herstellen. Aber nicht lange vorher waren die ersten Briten und die gleichfalls celtischen Horden der Belgae angelangt, die das Eisen mitbrachten. Und schon Jahrhunderte früher hatten die Stämme der Gälen das Land durchzogen, die dann in Irland eine Heimat fanden. Auf die ethnologischen Fragen können wir nicht eingehen; aber bemerkt sei, dafs der Verfasser die Pikten der römisch-britischen Zeit für ein Gemisch von Stämmen erklärt, nicht-arischen sowohl als celtischen, unter denen die celtische Sprache die Ursprache verdrängt hätte. Sehr ausführlich behandelt der Verfasser die Invasionen Britanniens unter Julius Caesar, von dessen Zuverlässigkeit in den Commentarii er eine hohe Meinung hat, und erörtert die topographischen Fragen, die damit zusammenhängen. Der Portus Itius (Ictius), von dem die römische Flotte 55 und 54 v. Chr. aufbrach, ist nach ihm Boulogne und sie landete beide Male in Ost-Kent. Schon damals existierte die celtische Stadt London. Nur soviel sei aus dem gehaltvollen Buche mitgeteilt, das, mit Abbildungen und Plänen wohl ausgestattet, Clarendons Presse zur Ehre gereicht.

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Táin bó Cúalnge. Enlèvement [du Taureau divin et] des vaches de Cooley, la plus ancienne épopée de l'Europe occidentale. Traduction par H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. Première livraison publiée avec la collaboration de M. Al. Smirnof. Paris: Honoré Champion 1907. 83 pp. (3 fr. 50 c.).

Auf die grofse Ausgabe E. Windischs von 1905 folgt hier der erste Teil einer französischen Übersetzung der *Táin*, d. i. 'des Viehraubs von Cooley', der mit der Erzählung von den Jugendtaten Cúchulinns abschliefst und durch einige allgemeine Betrachtungen eingeleitet wird. Der Verfasser hält die der Táin zugrunde liegenden Sagen für altceltischen Besitz, derart dafs sie sich schon in gallischen Bildwerken erkennen liefsen. Aber auch in der Ilias und in der Odyssee findet er Züge der irischen Sage und geht so weit, dafs er den Cúchulinn mit seiner Fähigkeit das eine Auge einzuziehen und das andere aus dem Kopfe herauszudrängen dem Kyklopen an die Seite stellt, indem er die *cynghanedd* zwischen den beiden Namen bemerkbar macht. Es wird also der Zusammenhang der irischen Sage mit der griechischen aufs Prähistorische beschränkt. Und in der Tat haben die Iren der griechischen Literatur nichts zu verdanken. Ihre 'Ilias' ist ein Märchen, das die Jahrhunderte auf den uns bekannten Umfang im Lebor-na-huidre und im Buche von Leinster gebracht haben; aber es fehlte der Homer es zu einem Epos oder zu einem Cúchulinnslied zu machen und die wilde Phantasie eines barbarischen Zeitalters auf das Mafs des Schönen zu bringen. Im übrigen ist dies *scél* überaus wichtig zur Kenntnis der Sitten, Gebräuche und Anschauungen der alten Iren, die den Celten des Altertums von allen Stammesgenossen ohne Zweifel am meisten entsprechen.

Wh. Stokes, The Birth and Life of St. Moling. London 1907. Privately printed. (Specimens of Middle-Irish Literature No. I). 68 pp.

Dieser Text, mit dem der hochverdiente Herausgeber eine mittelirische Reihe eröffnet, ist erhalten in einer Abschrift Michael O'Clerys aus dem Buche von Timoleague (Brüsseler Ms. 4190—4200), in dem Liber flavus Fergusiorum und teilweise in einem Ms. der Franziskaner in Dublin. Moling, dessen Name aus der Legende erklärt wird (er soll zuerst Tairchell geheifsen haben), starb hochbetagt 696. Das hier edierte 'Leben' ist ein Heiligenmärchen, in dem manche Züge, wie der Herausgeber hervorhebt, für den Folkloristen bemerkenswert sind. Durch eine vorausgegangene Ausgabe des Textes in der Revue celtique 27, 260 ff. ist diese neue, mit dem vollständigern Apparate unternommene, mit der Übersetzung und einem Verzeichnis schwieriger Formen und seltener Wörter nicht überflüssig geworden.

Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts edited by O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer, J. G. O'Keeffe. Vol. I. Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer 1907. VII + 80 pp. Kl. 8°. (3 M. 60 Pf.).

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Von mitteliriſchen Ineditis wird hier eine Lieferung geboten, der weitere folgen sollen. Sie enthält diese Stücke: Die Geschichte vom Exil des Cann mac Gartnain, der aus Schottland nach Irland floh an den Hof des Königs Diarmait den Sohn des Aed Sláne (vergl. O'Curry, Manners and customs 3, 164); die jüngere Rezension der Austreibung des Stammes der Déssi (die ältere ist Cymmrodor 14, 104 ff. und in Ériu 3, 138 ff. gedruckt); das Zwiegespräch Fintans, jenes Urenkels Noahs, der die Sintflut überlebte, mit dem Adler von Achill, über die alte Sagengeschichte Irlands, in Versen; die Legende von dem heiligen Emine bán, der in einem groſsen Sterben sich mit funfzig seiner Kleriker für den König Bran mac Febail und funfzig Fürsten in Leinster gegen gewisse Verpflichtungen opferte; die Geschichte des Flann mac Lonáin, der von dem Elfen Oengus in Mac Óg für Poesie einen Ochsen erhandelte (YBL. 195 b); das Gedicht über Maelduins Meerfahrt (YBL. 1—15); die Legende über den Ursprung der Buſsspeise *menadach*; die Geschichte des Abts von Drimnagh, der im Schlaf in eine Frau verwandelt wurde (B. of Fermoy 113 a). Die Herausgeber wollten keine kritischen Texte geben, und die Zeit dazu scheint auch noch nicht gekommen, da man keine mitteliriſche Grammatik hat, in der die heillose Menge der überlieferten Schriftformen in Ordnung und Regel gebracht wäre. Man ist schon dankbar, wenn man sich aus dem Zustand der Unsicherheit nur dadurch ein wenig gefördert sieht, daſs die kursiven Buchstaben auf zweifelhafte Wortformen beschränkt, die langen Vokale von den kurzen in altherkömmlicher Weise durch einen Akzent unterschieden, und die aspirierten Konsonanten durch einen Punkt oder ein *h* von den Tenues getrennt werden. Diplomatische Treue ist in der Wiedergabe alter, wichtiger und seltener Sprachdenkmäler geboten; aber in Texten, von denen man Tausende von Seiten anfüllen kann, ist sie kaum nötig.

Osborn Bergin, Contributions to the history of palatalization in Old Irish. Inaugural-Dissertation. Freiburg i. B. 1906. 46 pp.

Wie weit das *Caol* oder *Leathan* der Konsonanten, das durch die schmale, hohe oder breite, tiefe Qualität des folgenden Vokals in der neuiriſchen Aussprache bewirkt wird, schon in der altiriſchen Geltung gehabt hat, wird sich kaum nachweisen lassen. Aber der Verfasser legt dar, nach welchen Konsonanten und Konsonantengruppen die alte Sprache die Vokale *a*, *e* und nach welchen die Vokale *a*, *o*, *u* in den tonlosen Endsilben anerkennt und bevorzugt. Mit groſsem Fleiſse geht er den Formenschatz der Glossen durch, um festzustellen, welche Konsonanz der 'Palatalisierung' in diesem Sinne unterliege. Der Ausdruck ist ein phonologischer, kein morphologischer, und daher, wie der Verfasser zugibt, nicht ganz zutreffend, da er auch solchen Konsonanten zugeschrieben wird, die wie die Labialen überhaupt nicht palatal sind. Immer ist der Vokal die causa efficiens der Aussprache und die Analogie spielt eine groſse Rolle in der Palatalisierung. Das

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Altirische schon schwankt nicht selten in der Wahl der hohen oder tiefen Vokale; wo es aber (wie z. B. in *tigerne*, *sercae*) vom Mittelirischen (wie in *tigerna, serci*) mit Entschiedenheit abweicht, wird die Vokalisierung zu einem schätzbaren Hülfsmittel für die Zeitbestimmung der Handschriften.

Ériu The Journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin, edited by K. Meyer & J. Strachan. Vol. II, Part. 2, 1905. Vol. III, Part. 1. 2., 1907.

Das erste der drei Hefte bringt die Ausgaben mehrerer beachtenswerter mitteliririscher Texte, namentlich von Wh. Stokes die Offenbarungen des Apostels Philipp mit der in seinem Martyrium immer wieder wachsenden Zunge (*tenga bhithnua*) über die Wunder der Schöpfung und Himmel und Hölle. Die Rezension, der vielleicht ein lateinisches Original zugrunde liegt, ist die im Buche von Lismore überlieferte, von der die übrigen nur Auszüge sind. Eine merkwürdige 'pia fraus' sind die eingestreuten Bibelstellen in fingierter hebräischer Sprache, derselben, deren sich Pluto und Nimrod in Dantes Inferno bedienen. Erwähnt seien ferner das Gedicht über die Königsgräber in Clonmacnois, das R. I. Best aus Rawl. B 512 herausgibt; die Erzählung von der Schlacht an der Boyne, in der Conchobar über Eochaid Feidlech siegte, von Jos. O'Neill aus dem Buche von Lecan ediert, und die Epistel Jesu über die Sonntagsheiligung (*cáin domnaig*), nach dem Leabhar Breac und andern Handschriften von J. G. O'Keeffe ediert. Der Inhalt des andern Heftes ist vorwaltend grammatikalisch. Namentlich findet sich darin aufser der erwähnten Schrift Bergins eine Vermutung über die Veränderung des verbalen Anlauts nach einigen präverbalen Partikeln, insonderheit *ni*: Thurneysen ist geneigt sie im Altirischen aus einem ausgefallenen *h* = *est* zu erklären (vergl. CZ. 1,1) und Strachan tritt ihm fürs Mittelwalisische bei, indem er einer Form wie *ny chan* die nicht relative und der entsprechenden leniierten Form *ny gan* die relative Bedeutung beilegt. Auffallend war mir der Ausdruck, womit der letztere 'the soft, vocal mutation' bezeichnet: 'lenation', 'lenating', dem auch Thurneysen zu widerstreben scheint, da er 'lenition', 'leniting' vorzieht. Eine bemerkenswerte Bezeichnung der rechten und der linken Hand weist Stokes aus dem Irischen nach: jene heifst *lám bennachtan* 'die Hand, die den Segen erteilt' und diese *lám soscéli* 'die Hand, die das Evangelium hält'. In dem letzten Heft ist aufser mehreren theologischen Gedichten zu erwähnen das Märchen von Conn Cétchathach und seinem Sohne Art mit der Elfin Bécuma und der Prinzessin Delbchaem aus dem Wunderlande, das R. I. Best aus dem Buche von Fermoy ediert und übersetzt. A. Anscombe liefert eine chronologische Untersuchung über das Exordium der Annales Cambriae. Beachtenswert ist ferner ein von Wilh. Meyer aus Speyer in dem Cod. Reg. 15. B XIX des 9. Jahrhunderts im britischen Museum gefundenes Gedicht in lateinischen, vielfach an Virgil anklingenden Hexametern, womit der greise Colman einem aus Frankreich nach Irland heim-

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kehrenden Namensvetter Lebewohl sagt. Beigegeben ist dem Hefte ein Bildnis des verstorbenen J. Strachan mit einem Verzeichnis seiner Schriften sowie ein Bericht über die Entwickelung der School of Irish Learning in Dublin seit 1904.

Mario Esposito, An unpublished astronomical treatise by the Irish monk Dicuil. (Proceedings of the R. Irish Academy XXVI. Sect. C, No. 15, p. 378—446).

Bekannt ist der geographische Traktat des Iren Dicuil. Ein in einer Handschrift zu Valenciennes erhaltenes astronomisches Werk desselben Dicuil, auf das 1879 E. Dümmler hinwies, wird hier zum ersten Male abgedruckt. Es wurde in den Jahren 814—816 im Frankenreiche verfaſst und ist Ludwig dem Frommen gewidmet. Es zerfällt in vier Bücher und umfaſst teils in Prosa und teils in Versen, obwohl durch die Kunst klarer Darstellung nicht ausgezeichnet, wohl alles, was man im 9. Jahrhundert über den Computus lehrte. Einige Male schweift es ins Grammatische und Metrische ab.

H. R. D. Anders, Ossian. (Sonderabdruck aus den Preuſsischen Jahrbüchern, Band 131, 1. Heft). Berlin 1908. 28 S.

Der Verfasser ist ernstlich bemüht gewesen in der macphersonschen Frage auf den Grund zu kommen. So ist er denn befähigt die richtige Erkenntnis über die Gedichte Ossians in weitern Kreisen zu verbreiten. Magna est veritas et praevalebit, sagte Sir John Sinclair, aber die Entscheidung ist nicht so ausgefallen, wie der schottische Edelmann es erhoffte. Die Arbeit des Verfassers kann nur dazu dienen das Häuflein der Gläubigen noch weiter zu schwächen und die noch Schwankenden im Unglauben zu bestärken.

Giac. Boni, Hibernica. Notes on some burial places and customs of ancient Ireland. Dublin 1906. 30 pp.

Der Verfasser, der die Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum geleitet hat, verspricht sich viel von Ausgrabungen in Irland, wo er mehrere der historischen Friedhöfe besucht und die alten Gebräuche des Volks kennen zu lernen gesucht hat. Sein in der Nuova Antologia erschienener Aufsatz ist von Horace Plunkett ins Englische übersetzt.

Jac. van Ginneken, Principes de Linguistique psychologique Essai de synthèse. Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz 1907. VIII, 552 pp. (10 M.).

Unter Linguistik versteht der Verfasser die Erforschung der tiefern Ursachen aller sprachlichen Phänomene in ihrer innern Entstehung; also etwas wesentlich verschiedenes von der Grammatik und der vergleichenden Sprachforschung, von denen beiden er indeſs lernt und annimmt. In der Psychologie der sprachlichen Erscheinungen, die er darstellt, handelt es sich nicht um das Wie und das Woher, sondern um das Warum. Die Anlage des Werkes, das zuerst in einer flämischen

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Revue erschien, ist eine durchaus philosophische, indem es in vier Büchern nach einander von der Vorstellung, dem Verständnis, dem Gefühl und dem Wollen handelt. In diesen Rahmen werden die Einzelheiten eingeordnet, sowohl lautliche (und diese mit Vorliebe) als solche der Wort- und der Satzbildung. Der Verfasser führt viele belehrende Beobachtungen und Beispiele aus dem Leben der Sprache vor und zeigt sich in der Literatur der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft bewandert; auch die celtischen Sprachen zieht er herbei. Aber sein Buch ist nicht leicht zu lesen, der graue Himmel der Theorie hängt über dem Ganzen.

Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series. Vol. I, No. 1, July 1907.

Aus 15jährigem Schlafe erwacht diese Zeitschrift, die es 1892 nur auf drei, heute übrigens seltene, Bände gebracht hatte, zu neuem Leben und steht unter der Leitung David Mac Ritchies, des Präsidenten der Societät, die in Liverpool (6 Hope Place) ihren Sitz hat. Seit Potts grundlegendem Werke ist die Wissenschaft von den Zigeunern eine durchaus sprachliche geworden, über deren dermaligen Stand eine Einleitung von J. Sampson unterrichtet. Näherer Untersuchung bedürfen besonders die asiatischen Zigeunerdialekte, ehe man zur Entscheidung gelangen kann, ob sie mit den europäischen denselben nordwestindischen Ursprung haben. Von den Beiträgen des vorliegenden Heftes seien einige Zigeunermärchen erwähnt, die J. Sampson aus Wales und F. N. Finck aus Armenien mitteilen, letzterer mit einer Einleitung über das armenische Zigeunerisch. Auch über das Shelta, die Sprache der 'tinkers', deren altgälische Elemente einst K. Meyer erkannte, vernehmen wir ein Wort ihres Entdeckers Ch. G. Leland und mehr davon ist zu erwarten.

Berlin, im Januar 1908.

L. Chr. Stern.

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